A NEW

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS,

Into ſeveral Parts of the

WORLD,

None of them ever before Printed in *Engliſh.*

VOL. II.

LONDON, Printed for *J. Knapton*, *Andrew Bell*, *D. Midwinter*, *Will. Taylor*, *A. Collins*, and *J. Baker*. 1711.



THE TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS IN ETHIOPIA:

CONTAINING

I. The Geographical Deſcription of all the Kingdoms, and Provinces of that Empire; the Natural and Political Hiſtory; the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Religion of thoſe People, *&c.*

II. Travels in *Arabia Fælix*, wherein many Things of that Country, not mention'd in other Books of this Nature, are Treated of, as a particular Deſcription of *Aden*, *Moca*, and ſeveral other Places.

III. An Account of the Kingdoms of *Cambate*, *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, and *Dancali* beyond *Ethiopia* in *Africk*, never Travelled into by any but the *Jeſuits*, and conſequently wholly unknown to us.

Illuſtrated with an exact MAP of the Country, delineated by thoſe Fathers, as is the Draught of the true Springs and Courſe of the *Nile*, within *Ethiopia*, beſides other uſeful Cuts.

The whole Collected, and Hiſtorically Digeſted by *F. Balthazar Tellez*, of the Society of *JESUS*; and now firſt Tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

London, Printed for *J. Knapton*, in St. *Paul's Church-yard*; *A. Bell*, in *Cornhill*; *D. Midwinter*, in St. *Paul's Church-yard*; *W. Taylor*, in *Pater-Noſter-Row*; and Sold by *J. Round*, in *Exchange-Alley* in *Cornhill*; *N. Cliffe*, in *Cheapſide*; *E. Sanger*, at the *Poſthouſe*, and *A. Collins*, at the *Black-Boy*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*; and *J. Baker*, in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, 1710.

THE PREFACE.

THE Deſign of this Collection being to entertain the Publick, with ſuch valuable Travels as have not yet appear'd abroad in Engliſh, it is thought none can be more acceptable than this Hiſtorical Account of Ethiopia, for as much as leſs has been hitherto writ of it, than of many others, and what we have, for the moſt part very uncertain and fabulous. The beſt Piece extant among us is in Purchas's Collection, and that only an Abridgment of Francis Alvarez his Hiſtory of this Empire: He was the firſt European that treated of it on his own knowledge, having been there ſome years with a Portugueſe Embaſſador, and to do him Juſtice, appears to have been a Man of Judgment and Integrity, which Qualities have gain'd him Reputation, and render'd his Book, tho' ſmall, very Valuable. But as has been ſaid, Purchas only abridg'd him, and he could not in a few years give a perfect Account of that large Monarchy; beſides that Purchas is grown ſcarce, and too bulky for every Reader. Of later years Ludolphus has writ the Hiſtory of Ethiopia, wherein he labours much to ſhow the World his Skill in the Ethiopick Language, and relies more than is convenient on the Relations of one Gregory an Ethiopian, not ſo well qualify'd in many Reſpects, as the Jeſuits, who were all Learned and Able Men, whom he makes it his buſineſs to contradict, as much as in him lies, notwithſtanding he is beholding to them for the beſt part of his Hiſtory. The freſheſt Account of this Nation we ſpeak of is Poncet's Voyage thither in the year 1698. ſo very conciſe, that little can be expected from it.

The work here preſented to the Publick is methodically digeſted by a Learned Jeſuit employ'd in it by his Society, and conſequently had the Advantage of conſulting all that had been writ on the Subject by ſuch of them as had been there, whom he always fairly quotes. The firſt of them is F. Peter Paiz, of whom a Manuſcript Treatiſe of Ethiopia is preſerv'd at Rome, reaching from the year 1555. till 1622, when he dy'd in that Empire. The next is F. Emanuel d' Almeyda, who was ſeveral years Superior there, Travell'd over thoſe Countries, and monſtrous Mountains, and Read all their Books, the better to enable himſelf to give a ſatisfactory Account. Thirdly, The Patriarch Don Alfonſo Mendez, who liv'd there Ten years, and writ the Hiſtory of

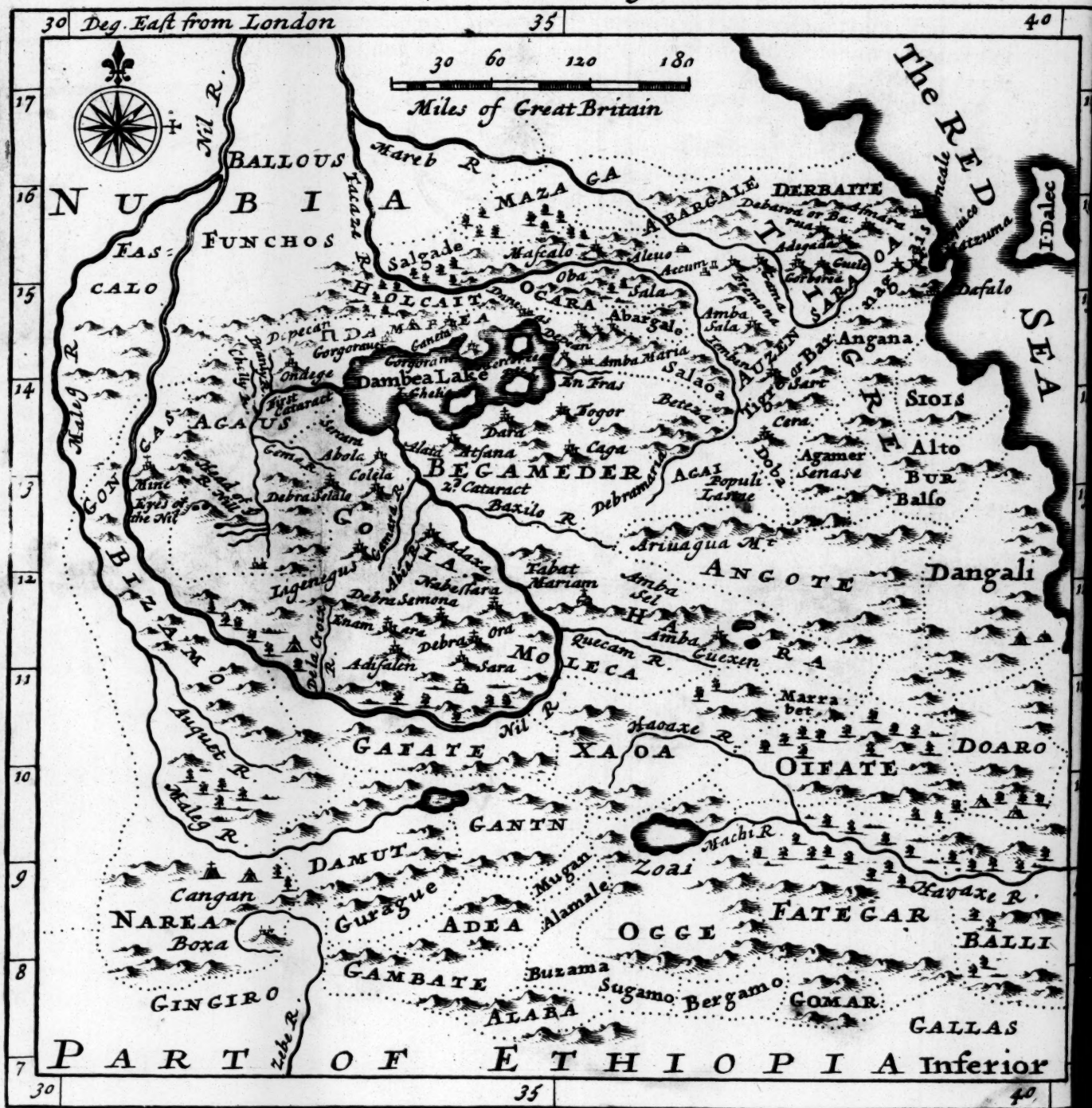
Ethiopia *in* Latin. *Beſides theſe, he had the Annual Letters written by the Fathers of the Society, from the year* 1556, *till* 1656. *as alſo the Commentaries of* F. Jerome Lobo, *reſident there Nine years, and examin'd all other Books, whither ancient or modern treating of this Subject, and compar'd them together. This may ſuffice, as to the Work in General, leaving the Reader to make his own Judgment of the performance.*

It is to be obſerv'd that this upper Ethiopia, *lying between the Tropick of* Cancer *and the* Equinoctial, *is ſometimes call'd* Oriental, *or* Eaſtern, *as lying Eaſtward of all the other* African Ethiopia, *which ſtretches along the* Ethiopick *Ocean, that is* Angola, Guinea, Cabo Verde, *&c. However, according to ancient Authors, it is often call'd* Occidental, *or* Weſtern, *to diſtinguiſh it from the former more Eaſtern* Ethiopia, *beginning on the Eaſtern Shore of the* Red Sea, *and containing the Countries of* Arabia, Madian, *and others as far as* Paleſtine, *all of them in* Aſia, *whereas this* Ethiopia *we ſpeak of is in* Africk. *So that the upper* Ethiopia, *or* Abiſſinia, *or* Preſter John's *Country, lies between two* Ethiopias, *the one in* Africk, *and the other in* Aſia, *and is call'd Eaſtern in Regard of that which is to the Weſtward of it, and Weſtern, on Account of the other that is to the Eaſtward.*

The Gallas *often mention'd in this Hiſtory, enter'd the Kingdom of* Ethiopia, *by the way of* Ballii, *about the year* 1537. *and by degrees made themſelves Maſters of* Ballii, Fategár, Doaró, Ogé, Bizamó, Oifate, Angota, Cambate, *and ſeveral other Provinces lying between them. There are at preſent above Sixty Hords, or Tribes of thoſe People, tho' only Four came in at firſt, and were it not for the Wars among themſelves, they would have long ſince conquer'd all this Empire.*

THE ABISSINE EMPIRE,

as it now is; and the true Source of the Nile.



THE TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS IN ETHIOPIA.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Name of Preſter John, *vulgarly given to the Emperor of* ETHIOPIA; *the occaſion of that Miſtake, aud the proper Name of this Empire.*

THE *Portugueſe* Nation having extended their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts along the Coaſts of *Africk*, and proceeded thence to the, before unknown, remoteſt Eaſtern Shores; *Europe* was not only enrich'd with the precious Spices and other valuable Commodities of thoſe Parts; but improv'd with the Knowledge of new Monarchies and Empires, Spacious Provinces, Wealthy and Large Iſlands, Warlike Nations, and variety of Countries, to which the ableſt Coſmographers *Improvement of Coſmography.*

graphers were before utter Strangers; so that we may say, the World is beholding to the *Portugueses* for this increase of Wealth, and addition of Extent.

Discovery of Ethiopia. Among the other Regions we came acquainted with, by means of this wonderful discovery of *India*, one was the Upper *Ethiopia*, which lies next to *Egypt*, vulgarly call'd *Prester John*'s Country, of which tho' many Authors have writ much, yet was it so variously, and with such unintelligible Confusion, that some discours'd, and others deliver'd Fables of it, that he would do no small Service to the Publick, who should untye or cut asunder these *Gordian* Knots, and lead the way out of this dark and intricate Labyrinth. At this Time we have such true and certain Information of the Affairs of that Empire, by such means as are mention'd in the Preface, and will appear to those who read these Travels, that I could not but think I should much oblige all curious Persons, and perform a work most acceptable to Men of Erudition, in giving a full Account, in this Volume, of all we now know concerning those Parts of *Ethiopia*, not only as to Temporals, but also in Relation to Religion, the whole Truth, as to both Points being now certainly found out; so that I may be bold to say, I can offer this as a History altogether new, notwithstanding some may think it very old and much handled by others; because Truth it self, which always prevails, will afford it such a Grace, as is an Ornament to all Novelty.

Ancient false Accounts. I concluded this work would be the more acceptable, in regard I am fully satisfy'd that the Accounts of those Parts are either corrupted by the Fictions of fabulous Authors, or else very imperfect, for want of sufficient and credible Information, which has given occasion to forge the most Chimerical and useless Stories of it in the World, and even more pernicious than the fam'd Romances, which being full of Witty Inventions, and deliver'd in a lofty Stile, serve to divert the Readers, as Learned and Ingenious Fables; whereas these other Writers, have endeavour'd to impose upon the unwary, by representing their vile Forgeries for valuable Truths.

Name of Ethiopia *whence.* To come to the point, before we launch out into the Affairs of this Upper *Ethiopia*, it will be convenient to show its proper Name, for as much as Historians have spoken very variously of it, and having err'd in the very Beginning, no wonder they should afterwards utter so much Impertinence, like those of whom the Prophet says, *They are estrang'd from the Womb, they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies*, Psal. 58. 3. The name given in *Portugal* to that Empire, or its Emperor, was that of *Prester John*, or *Presbyter John*, as may be seen at large in *Joam de Barros*

Dec.

Dec. 3. Lib. 4. *Diogo de Couto* Dec. 4. Lib. 10. *Nicolas Godinho*, Hist. *Ethiop. Lib.* 1. and *Damiam de Goes*, 3 *par. Chron. Reg. Eman. cap.* 6. where he calls that Emperor *Precious John.*

Mistake about Prester John.

But with their good leave, who gave these Names, I must declare all these were meer Fables concerning this *Precious John*; for it is now plainly and evidently made out by the *Protugueses* who have been there since, and by the Religious of the Society, who travers'd over almost every step of this *Ethiopia*, and view'd it from End to End, that they found not there the least Footsteps of such Holy Names and Celebrated Titles; and no Man in this *Ethiopia* makes the least question of this Truth, being wholly ignorant of any such Name there Emperor has, and they are surpriz'd when we stile him so, as not finding any thing in all their Language that bears the least Resemblance with this Title of *Prester John*, or may so much as allude to it; whatsoever the *Abyssinian Zagabazo*, mention'd by *Damiam de Goes*, as also in this History, as being sent into *Portugal* with a sort of Embassy, did endeavour to invent, to find out some means of adapting this Name to his Tongue; which is no better grounded, than what *F. Lewis de Urreta*, in the History of *Ethiopia* Dreamt, when he said, this Emperor was call'd *Baldigian.*

Advantage of clearing Names.

It is therefore most certain, and beyond all controversy, that neither this Emperor, nor the Empire from him, has any claim to the Title of *Prester John*; and tho' Philosophers may be of Opinion, that this controversy about the Name is not Material, for as much as it is what they call, an Argument about a Word, however we see that among Learned Men, he often understands Things best, who is most acquainted with the Names, and we shall next show what was the occasion of giving this Name to the King of *Ethiopia.*

Prester John where.

To this Purpose it must be observ'd, that, as is plainly prov'd by *F. Nicholas Godinho, Hist. Ethiop. lib.* 1. *Pet. Iarric. in Thezaurer. Indic. tom.* 2. *cap.* 14. *and Patriarch. Alfons. Mendez in Hist. Ethiop. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1, *and* 2. the Name of *Prester John*, or *Presbyter John*, did belong to a Christian Emperor, tho' a *Nestorian*, and subject in Spirituals to the Patriarch of *Babylon*, as were those Christians, they call in *India*, of the Mountains, or of St. *Thomas*, which may be seen in *F. Antony de Gouvea*, in his Learned Book he compos'd, of the Journey undertaken to visit these Christians by that great Prelate *Don F. Alexius de Meneses.*

This Emperor liv'd in the Mountains of *Asia*, his Sirname being *Johanan*, deriv'd from the Prophet *Jonas*, which the *Europeans* chang'd into *John*, and it was common to all the Kings of that Monarchy, as that of *Pharoah* was to the Kings of *Egypt*; that

that of *Ptolomey* afterwards to the same; and that of *Cæsar* to the *Roman* Emperors. The Addition of *Prester* is an Abbreviation of *Presbyter*, and this Title is said to have been given him, on account of a Cross that was always carry'd before him, as is among us before Archbishops.

How misplac'd in Ethiopia. Now the aforesaid Authors agree, that the giving this Name of that Christian Emperor in *Asia*, to the King of *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, proceeded from the mistake of the *Portuguese Peter de Covillam*, sent with *Alfonso de Payva* by King *John* II. of *Portugal*, in the year 1467, by Land, to discover both *India*, and that so much talk'd of Christian Emperor call'd *Prester John*, of whom there was some very dark Knowledge in *Portugal*, and an earnest Desire of better Information. This *Portuguese*, in his Return from *India* to *Gran Cairo*, hearing much Talk at *Adem* and *Suaquem*, through which he pass'd, of the *Abyssine* Emperor, who was there nearer to him, as that he was a Christian, carry'd a Cross in his Hand, and that in his Country there were Monasteries of Religious Men; and having heard no News, in all those parts of *India* he Travell'd through, of any Christian Prince Inhabiting *Asia*, he concluded there was no occasion for him to proceed any further in search of what he did not know to have any Being there, being then so near what they told him was to be found in *Ethiopia*. Thus he perswaded himself he had met with that his King sent him in search of, and that without doubt this same was the very *Prester John*, so much sought after, and so little known in *Portugal*.

Error spread through Europe. Upon this Notion, *Peter de Covilham* went away immediately himself to *Ethiopia*, first sending an Account from *Cairo* to King *John* II. of what he imagin'd he had found, directing several Letters to him by sundry ways. And as it often happens, that pleasing News is rather believ'd than examin'd; so this found such a general Acceptance and Approbation, that the *Abyssine* Emperor of *Ethiopia* was immediately declar'd to be the *Prester John* of *Asia*, first in *Portugal*, and afterwards throughout all *Europe*; the true one being thus bury'd in Oblivion, and the supposititious cry'd up and applauded.

Prester John *extinct.* This Mistake was back'd and confirm'd, by the total Extinction of *Johannan*, or *Prester John* in *Asia*, with all his Monarchy; so that not so much as the Name of any Christian Emperor reigning in *Asia* being now brought into *Europe*, and the Fame of this Christian Monarch, so near to *Egypt* increasing with the discovery of *India*, the *Europeans* had some Colour for their general mistake, absolutely concluding, especially the *Portugue-*

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ſes, trading to the Red Sea, that this King of *Ethiopia* was the ſo much ſought after and celebrated *Preſter John*.

Marcus Paulus Venetus, in his *Itinerary* very much ſtrengthned this vulgar Error, writing, That the great King call'd *Preſter John* us'd to reſide at *Archico*, which is the firſt Town belonging to *Ethiopia*, within the *Red Sea*; but that this is abſolutely falſe we ſhall ſee hereafter: Now this *Ethiopia* we ſpeak of, is as remote from *Cathay*, where the true *Johanan* ſeems to have reſided, as *Spain* is from *Peru*; for I am of opinion that this Emperor of *Aſia* was that ſame Chriſtian King that dwelt in *Cathay*, of whom S. *Antoninus*, Archbiſhop of *Florence* makes mention, and who has been ſo long, and with ſo many Toils, and Hazards, in vain, ſought after, by the Religious Men of the Society, who have in *India* indefatigably traverſed immens'd Lands, and unknown Seas, in ſearch of this hidden Monarchy, till at laſt they came to this concluſion; That there remains nothing at preſent in all the *Eaſt*, but the bare Names of the Fields, in which this Celebrated *Cathay* Stood, and its Emperor *Preſter John* reignd. And yet this Notion is ſo ſtrongly rooted in ſome Mens Opinions, that they ſtill expect this hidden *Cathay* will be found out, and that more particularly among the *Portugueſes*, ſome of whom are ſo Credulous as to believe, there is ſtill a great Iſland in our Seas, not only Undiſcovour'd, but Inchanted; and ſo they to this Day expect the diſcovery of the hidden King of *Cathay*. Cathay *not found.*

Having clear'd theſe Points above, I muſt now add, that the proper name of the *Higher Ethiopia*, or next to *Egypt*, whereof we are here to Treat, is *Abaſſia*, and conſequently that of its Inhabitants is *Abaſſines*. They themſelves call it *Abex*, laying the Emphaſis on the laſt Syllable, which, according to our way of Writing, muſt be pronounc'd *Abeſh*, or rather *Habeſh*, the *Portugueſes* pronouncing the *x* here, as we do *ſh*; as we ſee the *Latins* change the *x* into *ſſ*, calling the Country *Abaſſia*, and the People *Abyſſines*. Theſe People call a King *Nugue*, and the Emperor *Nuguea Nagaſta*, which is as much as King of Kings. *Names of* Ethiopia *and its Kings.*

The Name of *Abaſſia*, according to *Strabo*, was given it on Account of its being ſurrounded with great Deſerts and Wilderneſſes, which the *Egyptians* call *Abaſſes*. The Learned Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonſo Mendes*, in Hiſt. *Ethiop.* l. 1. c. 1. ſays, It might perhaps be ſo call'd from *Abaxa*, the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Adel*, adjoyning to *Ethiopia*, whoſe Emperors were once Maſters of it, even as the ſame Kingdom of *Adel* was call'd *Zeylonian* from the Port of *Zeyla*. But *F. Manuel de Almeyda*, ſays, The Names of *Abaſſia*, and *Abyſſinia*, have no certain Signification, no more than thoſe of m[illegible]

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Having clear'd these Points above, I must now add, that the proper name of the *Higher Ethiopia*, or next to *Egypt*, whereof we are here to Treat, is *Abassia*, and consequently that of its Inhabitants is *Abassines*. They themselves call it *Abex*, laying the Emphasis on the last Syllable, which, according to our way of Writing, must be pronounc'd *Abesh*, or rather *Habesh*, the *Portugueses* pronouncing the *x* here, as we do *sh*; as we see the *Latins* change the *x* into *ss*, calling the Country *Abassia*, and the People *Abyssines*. These People call a King *Nugue*, and the Emperor *Nuguea Nagasta*, which is as much as King of Kings. *Names of* Ethiopia *and its Kings.*

The Name of *Abassia*, according to *Strabo*, was given it on Account of its being surrounded with great Deserts and Wildernesses, which the *Egyptians* call *Abasses*. The Learned Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonso Mendes*, in Hist. *Ethiop.* l. 1. c. 1. says, It might perhaps be so call'd from *Abaxa*, the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Adel*, adjoyning to *Ethiopia*, whose Emperors were once Masters of it, even as the same Kingdom of *Adel* was call'd *Zeylonian* from the Port of *Zeyla*. But *F. Manuel de Almeyda*, says, The Names of *Abassia*, and *Abassinia*, have no certain Signification, no more than those of many

other Kingdoms and Empires, better known to us by our Acquaintance with their People, than by the Origin of their Denominations. This is certainly its proper Name, but it has other Appellatives, as those of the Higher *Ethiopia*, the Inner *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Countries Comprehended under this Empire of Abissinia, *or the* Upper Ethiopia, *what Kingdoms now belong to it, and which are taken from it; and the extent and limits of some of them.*

Several Ethiopia's.

THE first thing to be taken Notice of, is, That this Name of *Ethiopia* is very Comprehensive, as including all those Regions, whose Inhabitants are Black, who are all call'd *Ethiopians*. This same name also denotes those Countries lying along the *Red-Sea*, on the side of *Arabia*, as far as *Palastine*, which in Holy Writ are call'd *Ethiopia*; and the same Name is given to all the Lands beyond *Egypt* down the *Red Sea*, not only as far as Cape *Guardafu*, which is in Twelve Degrees Latitude, but to all those extending to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and then turning that Cape all along as far as *Angola* and *Cabo Verde*, the Inhabitants whereof are all call'd *Ethiopians*. To distinguish that which lies on the side of *Arabia*, it is call'd the *Oriental* or *Eastern*, as lying to the Eastward; whereas the other, on the Opposite side of the *Red Sea*, lying more to the *South* and *West*, is therefore call'd *Southern* and *Occidental*, or *Western*.

Division of Africk.

However, Modern Geographers, as may be seen in *Johnson's Atlas*, reduce *Ethiopia* into a narrower Compass, dividing *Africk* into Six Regions, which are *Egypt*, *Barbary*, *Biledulgerid*, *Zahara*, or *Lybia*, or the Desert, the Country of the Blacks, and *Ethiopia*, each of which has its peculiar Limits assign'd it, as may be seen in the aforesaid *Atlas*; where, speaking of *Ethiopia*, it is divided into Two Parts, the one call'd the Upper or Inward, the other the Lower or Outward; which last, according to the Moderns, comprehends the Southern part of *Africk*, stretching

ſtretching beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* to 35 Degrees of *South* Latitude, and is call'd the Lower *Ethiopia*, in regard to its Poſition from the Upper, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak, being divided into Five ſeveral Regions, *viz. Congo*, *Monomotapa*, *Cafraria*, *Zanguebar*, and *Aiana*.

This Ethiopia, *why call'd the Upper.*

We do not here treat of this Lower *Ethiopia*, but of the Upper; which is ſo call'd for Two Reaſons. The *Firſt*, becauſe the *Nile* comes down from it to Water the Plains of *Egypt*, and for the ſame Reaſon it is call'd *High Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*. The *Second* Reaſon is, becauſe it is nearer than the other to the *Arctick* Pole, which is always above in Regard to us, as the Prince of Poets obſerves, *Illic Vertex ſemper nobis ſublimis. Georg.* 1. and this *Ethiopia* being neareſt to the Pole, is therefore call'd the Upper, or the Higher.

Abiſſinia.

In this Upper *Ethiopia*, under the *Torrid Zone*, which ſome would have made not Habitable, is the *Abiſſinian* Empire, commonly call'd *Preſter John*'s Country, of which we are here to treat. And in regard that there are moſt notorious Errors in the Deſcription, and laying down of theſe Countries, not only in *Ptolomey*'s Maps, but in thoſe of *Ortelius*, *Mercator*, and the New *Atlas*, publiſh'd in 1653. I thought it convenient to inſert here a Map of this *Ethiopia*, drawn by ſome of the ableſt Men of the Society, and particularly by the moſt Reverend Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonzo Mendez*, and by *F. Manuel Almeyda*, a Perſon of great Learning and Sincerity, both whom we here principally follow.

Its Length.

As for the length of this Empire, theſe grave Fathers ſay, that meaſuring it from *North* to *South*, in a ſtrait Line, upon the Antient Limits, which were on the *North* a Country call'd *Focay*, lying above *Suaquem*, and on the *South* another call'd *Bergamo*, it extends Nine Degrees, *Bergamo* being in Eight Degrees of *North* Latitude, and *Focay* in Seventeen. But at preſent, the Country poſſeſs'd by this Emperor, is ſtill ſmaller, becauſe we muſt not reckon from *Focay*, but only one Degree above *Mazua*, beginning in Sixteen Degrees of *North* Latitude, and thence to *Bergamo*, which as has been ſaid is in Sixteen, and in it is contain'd the number of Leagues uſually allow'd to Eight Degrees, according to the Variety of *German*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, or other Leagues.

Breadth.

The Breadth of this Empire is to be taken from the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*, to the Banks of *Nile*, including the turn the ſaid River makes towards *Egypt*, after compaſſing the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and making it a Peninſula, which may be about 140 *Portugueſe*

tugueſe Leagues, and *F. Manuel de Almeyda* ſays, he knows this to be true, as having Travell'd it over ſome Times.

Extent North *and* South. The North ſide is not to begin at *Suaquem*, as *John de Barros* would have it, but a Degree above *Mazua*, and is to bend a little towards the *South-Weſt*, till it ends in the Country of the *Agaus*, in Fourteen Degrees Latitude, and ſo it will be 140 Leagues in Length. That diligent Author muſt give us leave to tell him he is in the wrong in ſaying, That this *North* ſide reaches to the Iſland of *Meroe*, which he pretends is call'd *Noba*, whereas *Nuba*, or *Nubia*, is a Kingdom to the Northward of it, along the River *Nile*. And in the Ninth Chapter, I ſhall ſhow there is no other Iſland *Meroe*, but the Kingdom of *Gojam*, of which I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

Miſtakes of Geographers. Having ſettled the Bounds of this Empire, it plainly appears, how much the antient Maps Err, and not only they, but the Modern of *Mercator*, and *Johnſon*'s *Atlas*, in the Charts of *Abyſſinia*, which they ſtretch from 22 Degrees *North*, to 16 or 17 of *South* Latitude, where they place the Lake *Zayre* or *Zambre*, out of which they ſay the *Nile* flows. Along this ſide *Mercator*, places the Kingdom of *Gojam*, becauſe he had heard that the *Nile* riſes in it; ſo that they allow this Empire 39 or 40 Degrees from *North* to *South*, whereas, as I have ſaid, it extends but Eight or Nine. They alſo aſſign the Breadth from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, from the *Red Sea* to the River *Niger*, and the Borders of *Congo*, or *Monicongo*, which is above 400 Leagues. Thus theſe Geographers beſtow all thoſe vaſt Countries on the *Abiſſinians*, becauſe they are none of their own, nor they bound to make good their Gift.

Of John de Barros. The Famous Hiſtorian *John de Barros*, in the 3d. Decad. of his *Aſia*, l. 4. c. 1. is not ſo bountiful as the aforeſaid Authors, for he cuts off no leſs then 27 Degrees of their Allowance, leaving only 14, from the Kingdom of *Adea*, which he ſays is the Southermoſt, and places in Six Degrees of *North* Latitude to *Suaquem*, which he places in 19 and 20 Minutes; but he may cut off Four Degrees more, for the Dominions of the *Abiſſinians* never extended to *Suaquem*, and in our Days they reach but little beyond *Mazua*, which is in 15 Degrees; and there muſt be One or Two Degrees retrench'd on the *South*, becauſe *Adea* is not in Six, but betwixt Seven and Eight Degrees of Latitude. Tho' *John de Barros* was a diligent Hiſtorian, yet what he delivers as to this particular is from the Relations of the *Portugueſes*, who went into *Ethiopia* with *Don Chriſtopher de Gama*, ſome of whom return'd to *Portugal* and gave him that Information; but they had not Travell'd over all *Ethiopia*, nor reſided there many years; nor

nor do we know that they had any Instruments to take the Height of the Sun, and observe the true Latitudes of those Countries, as those Fathers did, whom I here quote; all which will appear more plainly by our Map.

Kingdoms, wrong nam'd and plac'd.

This *Abissine* Empire being so little known in *Europe*, there could not be any certain Accounts of it, and hence sprung all those mistakes, not only as to its Limits, but also the misplacing and misnaming of Kingdoms, and the making several Kingdoms of one. To instance in that of *Tigre*, which is but one Kingdom in *Ethiopia*, and the first beginning on the *East*, as shall be soon shown; yet of this One Kingdom the Maps make Three, for they call one *Tigray* near the Line, another they place in Ten degrees of *North* Latitude, calling it *Tygre*, and betwixt these another by the name of *Tygre Mahon*, and besides these, another farther on, with the Title of *Barnagaes*, which is all but so many several Names, the Kingdom being but One, call'd *Tygre:* Which is much such a Mistake, as if a Man, describing of *Spain*, should there lay down one Kingdom call'd *Portugal*, another by the name of *Lusitania*, and a Third by that of *Lisbon*. Nor is *Barnagas*, or *Baharnagaes*, for so it should be Writ, a Kingdom; but a proper Name, signifying the Governor of the Countries near the Sea, consisting of Three small Territories, belonging to the same Kingdom of *Tygre*; whereof *Debaroa*, a small Town Eighteen Leagues from *Mazua*, is the Capital.

Errors in Johnson's Maps.

Johnson's new *Atlas*, in his Map of *Abissinia*, after setting down Three Kingdoms of *Tigray*, *Tigre-mahon*, and *Tigre*, says the Kingdom of *Tigray* is subject to that of *Tigre-mahon*, which is all Chimerical, there being but one Kingdom of *Tigre* in *Ethiopia*, as has been said. So *F. Francis Alvares*, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, in his History of *Ethiopia*, calls *Tigre*, by the Name of *Tigre-mahon*, giving the Kingdom the Name of a Town, which is otherwise call'd *Auzen*. He also makes *Barnagaes* a distinct Kingdom, contrary to what I have said, and will appear by our Map; in which the whole *Abissine* Empire, is delineated, with all the Kingdoms within its Limits, tho' at present, most of them are not subject to that Emperor; even as in making a Map of *Italy*, all the Countries and Dominions comprehended under that Name are set down, though they belong to several Princes. The Kingdoms which still own'd the said Emperor at the Time when the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was there, are these, *Tigre*, *Dambea*, *Begameder*, *Gojam*, *Amahara*, *Narea*, *Kingdoms in* Ethiopia.

and Part of *Xaoa*. The leſſer Provinces, below the Dignity of Kingdoms, ſubject to him are, *Mazaga*, *Salent*, *Ogara*, *Abargale*, *Holcait*, *Salgade*, *Cemen*, *Salaoa*, *Ozeca*, and *Doba*.

The Kingdoms formerly belonging to him, but now taken from him, are *Angot*, *Doaro*, *Ogge*, *Balli*, *Adea*, *Alamale*, *Oxelo*, *Ganz*, *Betezamora*, *Gurague*, *Buzana*, *Sufgamo*, *Bahargamo*, *Cambat*, *Boxa*, *Gumar*, *Conch*, *Damot*, *Doba*, *Mota*, *Avra*, *Holeca*, *Oyfat*, *Guedem*, *Ganh*, *Marrabet*, *Manz* and *Bizamo*. By which it plainly appears, that this Emperor has not at preſent half the Kingdoms his Predeceſſors were poſſeſs'd of; the other better half has been wreſted from them by the *Galas*, of whom I ſhall hereafter ſpeak at large; and now, ſince their new revolt from the Catholick Church, they have loſt others, according to the freſheſt News come from thence, as we ſhall ſee in its place.

Tigre *Kingdom.* I will now give a ſhort Deſcription of the Principal Kingdoms, that ſtill belong to the *Abiſſinian* Emperor, beginning with that of *Tigre*, the firſt of this Empire in all reſpects. This Kingdom begins at *Mazua*, which is a ſmall Iſland near *Arquico*, the firſt Port of the Continent of this *Ethiopia*, of which we ſhall often make mention, and it ſtands in Fifteen Degrees of *North* Latitude, being ſubject not long ſince to this Emperor, but the *Turks* depriv'd him of this his beſt Sea Port. From *Mazua* or *Arquico*, this Kingdom runs Ten or Twelve Leagues along the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*, towards the Mouth of it, as far as *Dafalo*; which was alſo a ſort of Port of this Kingdom, tho' not much frequented, becauſe the Sea is there very Shoal: But even this Port the *Turks* of *Mazua* took from them, and all the People betwixt *Mazua* and *Dafalo* are Subject to them, being moſt of them *Mahometans*. Thus the *Abiſſine* Empire was wholly depriv'd of Sea Ports, which was an unſpeakable loſs.

Fremona *Town.* *South West* of *Mazua*, almoſt in the midſt of this Kingdom of *Tigre*, ſtands a Town call'd *Maegoga*, but more commonly *Fremona*, famous, and much ſpoken of in the Annual Letters of the Fathers of the Society, becauſe there the Patriarch *Don Andrew de Oviedo* reſided and dy'd, and there the Fathers, his Companions, continu'd till they chang'd this Life for a better, and afterwards others always remain'd there, that came into *Ethiopia*, till the Total change I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. This Town is in Fourteen Degrees and a Half of *North* Latitude, by Obſervations frequently taken there with the Aſtrolabe. The Length of this Kingdom is about Ninety Leagues, and the Breadth Fifty, being the largeſt and beſt in *Abiſſinia*.

The

Begamedder *Kingdom.*

The Kingdom of *Begameder* Borders on *Tigre* to the *North East*, on the due *East* it has the Kingdom of *Angot*, and thence runs along the Kingdom of *Amahara*, which is its Southern Boundiary, till it comes to the *Nile*, which is its Limit on the *West*. Between these Two Kingdoms of *Begameder* and *Amahara*, runs the River *Baxilo*, which is very large, and after parting the said Kingdom, loses it self in the *Nile*. The Length of it is from *Larta* to the *Nile*, being about Sixty Leagues; the Breadth from *North* to *South*, Twenty, and no more; for as much as some Provinces are at present dismember'd from it, including the which, it would be as Broad as Long.

Gojam *Kingdom.*

I shall say something of the Two Kingdoms of *Gojam* and *Dambea*, in regard they are both belonging to the Celebrated *Nile*, which rises in the one, and receives its increase from the other. *Gojam* lies *North West*, and *South East*, and is about Fifty Leagues in Length; the Breadth from *East* to *West* being about Thirty, reckned from one Bank of the *Nile* to the other; for this River rising, as will be said hereafter, almost in the midst of the Kingdom, takes a compass, and encloses it quite round, becoming as it were a Ditch or Intrenchment to secure it every way in Return for having given it Birth.

Dambea *Kingdom.*

North of *Gojam* lies the Kingdom of *Dambea*, well known for the great Lake in it, which the *Abissinians* call the Sea of *Dambea*, and the *Nile* runs into it, as shall be soon describ'd. This Kingdom is only Twenty Four Leagues in Length, and Ten or Twelve in Breadth; but if we add to it this Lake, which lies along the *South* and *South East* side, it will be near as many Leagues more.

Amahara *Kingdom.*

The Length of the Kingdom of *Amahara* from *East* to *West*, is about 40 Leagues. *Narea* is the last Kingdom, now subject to the Emperor, we shall speak of it hereafter, and the Map will show the rest of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the River Nile, *whose Source is in this* Ethiopia, *of the Great Lake of* Dambea, *and how the said River runs through it, and continues its Course towards* Egypt.

Search after the Source of Nile.

THE most remarkable thing discover'd in this *Ethiopia*, was the Head, or Spring of the *Nile*, formerly so eagerly sought after by all Antiquity, for the finding whereof, the Greatest Men us'd their utmost endeavours. It is said of *Alexander the Great*, that the first Question he ask'd, when he came to *Jubiter Ammon*, was, Where the *Nile* had its Rise? And we know he sent discoveries throughout *Ethiopia*, without being able to find out this Source. The same is recorded of *Philadelphus* and *Sesostris*. Historians also tell us of *Cambises*, that he travers'd much Land, with a Mighty Army, as if this Discovery were to be made by Force of Arms, and yet all prov'd in vain; for at last he return'd with the loss of abundance of Men and without finding the Spring, as *Lucan* observes, l. 10.

Et pastus cæde suorum, innoto te Nile *redit.*

Julius Cæsar was so desirous of knowing this Spring, that discoursing in *Egypt* with that Grave Old Man *Achoreus*, and enquiring, Where the *Nile* had its Origin? He went so far as to tell him, It was the thing he most coveted to know in the World; *nihil est quod noscere malim, Quam Fluvii causas, per sæcula tanta latentis:* Adding, That he would quit his Country *Rome*, for the satisfaction of discovering that Source, *Spes si mihi certa videndi* Niliacos *Fontes, Bellum civile relinquam.* This Spring lying still conceal'd after so much search, Men at last concluded, that Nature had decreed this Secret should not be reveal'd, as *Claudian* observes, *Secreto de Fonte cadit, nec contigit ulli, hoc vidisse Caput; fertur sine Teste creatus.* *Pliny* Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 9. says, This Spring was not known in his Days; yet adds, that by means of *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, it was said to come from a Lake call'd *Nilis*. Some have made it to proceed from the River *Niger*, but there is no such River in this *Ethiopia*, notwithstanding all the Fables *F. Urreta* Writes of it.

Mistakes about the River Niger.

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And tho' *Mercator* and others in their Maps make this *Niger* the Weſtern Boundary of *Ethiopia*, yet they place it higher up in *Africk*, above 400 Leagues Weſt from the *Red Sea*, and conſequently very remote from our *Ethiopia*, which, as has been ſaid, ſcarce reaches 150 Leagues Weſt from the *Red Sea*, and this will appear by our Map: So that the ſaid River *Niger* muſt lye 250 Leagues wide of *Abyſſinia*. The new *Atlas*, in both the Maps of *Africk* and *Ethiopea*, places a Lake he calls the Black Lake, near the Kingdom he names *Tigray*, in betwixt 3 and 4 Degrees of North Latitude, whence he ſays, proceeds a River call'd *Niger*; but as I have before declared, there is no ſuch Kingdom as *Tigray* in *Ethiopia*, and that of *Tigre* is not in the Latitude he mentions, nor has it any ſuch Lake; ſo that it is plain there is no River *Niger* among the *Ethiopians*.

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Several Sacred Writers were of Opinion, that the *Nile* was the River in *Paradiſe*, call'd *Gihon* by *Moſes*, and that it ran thence under the Earth and the Sea itſelf, till it guſh'd out in *Ægypt*: Thus we ſee how great Strangers the Ancients were to the Source of the *Nile*; and the Reaſon they could never find it, was its lying ſo far up in *Africk*, and the way to it all barr'd with thoſe monſtrous high and impaſſable Mountains of *Abyſſinia*, from which the River caſts itſelf down moſt dreadful Precipices; beſides that, the Nations lying in the way are the fierceſt and moſt barbarous in the World. Now the Diſcoverers ſent upon this Errand, meeting with thoſe impregnable Mountains and vaſt Deſarts, we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, choſe rather to return, and give out, that the Spring was Enchanted and never to be found out, than to hazard their Lives with ſo little probability of Succeſs.

It is now time to come to ſpeak of what is certainly known at this Time, after being ſo long conceal'd, which we have from the Annual Letters and other Accounts, of ſeveral Fathers of the Society, who were Eye-Witneſſes of what they Write, and more particularly among them the Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonſo Mendez*, *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, and *F. Jerome Lobo*, who all curiouſly view'd thoſe Springs, and writ the Truth of what they ſaw, and eſpecially the laſt, who is moſt particular in theſe Affairs, in the Commentaries of his long Peregrination, which he commnnicated to me at his Return to *Portugal*, in the Year 1673.

True Source of Nile.

Here in *Abyſſinia*, almoſt in the midſt of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, ſpoken of in the laſt Chapter, and in 12 Degrees Latitude, inclining to the Weſtward, is a Country they call *Sacahala*, inhabited by a Nation they name *Agaus*, moſt of them Heathens, and ſome, who at preſent only retain the Name of Chriſtians. This

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Country is Mountainous, as are most Parts of *Ethiopia*, tho' there are others higher about it. Among these Mountains, is a spot of Plain, not very Level, about a Mile in Extent, and in the midst of it a little Lake, about a Stones throw over. This Lake is full of a sort of little Trees, whose Roots are so interwoven, that walking on them in the Summer, Men come to two Springs, almost a Stones throw asunder, where the Water is clear and very deep, and from these two the Water gushes two several ways into the Lake, from which it runs under Ground, yet so as its Course may be discern'd by the Green Grass, gliding first to the Eastward for about a Musket-shot, and then turns towards the North.

Its Course and Increase

About half a League from the Source, little over or under, the Water begins to appear upon the Land, in such quantity as makes a considerable Stream, and then presently is joined by others; and after having run with all its Windings about 15 Leagues, it receives another considerable River, bigger than the *Nile* itself, and call'd *Gema*, which there loses its Name. A little farther, when its Course begins to be to the Eastward, it receives two other Rivers, call'd *Kelty* and *Branty*, and close by is the first Fall or Cataract, of which we shall speak anon. Thence the River runs almost East, and flows into the great Lake, which in that Country they call'd the Sea of *Dambea* for its greatness, as being in that Kingdom, of which we shall treat in the next Chapter. It is distant from the Source of the *Nile* about 20 Leagues in a strait Line.

Crosses a Lake.

The *Nile* crosses this Lake over a Point of it, which stretches to the Westward, and flows out of it again in Summer, with much the same quantity of Water it goes in: Nor does it only seem to be the same in quantity alone, but even in quality; for when the Lake is very smooth, the Current of the *Nile* is perfectly discern'd crossing it, and carrying some small Sticks and Straws, which usually drive with the Stream; the Water of the Lake standing still, as if that haughty River disdain'd to mix its Waters with any others, and only took its Passage over the Lake, which is there between 6 and 7 Leagues across.

Encompasses the Kingdom of Gojam.

We have now discover'd the Source of the *Nile*, which before was thought to be enchanted, and was only concentered in the midst of a Kingdom, which is a part of the *Upper Ethiopia*. This River, as has been said before, encloses almost all the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and the compass it takes is not amiss represented by a Snake not quite turn'd round; but with those Windings here set down in the Map, represented for the better understanding of it. The Extent of it from the Turning at the Entrance into it, to the South East Point, next the Kingdom of *Xaoa*, may be

be about 50 Leagues, and the Breadth from betwixt the two opposite Parts, of the River which encompaſs it, about 30; but when the River turns again, it comes within 10 or 12 Leagues of its Source, as plainly appears in the Map annex'd.

Dambea Lake.

The *Abyſſinians* call the Lake above mention'd *Bar Dombea*, ſignifying the Sea of the Kingdom of *Dambea*, which is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and on the South Side the ſaid Lake is about 20 Leagues in length; on the North Side 35; but if were we to reckon the Windings of all the Bays it makes into the Land, it would be much more. The Compaſſings on the South Side are not ſo many, but will make 30 Leagues. The Breadth meaſur'd over the middle and deepeſt Part, will reach to 10 or 12 Leagues. The Water of it is very clear, light and wholeſome, and has in it abundance of Fiſh of ſeveral ſorts; as alſo great numbers of Sea-Horſes, which come out to Graize on the Land, in the plaineſt Parts, where they deſtroy much Proviſion. There are ſome Men who live by killing them; they Eat their Fleſh, and of their Skins make *Alengas*, ſo they call a ſort of Laſhes they uſe for their Horſes; for in *Ethiopia* they have no Spurs, the want whereof is ſupply'd by theſe *Alengas*, which gird and cut. There are no *Crocodiles* or *Alligators*, generally ſpeaking, in this Lake, as there are in other Parts of the *Nile*, ſo that the Cattel Graize ſecurely on its Banks, and all the People dwelling about them, enjoy the Sweetneſs of its Waters, without thoſe Frights others are ſubject to along the *Nile*, after it enters *Ægypt*. However, it is moſt certain there are no *Tritons* nor *Sirens* in this Lake, as *Johnſon* was inform'd, and he tells us in his Map of *Ethiopia*, in his *Atlas*, publiſh'd *An.* 1653.

Wrong Names given it.

Ptolemy call'd this Lake *Coloe*; *John de Barros* gives it the Name of *Barcena*, it is likely, from an Iſland which is near the Place, where the River flows out. *Mercator* and *Johnſon* in their Tables of *Abyſſinia*, call this Lake by two Names, the South Part *Zambre*, and the North Part *Zaire*; but its true Name, as has been ſaid, is *Bar Dambea*. There are many Iſlands in it, ſaid in all to be 21, ſome of them large, as is that they call *Dek*, in which there are plow'd Lands, which employ 40 Yoke of Oxen. In 7 or 8 of theſe Iſlands there are Monaſteries of Religious Men, which were formerly very great; being hot they produce good Oranges and Limons, and all ſorts of Fruit that has Thorney Trees.

Iſlands in it.

Boats made of Ruſhes.

The *Abyſſinians* Navigate this great Lake in a ſort of Veſſels they call *Tancoas*, which are like *Almadies*, or little Boats, not made of Wood, but of a ſort of Ruſhes they call *Tabna*, whereof there is great Plenty in this Lake, each of which is as thick as a Mans Arm, and a Fathom in length; and they are ſatisfy'd with theſe

Veſſels, which are as handſome as thoſe who make them. This *Tabua* grows alſo in the other Lakes, and all along the *Nile*, where it is ſmaller and longer than that of this Lake, and *Pliny* deſcribes his Ruſh *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 13. *cap.* 11. and it is the ſame they call *Papyrus*, of which was made the Paper the Antients us'd to write on, whence to this Day that we now have is call'd Paper. The Antient *Ægyptians* made Boats of the ſame to Sail on their *Nile*.

Errors of Mercator *and* Johnſon.

Many were of Opinion, that the *Nile* had its Source in this Lake, which, as has been ſaid, only affords it a Paſſage; yet, tho' ſeveral others fall into it, none has any other Paſſage out of this Lake but that of the *Nile*; which ſhows, that *Mercator* and *Johnſon* were both miſinform'd, when they ſay, that from this Lake flows the River *Zaire*, which after watering the Kingdom of *Congo* falls into the Weſtern Ocean, and two other Rivers, which they pretend, meet in another Lake on the Borders of *Angola*, whence *Mercator* ſays, the River *Coanza* flows. However, moſt certain it is, that only the *Nile* runs out of this Lake, and the *Coanza* has a far different Source.

Gathering of Waters.

Nevertheleſs, many ſeveral Rivers fall into this Lake of *Dambeà*, and all the great Mountains of that Kingdom diſcharge all their Waters into it, as do the other Hills and Plains about it; which vaſt Bulk of Water much Swells the Lake, and therefore in Winter the *Nile* is very conſiderably increaſed by it, becauſe all thoſe Waters have no other Mouth to run out at, but only that the *Nile* has made; ſo that all the prodigious quantity of Waters gather'd by the Lake in Winter, ſerves to aggrandize the Name of the River.

Rivers falling into the Nile.

Beſides this, the *Nile*, after coming out of this Lake, and before it leaves *Ethiopia*, receives many very conſiderable Rivers, as the *Gamarà*, *Abeà*, *Bayxò*, *Anquer*, and others, that may be ſeen in the Map; and laſtly, the *Tacazé* is loſt in it farther towards *Ægypt*. Thus we ſee the Learned *Mayolus* was miſinformed, when he ſays, the *Nile* has this peculiar Privilege, *That it Swells with only its own Waters, and ſcarce admits the Society of any other River; whereas the Sea receives very many. Mayol. Dieb. Canicul. Colloq.* 11. *verbo Fluvius.*

Its winding Courſe into Ægypt.

As ſoon as the *Nile* is out of this Lake, its Stream runs almoſt directly South Eaſt, and ſo paſſes by the Kingdoms of *Begamedér*, *Amahará* and *Oleca*, leaving them on the Eaſt; then turning towards the South, it leaves the Kingdoms of *Xaoa* on the South Eaſt; and again winding to the Weſt, North Weſt and North, leaves *Ganz*, *Gafates* and *Bizamò* on the South Weſt and Weſt, and pierces into the Countries of the *Gongas* and *Cafres*, and further

ther on, passing by those of *Fascalo*, enters those of the *Ballous*, or *Funchos*, being, according to *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*'s well grounded Opinion, the same as *Nubia*; and thence it glides on towards *Ægypt*, which lying North from the Source of *Nile*, *Claudian* had good Reason to say, the *Nile* came from the South. *Epig. de Nilo.* This River draws all that infinite quantity of Water after it, as has been said, which, tho' very Clear and Chrystalline at its first coming out of the Lake, yet afterwards runs through Flats of Black Earth, where it is muddy'd, and having lost its Native Purity, well deserves the Epithets the Prophet *Jeremy* gives it of thick and troubled. To this also the Poets allude, who call it slimy and blackish. For this Reason, says *Pierius*, the *Nile* was call'd *Melon*, that is, Black, from the blackness of its Waters. It is this muddiness that causes the *Nile* to fertilize *Ægypt* so wonderfully, that being satisfy'd with the Blessings it receives this way, it neither wants the Commodities of the Land, nor the Rains from Heaven.

Chap. IV.

Of the Cataracts, and the over-flowing of the Nile, *and the Opinions of the Antients concerning them; as also of the other Rivers of* Ethiopia, *and particularly the* Tacazé, Zebeé, Haoax *and* Mareb.

Cataracts or Falls of Nile.

THE *Nile* by reason of the prodigious Height of the Rocks, among which it has its Course, even within *Ethiopia*, has some dreadful Falls, which the Antients call'd Cataracts. The first of these is near a Town of the *Agaus*, call'd *Depeqhan*, 9 or 10 Leagues before it enters the Lake of *Dembea:* The second is 5 or 6 Leagues after its coming out of the said Lake, near a Territory of the Kingdom of *Begameder*, call'd *Alata*. At the first Cataract the River falls plum down a very craggy steep Rock, along which the Water scatters very much, and a great deal of it disperses into a thick Mist, or mizling Rain, which being carry'd away with any Wind, is seen at a great distance like a large beautiful Cloud that is dissolving into continual Rain.

The

Noise of the Fall. The Noise of the rebounding Water and the Whirlpool it makes, falling into a deep Cavity surrounded with Rocks, is so violent, that it resembles a continual and dreadful Clap of Thunder, which for a great compass round about deafens the Ears and torments the Head. For this reason I do not question, but that nearer to *Ægypt* there are those Cataracts, so famous among the Antients, which, tho' little greater than these, says *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, will cause the Country for a League about to be uninhabited, or at least the Inhabitants will in a short time become Deaf; because that violent Noise must of necessity offend the Drum of the Ear. The Fall of the first Cataract is about 50 Spans, that is, 12 Yards and a half high; that of the second is twice or thrice as much, and accordingly the Noise of the Water is double.

Reasons of the Inundation of Nile. I will now say something in relation to the other Secret of this renowned River, which was as much talk'd of as unintelligible, being the Cause of its Swelling in the Months of *August* and *September*, so as to overflow and fertilize the spacious Plains of *Ægypt*; for it being then Summer there, and the Antients not knowing where the *Nile* had its Source, they could not conceive whence that Inundation should proceed, which was equal to a Sea.

Extravagant Notion of F. Urreta. *F. Urreta* says, the mighty Storms which prevail at that Time about the Cape of *Good Hope*, are by Subterraneous Passages communicated to the Lake whence this River proceeds, and expelling the Water with their Violence, cause it to drown the large Plains of *Ægypt*. This is as extravagant a Notion as many more of that Author who could find no difficulty in conveying the Storms of the Cape of *Good Hope* about 900 Leagues under Ground; for so far that Cape is from the Source of the River, to disturb the Lake of *Dambea*, which is so still and peaceable, that *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, who liv'd several Years on a Peninsula it makes, affirms, that after observing all its Qualities with the greatest exactness, he could never find the least Ground for laying such an Imputation to its Charge.

Other wild Fancies. Some Authors believ'd, that the Swelling Surges of the Sea being drove through the Pores of the Earth, caus'd this Lake to Swell to such a degree, as to vomit out so vast an Inundation of Waters. Others fancy'd, that these Floods proceeded from the Snows melting on the Mountains of *Ethiopia*: However, tho' the Snows may in some measure help, they are not the Prime Cause of that Inundation. I will not trouble the Reader with many other Notions of Authors on this Account, who knowing nothing of it, invented whatsoever their Imaginations could dictate; for the

the reason of the swelling of the *Nile*, in *July*, *August* and *September*, is as well known in this *Ethiopia*, as in *Portugal* the cause of the rising of the *Tagus*, *Mondego*, or other Rivers in *December* and *January*; which is because it is then Winter with us, and so in *Abyssinia*, the depth of Winter is in *July*, *August* and *September*, and it is a plain case, that a River must needs swell, which before it leaves *Ethiopia*, for the space of above 150 Leagues, receives into it almost all the Rivers and Brooks of those Parts, all which at that time are full fraught; beside the vast quantity of Water added to it by the mighty Lake of *Dambea*, the common Receptacle of all the Waters falling from all the Mountains round about it. And the same *Nile* after leaving *Ethiopia*, in its many windings before it comes to *Egypt*, for above 300 Leagues, swallows up all the Rivers and Brooks it meets in the way.

The true Reason.

The *Nile* carries all this immense quantity of Waters during those Months, and coming into the spacious Plains of *Egypt*, when it is Summer there, spreads over, and fills them with such abundance of Water, Slime and Mud, it brings along with it, that those, who are not acquainted with the Cause, can only admire the Effect. Thus, by what is here said, these two so long hidden Secrets of the source of the *Nile*, and the cause of its Inundation, are made manifest to the World; and it plainly appears what an infinite multitude of Waters run out of the Lake from so many Rivers along with the *Nile*; as also with what fury that prodigious weight of Water must needs cast it self down the Mountains of *Ethiopia*, and rush on towards *Egypt*, till it rests in the *Mediterranean*.

Secrets of Nile's Source, and overflowing discovered.

This demonstrates the impossibility of what some Authors affirm, saying, That the *Grand Seignior* pays a certain Tribute to the *Abyssine* Emperor, lest he should divert the Course of the *Nile*, but may suffer it to go Water the Plains of *Egypt*, and to the end that when the Floods are too great, he may turn away the Water, near the Island *Meroe*, to the Red-Sea, for fear the Lands be drown'd and the Crop spoilt. All which is fabulous and impossible, as will appear to any sensible Man, who will but consider how impracticable it is to divert any of our common Rivers, when they overflow and bear down Houses and all that stands in their way; much more the *Nile*, which has a Course of so many hundred Leagues, and gathering all the Waters of so many Kingdoms and Provinces, comes into *Egypt* with such an Immensity of Water, that it forces it self into the *Mediteranean* at several Mouths, about *Alexandria*, opposite to the Island of *Cyprus*, after it has it self appear'd all over that Country like a large Sea.

Impossibility of diverting the Course of Nile.

One

Confirmation of it. One Argument may be brought againſt the Impoſſibility of diverting the Courſe of the *Nile*, which is that the Hiſtory of *India* informs us, the great *Alfonſo d' Albuquerque* had a deſign of meeting the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, in order to turn away the *Nile* to the Red-Sea, cutting a new Channel and ſtopping up that which flow'd towards *Egypt*, to render thoſe Fields barren; which are the Great *Turks* Granaries; which Work the Author of that great Commanders Commentaries declares to be very eaſie, and to be done with very little Trouble, as he expreſſes it. But with their leave who entertained that Conceit, I muſt be free to ſay, that Work was not only difficult, but altogether impoſſible, becauſe that River never had, nor can ever have any other Courſe, but what the Author of Nature gave it at firſt, nor is it in the Power of Man to turn it away and find it a new Paſſage to the Red-Sea. The reaſon is, becauſe there are above 100 Leagues from the neareſt Part of the River to the Red-Sea, and all that Country the moſt horrid Rocks and Mountains it is poſſible to imagine, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and what Force would ſuffice to hew down ſuch Mountains and break through the Boundaries God himſelf has plac'd, which as the Scripture tells us, is no better than ſtriving againſt the Stream.

Having ſpoken as much as is neceſſary of the *Nile*, let us now ſay ſomething of the other noble and mighty Rivers, which riſe in and Water this *Ethiopia*, among which the *Tacaze* is well known and famous. *Mercator* ſays this is the River *Ptolemy* calls *Aſtaboras*, and he ſeems to be in the right, as I ſuppoſe the *Aſtapus* mention'd by the ſaid *Ptolemy* to be the *Nile*. The *Tacaze* has it ſource on a Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Aryuagua*, on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Angot*, next that of *Begameder*, where at the Foot of the higher Mountain, which lies to the Eaſtward, three ſeveral Springs guſh out violently within a Stones Throw of one another, and joyning their Waters make a great Stream, which runs to the Eaſtward for ſome Days Journey, betwixt the Territories of *Daphaná*, and *Hoage*, lying North of it. Then it croſſes the Kingdom of *Tigre*, cutting through the midſt of *Sirê*, a Province of the ſaid Kingdom, leaving the beſt Lands of that Province on the Eaſt, and its famous Deſart *Aldebá* on the Weſt, where formerly there were many Anchorites, as in *Thebaida* of *Egypt*.

Tacazé *River.*

This River *Tacaze* is not quite ſo large, yet not much inferior to the *Nile*, and has ſome very deep Places, in which there are Crocodiles of an extraordinary magnitude, as alſo Water-Horſes, which *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* teſtifies he ſaw there, and ſaid, they are properly call'd Horſes, as being like them in the Head, and

Water-Horſes.

and particularly the Ears, tho' their Legs are ſhort and their Tails ſhorter, and they have no Hair, but a bare Skin, and very ſmooth. It has alſo much Fiſh of other ſorts, and the ſame *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*, aſſures us they here ſhow'd him in a Bowl, that Fiſh, which in *Latin*, from the Effect it produces, they call *Torpedo*, and we the Cramp-Fiſh; for that laying hold of it with his Hand, it immediately cauſed ſuch a Numbneſs, that he preſently let it go, not thinking fit to continue that dangerous Experiment. This ſame River paſſes on by another Province they call *Holcait*, whence it runs into very low Lands of *Cafres*, and leaving them, viſits the Kingdom of *Deqhin*, inhabited by a ſort of *Moors*, whom we call *Baullous*, and on the Coaſt of *Suaquem*, they are nam'd *Funchos*, as may be ſeen in our Map. Then meeting with the *Nile*, loſes it ſelf in that River, which receives a conſiderable increaſe from its Waters.

There is another celebrated River call'd *Zebeé*, ſaid to be greater than the *Nile* it ſelf, riſing in a Territory call'd *Boxa* in the Kingdom of *Narea*, which is the moſt Southerly, and whereof we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. It begins its Courſe Weſtward, and a few Leagues farther turns to the Northward, and runs about the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, of which we ſhall alſo give an Account, making it a ſort of Peninſula, as the *Nile* does the Kingdom of *Gojam*. After leaving this Kingdom it takes its courſe to the Southward, and ſome ſay it is the ſame that falls into the Sea at *Mombaza*. Zebee *River.*

There is another very large and notable River, call'd *Haoax*, almoſt equal to the *Nile*, riſing betwixt the Kingdoms of *Xaoa*, which is to the North of it, *Ogge* to the South, and *Fategar* to the Eaſt. It takes its courſe to the North-Eaſt, and receives the Waters of another great River call'd *Machy*, which comes out of the Lake *Zoay*, in the Kingdom of *Ogge*, and being increas'd by this Addition, the *Haoax* runs into the Kingdom of *Adel*, by us call'd *Zeyla*, entering it at a Province call'd *Anca Garrele*, being the Place where the Fathers *Bernard Pereyra* and *Francis Machado*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, continued ſome time, till the Perfidious *Mahometan* King put them to Death, in Hatred to Chriſtianity. It Rains very little in that Country, but Providence has made amends for that want, with the Water of this River, which being drawn out into ſeveral Channels by the Inhabitants, waters their Fields and fertilizes the Valleys, ſo that it is one of the moſt plentiful Countries of thoſe Parts in Grain and Cattle. And ſo generous is this River, that tho' it is maſter of ſo much Water, it leaves it all in thoſe Fields it runs through, Haoax *River.*

as if it thought it more Honour to be bury'd in the Earth, than lose it self in the Sea.

Mareb *River.* There is another great River of the same nature, call'd *Mareb*, which rises in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, Two Leagues from *Baroa* or *Fremona*, to the Westward, whence it runs to the South, and entring some Lands of *Cafres*, which are naturally Sandy, hides it self in them for a considerable space; but if they dig Two Yards they not only find Water to drink, but good Fish, as *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* says, he was assur'd by *John Gabriel*, who was then Commander of the *Portugueses*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, being a Man of Sincerity and Conscience. A little farther on, this River rises again and coming into the better Country of the Kingdom of *Deqhin*, bestows all the Treasure of its Waters on those Fields, as if it forgot to go any farther and meet the Sea.

F. Urreta's Fabulous History. It is not amiss here to observe that *F. Urreta*, in his Fabulous History of *Ethiopia*, says this is call'd the Black-River, because it runs through a Country of Blacks, as if any River in *Ethiopia* did run through a Country of Whites. This is the same he says, forms Three Lakes, from one of which he tells us a River flows, which always runs over Stones of great Value, and falling into the Sea at *Melinde*, has a great Fishery of Pearls, and Amber-Greece at its Mouth. So full of precious thoughts is that Chimerical Author.

Chap. V.

Shewing that the Island Meroe, *which Authors place in* Ethiopia, *is the Kingdom of* Gojam, *where the* Nile *rises.*

Falsehood in Barros's *History, and others.* THE famous *Portugueze* Historian, *John de Barros*, following the Opinion of several Geographers, in his 3 *Decad. lib.* 4 *cap.* 1. places the celebrated and fabulous Island of *Meroe* within the Bounds of *Ethiopia*, and makes the North side of this Empire to run from *Suaquem* to the end of this Island, which he says is now call'd *Noba*. Of the same mind was formerly *Pomponius Mela*, saying the Island *Meroe*, was the Head of the Empire

pire of *Ethiopia*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 1 and 17. places this Island in *Egypt*, where he says, it is the largest and most renowned, and had its Name from the chief of its Cities, which took it from a Sister of *Cambyses* its first Founder, who dy'd there, for it is a Thing very ancient for Places to become famous by the Death or Misfortunes of great Persons.

Pliny, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 17. also places this Island in *Ethiopia*, and makes it the chief of many he says there are in it and the Head of that Country. Some raise the number of these Islands to 700. This Author and many others tell wonders of this Island and of the abundance of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Ebony, and other precious Commodities they pretend Nature has bountifully bestow'd on it, which were it not all fabulous must render it the chief of those they call Fortunate. *More Fables.*

Having duly examined the Maps and view'd *Ptolemy*'s Tables, I find they place this Island in *Ethiopia*, in 13 Degrees of North Latitude, telling us, that in 11 Degrees Latitude, a River, which *Ptolemy* and most other Authors say is the *Nile*, and the *Astaboras*, supposed to be the *Tacaze*, meet and then part again in 12 Degrees Latitude, and afterwards join again between 16 and 17 Degrees, and within this distance remaining between the two Branches, he says is the Island *Meroe*, of which same Opinion is *John de Barros*, adding that it is now call'd *Noba*. The new *Atlas* of *Johnson*, says the *Nile* and *Tacaze* meet and form that Lake, which he also calls *Gueguere*. But *Pliny* and *Solinus*, quoted by the same *Ptolemy*, as also *Ortelius* and *Mercator* say, those are only two Branches of the *Nile*, and not part of the *Nile* and part of the *Tacaze*, and that they form that Island, which they call *Gueguere*. Meroe *Island.*

All these are mere Fancies, for want of true Information; for the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*, and the other Fathers, who liv'd several Years in *Ethiopia*, in 12, 13 and 14 Degrees Latitude, cross'd over the *Nile* and the *Tacaze* many times, and most diligently observ'd all Things, do declare, it is most certain, that these two Rivers do not meet, within the Dominions of the *Abyssinians*; but have their Springs and run on 70 Leagues distant from one another, little more or less, as long as they continue in *Ethiopia*, as may be seen in our Map; and they farther add, that the *Nile* never divides it self into two Branches within that Empire. *Errors discover'd.*

Now what shall we say to those Authors and ancient Histories, who so confidently inform us, that the Island *Meroe*, form'd by the *Nile* alone, or by the *Nile* and *Tacaze*, is in *Ethiopia*, and place it between 12 and 13 Degrees of Latitude? This Point Meroe *Island, is the Kingdom of* Gojam.

being duly weigh'd and consider'd, among the most learned Persons of the Society, that went over into *Ethiopia*, they all concluded, that the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where the *Nile* rises, and which the same *Nile* encompasses about, and makes a Peninsula, is the famous Island *Meroe* of that River, in *Ethiopia*, of which such Wonders are told. A proof whereof is, that those Authors place the said Island, between 12 and 13 Degrees, which is the Latitude that Kingdom is in; besides the said Kingdom is known to be almost surrounded with the Waters of the *Nile*, so that it is a Peninsula. It is also certain that there is no other Island in the said Latitude, whence it follows of necessity, that if there be any sort of Island in that Part, it is the Kingdom of *Gojam*, that is the so renowned *Meroe*. Now those Authors knowing very little of it, or where to place it, they had the more encouragement to enrich it at Pleasure, since it cost them nothing but letting their Pen run; for since they could not tell where it was, they rested satisfy'd that no body would call them to Account for what they said.

Confirmation of it. A farther Confirmation of this Opinion is, the Breadth of 30 Leagues, which these Authors assign the Island *Meroe*, little more or less, which is the same of the Kingdom of *Gojam*; but they are out in the Length, making the Island 100 Leagues long, whereas the Kingdom of *Gojam* is little above 50. The Cataracts of *Nile*, which these Authors place on the North Point of the Island *Meroe* next to *Egypt*, are in two Places, the first near a Village of the *Agaus*, call'd *Depeqhan*, 9, or 10 Leagues before the River falls into the Lake of *Dambea*, as was said before; and the second after its coming out of the same Lake, near a Town call'd *Alatá*.

Proof out of Ptolemy. Nor can it be said that the *Nile* forms this Island *Meroe* out of *Ethiopia*, because we do not find that River makes any such Island in all its Course from *Ethiopia* to the *Mediterranean*. Besides that *Ptolemy* and the best of other Authors place this Island within *Ethiopia*, and *Ptolemy* being himself an *Egyptian* could not be ignorant of it, if the *Nile* had form'd such an Island in *Egypt*. Besides that the Inhabitants of this Island were Black, as *Lucan* tells us, which agrees with the *Ethiopians* and not with the *Egyptians*: thus says that Poet, *Pharf. lib.* 10.

——Gurgite vasto
Ambitur nigris Meroe *fœcunda colonis.*

Nor

Nor can it be said that any of the Islands I mention'd above to be in the great Lake of *Dambea* is that of *Meroe*, because they are very small and inconsiderable in Comparison of that vast Island which Authors make 100 Leagues in length, and I say is 50 at least, if it is the Kingdom of *Gojam*, as it seems to be.

By what we have said, it appears, that *Ethiopia* contains those two hidden Treasures of the World, so much spoken of, which are the Source of the *Nile* and the Island *Meroe*; both of them more valuable by Fame, than in Reality; for the Source of the *Nile*, is like that of any other ordinary River, and perhaps more inconsiderable; and the Kingdom of *Gojam* differs little from any other of the Kingdoms of *Ethiopia*, in which there are none of those Mines of pure Gold, nor those Mountains of Precious Stones, wherewith Historians enrich'd this Island, which in this particular resembles the Fortunate Islands, on whom greater Encomiums were bestow'd, than there are Blessings found in them.

Chap. VI.

Of the Red-Sea, which leads into this Ethiopia, *and the Reasons, why it is so call'd.*

IT was said before, that this Empire towards the East, commences on the Banks of the Red-Sea; and in regard that all the Religious Men of the Society, who enter'd *Ethiopia* went that way, and that we shall have frequently occasion to speak of it and of its Mouths, which are two Channels, the one next *Arabia* and the other on the side of *Abyssinia* which lead into this Sea, and give it a Communication with the *Indian* Sea; and for as much as there has been great debates among the Curious, how it came to be call'd the Red-Sea, I therefore thought, that after treating of the *Nile*, it would be convenient to say something, briefly to this Particular.

Description of the Red-Sea.

The *Red Sea* is in length about 380 Leagues; on the Right Hand entering lies *Arabia Felix*, on the Left *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, otherwise call'd *Abyssinia*, or *Abassia*, on whose Coast are the Ports of *Dalec*, *Mazua* and *Suaqhem*, besides others of less Note, but none of them at present belong to the *Abyssine* Emperor.

ror. Betwixt the two Coasts, almost in the midst lies the Island call'd *Jabel-Mandel*, or *Nahum*, [all other Geographers call it *Babel-Mandel*] and a little beyond it begins a Chain of Islands, so close to one another, that very often 6 or 7 appear together in a Row, and this Ridge of Islands is as it were a Line that cuts it all in length, as the *Apennine* Mountain does *Italy*, and may be seen in our Map. The Children of *Israel* crossed this Sea near *Egypt* when they fled, and in that Place it is said to be but 3 Leagues over to *Arabia*, which was enough to stop them and to drown the *Egyptians*.

Its several Names. This Sea has several Names given it, some call it the *Arabian* Gulph, because it stretches along so far on the Coast of *Arabia*: Others name it the *Streight* or Sea of *Mecca*, because it leads to that City, where *Mahomet*'s Tomb is. The *Greeks* call it *Erythrean*, and from them all others the *Red Sea*; whereas its Waters are as clear as those of the other *Indian* Seas, and hence came the Question, why it should be call'd the *Red Sea*.

Reasons assign'd for them. The first Reason alledg'd is from the Red Clay or Earth, some pretend there is on the Shores, which with the Reflection of the Sun causes the Water to look Red: To make good which Assertion, they ought first to have prov'd, that there were such Red Shores; for tho' there may be some Reddish Earth, yet it cannot cast so great a Reflection, as to affect such a large Sea, which like all others, would rather take its Colour from the Air above, or from the Earth under it, than from the Banks. *Pliny Nat. Hist. lib. 6. cap.* 23. seems to strengthen the aforesaid Opinion, by saying it receives the Colour from the Reflection of the Sun Beams; but in the same Place he says it might be so call'd from the powerful King *Erythrus*, who reign'd in those Parts, and was bury'd on the Shore, whence the Sea had the name of *Erythrean*, which in *Greek* signifies Red, and thence all other Nations took it; of which Opinion are *Philostratus*, *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Curtius*, *Ortelius*, *F. La Cerda*, and *F. Benedict Fernandez* upon *Exodus*. This Etymology has many followers besides those above nam'd, who seem more complaisant in submitting their Judgments to such Authors, than nice in examining into the certainty of the Truth.

From the Slaughter of the Ægyptians. I should not much blame those, who might urge this Sea was call'd Red, from the great quantity of *Ægyptian* Blood shed in it, when *Pharoah* and all his Army of Horse and Foot perish'd there; where the Slaughter being so great, the Sea could not but be dy'd with the Gore. It is very remarkable, in order to make good this Opinion, that *Moses* in the 14*th* Chapter of *Exodus*, so often mentioning this Sea, as he does, in speaking of the Passage of the Children of *Israel*, never in the said Chapter once calls it the Red Sea,

Sea, till after the Slaughter of the *Egyptians*. And it was uſual among the *Jews* to give Names to Places on account of extraordinary Deaths, as the Place where *Uzzah* was Slain by God was call'd *Perez-Uzzah*, or the Smiting of *Uzzah*; and ſo the Field bought with the Money for which *Judas* ſold our Saviour, had the name of the *Field of Blood*. Nor is there any Author to be found, that ever call'd this the Red Sea, before God deſtroyed the *Egyptians* in it; for *Moſes* was the firſt and ancienteſt of all the Authors in the World, as is fully prov'd by the Learned *F. Francis de Mendoza, Tom.* 1. *in Reg. Hiſt. Annal.* 2. *Proœm Annot.* 12.

Objections Anſwered.

There may be two Objections againſt this Opinion: The firſt, that *Moſes* calls this the Red Sea, in the 10*th* and 13*th* Chapters before the Slaughter of the *Egyptians*; to which we anſwer, that he writ his Hiſtory long after the paſſing of the Red Sea, and therefore might give it the Name it had then receiv'd, tho' not proper to it before the Thing happen'd. The other Objection may be, that the *Egyptians* were not Slain with the Sword, but drowned, and that cauſes no Effuſion of Blood, to make the Sea Red. To this we anſwer, that here were two ſorts of Deaths, for the *Vulgate* ſays, that the Lord looking upon the Hoſt of the *Egyptians*, *ſlew them, and overthrew the Wheels of their Chariots*, and the *Egyptians* ſeeing this Slaughter would have fled, and then the Sea came upon them. Beſides, in the Confuſion of flying they might kill one another, and many be hurt and over-run by the Horſes and Chariots, and ſo much Blood-ſhed.

Redneſs from the Shores.

The *Portuguezes* us'd many Endeavous to diſcover the Reaſon of calling this the Red Sea, and particularly the Great *Alfonſo d' Albuquerque*, the firſt of the Nation who enter'd the Mouth of it, as did alſo the famous *Don John de Caſtro*, who went into the *Red Sea* with the Governor *Don Stephen de Gama*, and by what both of them found, the Opinion of thoſe who ſay that Water is Red becauſe of the Red Bottom, was much confirm'd and prevail'd. This the aforeſaid *Alfonſo d' Albuquerque* teſtifies in his Commentaries; for he being with his Fleet at the Mouth of that Sea, ſaw from his Ships a Stream of very Red Sea Water guſh out at the Mouth of the Streight, and it reach'd up it as far as a Man could ſee; *and asking the* Mooriſh *Pilots the Cauſe of that Redneſs*, theſe are the Words of the Hiſtorian, *they anſwer'd, That the Commotion the Tide cauſed in the Water, becauſe the Sea was there Shoal and had little Depth, occaſion'd the Colour upon the Flood and Ebb*: And he adds, that the ſaid *Alfonſo d' Albuquerque* concluded it was ſo, and that the Bottom of the Sea was the Cauſe of it.

Don

Don John de Caſtro examined this Matter more nicely, as appears by his Journal, and by what the Hiſtorian *John de Barros* relates of him. He obſerving the Redneſs of the Water, as he ſailed along that Sea, *order'd ſome of the Water to be taken up in Buckets*, ſays the above named Author, *which being brought up he found to be much more clear and Cryſtalline, than that without the Mouth or Streight; not ſo ſatisfy'd, he cauſed ſome Seamen to dive, who brought him a Red Matter from the Bottom, in the Nature of Coral in Branches, and ſome covered with an Orange Colour Down*, &c. Thus we find that the Redneſs proceeds from the Ground, appearing thro' the clear Water, which deceives the Eyes, ſo as that they take that Colour to be in the ſaid Water, which is only in the Bottom of it.

From the Bottom.

Notwithſtanding theſe Obſervations, there is more Reaſon to believe, the Redneſs of this Sea proceeds from abundance of Red Weeds there are in it, as appears by the Account given by the Reverend and Learned Patriarch *Don Alfonſo Mendez*, who ſpeaks as an Eye-witneſs in his Treatiſe, concerning the Time when the Faith of *CHRIST* enter'd into *Ethiopia*, Chap. 2. His Words are theſe:

From Weeds

In our way from Mazua *to* Suaquem, *which is commonly gone in 5 or 6 Days, we ſpent 45, whereof we were 15 aſhore, and obſerved three ſeveral Colours in that Sea: The firſt Blue, which is in the deepeſt Part; the ſecond Green, where there are many Flats, becauſe it is generally very Shoal, and this Greenneſs it has from the Green Slime that lies on the Rocks; the third Colour is not Red, but Violet Colour, which in ſome Parts ſpreads all over the Superficies, and in others lies in Spots, ſome thicker than others, according to the Cauſe they proceed from; being certain Holes full of Red Weeds, not very tough, which the Sea, when boiſterous, caſts upon the Shore, and we had them often in our Hands. Beſides, we made another Experiment, which remov'd all Cauſe of doubting, and was, that being on a Calm Day when the Water was ſtill, in the midſt of many Red Spots, we order'd ſome Youths to Swim, and they pull'd up thoſe Tufts of Weeds; and as they threw them away, the Red Spots ceaſed, the others about them ſtill remaining.* Thus far this Judicious Perſon.

Three Colours.

In my Opinion, this doubt is not only clear'd, but we now perceive, why the *Portuguezes* have not only call'd this Sea Red, but Violet Colour, which Diſtinction we do not find in Authors, who only ſpeak of the Redneſs and not of the other Violet, tho' that Sea has of late had both Names, and the Colours are different. So that where this Sea is ſo deep, that the Weeds do not reach near the Superficies, it looks Blue, and ſomewhat Blackiſh, which is uſual in any deep Water. And again, where the Weeds are Red,

or

or of a Violet Colour, they cause that variety already spoken of.

This Truth is confirm'd by what the great Doctor of the Church of *S. Jerome* says, which is, that the Cause of calling this Sea Red comes from the word *Suph*, which is *Hebrew*, us'd in Holy Writ, in speaking of this Sea, and that *Suph* signifies Red; and as it is well observ'd by our Learned *F. Barradas* upon *Exodus*, the *Septuagint* always translate *Suph* Red, and some *Hebrews* tell us, that *Suph* is the Name of a Red Weed growing in this Sea, and the Sun glancing on these Waters, through which the Colour of those Weeds is seen, makes them look Red tho' they are not so. This Point is learnedly handled by our *F. Pineda*, in his 4*th* Book upon *Solomon*, and that which clenches all we have said to this Point, is, what our above quoted Patriarch says, *viz.* That the *Arabs* call that Weed we have spoken of *Suph*, and in *Ethiopia* they give the same Name to an Herb like this in all Respects, which they bring up in their Gardens, and use the Flower of it for Dying their Cloth Red, and Eat the Seed: And thus it is plain, that Sea is call'd Red from those Weeds growing on its Bottom. *The Redness from Weeds.*

This is what has occurr'd concerning the *Red Sea*, which we shall often speak of in this Work; and having made so long a Stay upon it, we will now cast Anchor on its Coast and enter *Ethiopia*, to give an Account of that Empire.

Chap. VII.

Of the Climate, the prodigious high Mountains, the Fertility, Trees, and other Product of Ethiopia; *and of the several sorts of Animals, both Wild and Tame.*

TIME has always been the ablest and best Master in all fallible Points, such as are the Notions and Opinions of Men. This is most evident in relation to the Judgment Ancient Astronomers made of the Number and Qualities of the Heavenly Spheres, which they declared to be Ten, and of an incorruptible Matter, which Opinion they concluded was not only venerable, *Time the best Master.*

Don John de Castro examined this Matter more nicely, as appears by his Journal, and by what the Historian *John de Barros* relates of him. He observing the Redness of the Water, as he sailed along that Sea, *order'd some of the Water to be taken up in Buckets*, says the above named Author, *which being brought up he found to be much more clear and Crystalline, than that without the Mouth or Streight; not so satisfy'd, he caused some Seamen to dive, who brought him a Red Matter from the Bottom, in the Nature of Coral in Branches, and some covered with an Orange Colour Down*, &c. Thus we find that the Redness proceeds from the Ground, appearing thro' the clear Water, which deceives the Eyes, so as that they take that Colour to be in the said Water, which is only in the Bottom of it.

From the Bottom.

Notwithstanding these Observations, there is more Reason to believe, the Redness of this Sea proceeds from abundance of Red Weeds there are in it, as appears by the Account given by the Reverend and Learned Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, who speaks as an Eye-witness in his Treatise, concerning the Time when the Faith of *CHRIST* enter'd into *Ethiopia*, Chap. 2. His Words are these:

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In our way from Mazua *to* Suaquem, *which is commonly gone in 5 or 6 Days, we spent 45, whereof we were 15 ashore, and observed three several Colours in that Sea: The first Blue, which is in the deepest Part; the second Green, where there are many Flats, because it is generally very Shoal, and this Greenness it has from the Green Slime that lies on the Rocks; the third Colour is not Red, but Violet Colour, which in some Parts spreads all over the Superficies, and in others lies in Spots, some thicker than others, according to the Cause they proceed from; being certain Holes full of Red Weeds, not very tough, which the Sea, when boisterous, casts upon the Shore, and we had them often in our Hands. Besides, we made another Experiment, which remov'd all Cause of doubting, and was, that being on a Calm Day when the Water was still, in the midst of many Red Spots, we order'd some Youths to Swim, and they pull'd up those Tufts of Weeds; and as they threw them away, the Red Spots ceased, the others about them still remaining.* Thus far this Judicious Person.

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Time the best Master.

TIME has always been the ablest and best Master in all fallible Points, such as are the Notions and Opinions of Men. This is most evident in relation to the Judgment Ancient Astronomers made of the Number and Qualities of the Heavenly Spheres, which they declared to be Ten, and of an incorruptible Matter, which Opinion they concluded was not only venerable,

but would be ever unchangeable in the Schools; and yet in Time able Mathematicians by infallible Observations found out that which is now generally receiv'd, *viz.* That there is no need of, nor are there so many Heavens as the Ancients pretended, and that even those Three, which are generally allow'd of, are not incorruptible, as they would have perswaded us. So that Time, tho' so old a Master, still teaches some Things that are new.

Mistakes of the Ancients.

But what wonder that Men should err in Things that relate to Heaven, whither they cannot fly, with the weight of their corruptible Bodies, when we see how much they have been mistaken in Earthly Matters, which are near and obvious? What could be more receiv'd in Antiquity, than the Opinion which taught that all those Countries were not Habitable, which lie under the Torrid, and under the two Polar, Arctick and Antarctick, Zones; the first as too hot, and the others as too cold? Yet Time, notwithstanding that so receiv'd Opinion, has demonstrated, that there are People living near both the Poles; and that in the Center of the Torrid Zone, where they imagin'd the People must be burnt up, there are infinite Nations, and some of them enjoy as Temperate a Climate as there is in *Europe*, in the best Parts of *Spain*, or the cooler *Lombardy*.

Temperate Regions in the Torrib Zone.

There has been no occasion to make the least doubt hereof, since the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Portugueses*, and we have an evident Proof of it in this our *Abyssinian Ethiopia*, which lying betwixt 8 and 17 Degrees of North Latitude, all under the Torrid Zone, is yet so far from being inhabitable for too much Heat, that it is generally as Cold and Temperate as *Portugal*, insomuch, that in many Parts they have none of our Summer Heats, nor are ever sensible of the furious scorching of the Dog-Days among us; but on the contrary they are more afraid of the Cold.

Different Winters in Ethiopia.

But as there is a great distance betwixt those Countries, so do the Climates vary. Hence it is, that the Maritime Parts of this Empire, as from *Mazua* to *Danqhali*, along the Red Sea, have their Winter in *December* and *January*, as it is in *Portugal*, and reaches 10 or 12 Leagues up the Inland, being very mild, without any sharp Cold or excessive Rain, as if Nature gave it the Rain Water to moisten or fertilize the Land, and not to molest or trouble the Inhabitants. Farther up the Country there is no want of troublesome Rains, till you come to some high Mountains, call'd *Bizan*, two Days Journey short of *Debaroa*, where the Winter is from the 10*th* of *June* till the end of *September*; and thus *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* says, he found it in all the Countries of this Empire he travell'd through: So that the Winter throughout all the Inland of *Ethiopia*, is in the same Months as it is on the Coast of

India

India from *Diu* to Cape *Comori*; and on the Coast of *Ethiopia* it is at the same time as in *Portugal*, whereas it is contrary on the Coasts of *Arabia*, lying from the Mouth of the Red-Sea, to the Islands of *Curia-Muria*, where the Winter is in *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, as on the Coast of *India*; and up the Inland of *Arabia* it is in the Months of *November*, *December*, *January* and *February*, as in *Portugal*.

Vast Mountains.

All the Emperor of *Ethiopia*'s Dominions he now possesses are Mountainous, except the Kingdom of *Dambea*, the greatest Part whereof is Plain along the great Lake, and has rich Fields of Fat fertile Land for about 20 Leagues in length, little more or less, and 4 or 5 in breadth. The other Kingdoms, *viz. Tigre*, *Begamedder*, *Gojam*, *Amara*, and the Provinces of *Cemen*, *Ogarà*, *Sagado*, *Holcait*, *Xaoa* and *Holecà*, are almost continual Mountains of a prodigious Height, and it is rare to travel a Days Journey without meeting such steep, lofty and craggy Hills, that they are dreadful to behold, much more to pass over. All the Mountains in *Portugal* compar'd to those of *Ethiopia*, are meer Mole-Hills. Those who have cross'd the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* Mountains, and the *Apennine*, which cuts *Italy* in two, all of them so famous in *Europe*, and have seen those of *Ethiopia*, declare, the others are but easy and low Eminences to these last.

They serve for Fortresses.

Thus Nature, which in several Places seems to sport, producing wonders, so here it works the same marvellous Effects in Mountains, far exceeding the highest Clouds, and in Valleys so deep, that they look as if they were going to hide themselves in the very Center of the Earth and lowest Abyss, and accordingly the first partake of the excessive Cold of the second and third Regions of the Air, and the latter of the Fire of Hell. Some of these Mountains, which the Natives call *Ambas*, stand by themselves apart from all others, are prodigious high, all upright, as if they had been hew'd with a Chissel, with only one or two ways to get up to them, with much difficulty, and on the top they have Water and a Plain, where the Inhabitants live, as it were in an impregnable Fortress, erected by Providence for the Defence of the *Ethiopians*, who hitherto have not the Skill to make any Martial Works. There are many of these throughout all this Empire, but most of all in the Kingdom of *Amarà*, which is now next to the *Gallas*, who would before now have made themselves Masters of it, were it not for the Retreat of these *Ambas*, or Fortresses made by Nature, without the help of Man.

Their several Shapes.

It is wonderful to see these vast high Rocks, some of them like Pyramids, others round, as if they were turn'd at the Top and Bottom; others like square Towers, as handsomly wrought as if they

they had been hew'd out, and were Natural Columns, boldly rising above the Clouds, as it were to support the Sky, as the Poets feign'd of *Atlas*.

The worst is, that very often in passing from one Kingdom to another, some of these Mountains must of necessity be cross'd, as happens in going from *Fremona*, which is almost in the middle of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, 45 Leagues from *Mazua*, to *Dancaz* and *Dambea*, where among many other Mountains Travellers must cross one call'd *Lamalmon*, and before they come to the first ascent of that they are at the Foot of a vast high Mountain call'd *Guca*, which is as it were the Foundation or Pedastal of *Lamalmon*. It is half a Days Journey to ascend this Mountain, always rounding it, for it goes continually winding by very narrow Paths, cut along the side of the Hill, with such dreadful Depths and Precipices, either looking up or down, that if the Caravan ascending happens to meet with the other descending, unless they take special care where they set their Feet, they are absolutely lost, and tumble down those frightful Depths, beating the Travellers to pieces, and losing the Goods they carry. The Commodities they generally load are *India* Stuffs and Salt.

Lamalmon and Guca Mountains.

On the top of this Mountain *Guca*, is a large Plain above a League in compass, where the tir'd Travellers and Caravans rest themselves, the better to prosecute the rest of their Journey; for the next Day they enter upon a most tiresome Ridge, so sharp and narrow, that it is frightful to behold, much more to pass along it, being Perpendicular on both Sides, and the Valleys on either of them so wonderful deep, that the sight cannot reach the bottom of them. As soon as pass'd this Ridge, they are at the Foot of a Mountain, almost all of it made of one entire upright Rock, which rising out of the Ground, represents an excessive high and strong Bulwork. This is the most difficult Part of all the way, and yet Nature has provided a sort of Steps like Stairs, with windings both ways, but all extraordinary uncooth, and the Steps or Rocks sometimes two or three Cubits high; so that it is wonderful, that the Beasts of Burden can climb, and keep their Feet, tho' they are there unloaded; for in this Place there are abundance of People who live by taking the Burdens off the Beasts, till they pass those Difficulties.

Dreadful deep Valleys.

Frightful Ascent.

This Mount is about 300 Fathom high, and on it Nature has made a very plain Flat, being about half a League in Compass, and a Musket-shot Diameter; and this Eminence they call by the Name of *Lamalmon*, representing in some measure a Chair without Arms, for the Rock on the highest Part of the Plain resembles the Back of the Chair, being as Perpendicular as if hew'd out with

Plain on the Mount.

with a Chizzel; under which is that which anſwers to the Seat of this wonderful Chair, where there is a Town, ſafe enough againſt all Attacks of any Enemy, were it but as well provided with Neceſſaries for human Life; yet they have good Water, with which they make what amends they can for the want of Proviſions, whereof there is no Plenty.

From this height is diſcover'd, almoſt all the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and towards the Eaſt appears a vaſt Chain of exceſſive high Mountains, running from this of *Lamalmon*, with another like it towards the North and North Eaſt, and all together making a great Bow, in the midſt of which the Hills and Mountains of *Tigre*, tho' very high, look like inconſiderable Hillocks. Tho' the famous *Carthaginian Hannibal*, from the Top of the *Alps* encourag'd and comforted his Soldiers with the pleaſing ſight of the ſpacious and delightful Plains of *Italy*; here, on the contrary, the moſt covetous and ambitious Perſon, at the ſight of theſe diſmal Mountains, might well lay aſide all Thoughts of ſubduing ſuch uncooth, ſuch craggy and ſuch dreadful Places, which as bad as they are to behold, are much more hideous to climb. And ſurely, only thoſe, who, as the Prophet did, *Lift up their Eyes to the Hills from whence cometh their Help*, can with the ſweet Thoughts of Heaven make thoſe almoſt impaſſable Mountains of *Ethiopia* tolerable, as the Religious Men did. And I muſt confeſs I am ſo much out of Humour with the bare Relation, and ſo far diſtant view of one of theſe Mountains, that I forbear ſpeaking of the others, which *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* took the pains to deſcribe, as having undergone the trouble of paſſing over them. *Chains of Mountains.*

It follows next to ſay ſomething of the Fertility of the Country, and Gold being eſteem'd the moſt precious Product of the Earth, there are ſaid to be very rich Mines of it in *Ethiopia*; it is moſt certain, at leaſt, that many grave Authors are very free in beſtowing abundance of ſuch Mines on it; and many believe there are really ſuch Mines in *Ethiopia*, but that they will not have them diſcover'd, for fear leſt their Fame ſhould move the *Turk* to invade them, as he has already done more than once, and together with their Treaſure, deprive them of their Liberty, which is more precious than Gold. Such is the vile nature of this Metal, that if you want it you are miſerable, and if you have too much you are in Danger. The Gold they have at preſent is taken out of ſome Rivers in ſmall Grains, like Seed-Pearl, and there is no other Money in the Country, eſpecially for Strangers, but this Gold, which they diſpoſe of by weight. *Gold in* Ethiopia.

But

Iron, Lead, and Salt.

But what they want in Gold, they have to spare in Iron, which has also its value; nor do they want Lead. Salt is their most general Commodity, and they have almost brought it to serve instead of Money, all other Goods being commonly sold for it at Fairs. This Salt is not like that we have in *Europe*, made of Sea-Water; but Providence has furnished them with inexhaustible Mines of it, being as it were Rocks of Salt on the Borders of the Kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Angot*, from which they hew out Pieces like Bricks.

Fertility.

The Land, for the most Part, where it can be till'd, is very fruitfull, for in many Places, tho' the *Abyssinians* are not over industrious, it yeilds three Crops in a Year of Wheat, Barley and Millet, and many other sorts of Grain that grow in *Portugal*. There is great Plenty of a small Grain they call *Tef*, which is the proper Food of the Country, as natural to the Ground, and of sufficient Nourishment, and is so very small that one single Grain of Mustard-Seed will make ten of this *Tef*, tho' it is longish, but very thin and slender. Yet tho' the Soil be so Fertile, there is often Famine in *Ethiopia*, either caus'd by the Locusts, a frequent Plague there, or by the marching of Soldiers, from one Country to another, which is a worse Plague than the Locusts, because they only devour what they find in the Fields, whereas the others spare not what is laid up in the Houses.

Tef, a small Grain.

Amadmagdo and Assazoe, Plants of great Virtue.

All the Odoriferous and Medicinal Herbs that *Europe* produces are found here, and among them one they call *Amadmagdo*, which draws out the Splinters of broken Bones that remain loose in the Flesh. There is another Herb they call *Assazoe*, which has such Virtue against Poison, that the most Venomous Snakes touching it, are quite stupify'd and senseless; and what is yet more wonderful, the very shadow of it does not only scare away but benumbs any Snake; so that as S. *Peter's* shadow miraculously wrought Cures, this Plant naturally destroys Poison. Besides whosoever eats the Root of this Plant retains its Virtue for many Years, and may go among all sorts of Poisonous Snakes without fearing any Hurt from them; nay he has so much Power over them, that his very shadow stuns them.

Cotton, Sugar Canes and Fruit.

The Fathers of the Society write, that they often saw several *Abyssinians*, who had eaten these Roots, handle the most venomous Vipers, as if they had been Eels, and put them about their Necks, like Collars; and kill them when they pleas'd. The Country also produces much Cotton, growing on Shrubs, like those of *India*; abundance of *Senna*, *Lemmons*, *Citrons*, *Oranges*, and *Figs* like ours. In some Parts there are good Pearls, especially in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and to sweeten the want of other Fruits, which do not grow here, Providence has given it very large and well tasted

tasted Sugar Canes, particularly in the Islands of the Lake of *Dambea*. There are but few Grapes, which is no small dissatisfaction to those who have tasted the Juice they afford; however the Fathers always made some Wine there for Consecrating at Mass, and to drink some Months in the Year; but 'tis likely it was not much since *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, on the 10th of *June* 1568, writ to the Reverend Father General of the *Jesuits S. Francis de Borja*, that for want of it, he sent for Grapes and squeez'd them to say Mass with the Juice. Yet he adds, he had found by Experience it would keep, and in 20 Days was excellent Wine, which lasted almost a Year.

F. Peter Pays writes, that being at the Court of *Abyssinia*, in the Year 1604, and desired by the Emperor himself, to say Mass, he forbore, for want of Wine of Grapes, not one drop of it being found in all the Court. *F. Belchior da Sylva*, residing in *Ethiopia* as Vicar to the *Portugueses*, sent to consult the Divines at *Goa*, whether Mass might be said with Wine squeez'd out of Raisins? Whereas were there such Cisterns full of Wine as *F. Urreta* speaks of, there would be no occasion for putting that Question, or saying Mass with such Wine as he propos'd. *Want of Wine.*

The *Ensete* is a Tree peculiar to *Ethiopia*, not unlike the *Indian* Fig-Tree, and growing so thick in the Body, that two Men can scarce Fathom it; when cut down close to the Ground, 5, or 700 and sometimes 1000 sprout out from it, I say when it is cut down, for it bears no other Fruit to Eat, being itself the Tree that grows, and the Fruit that is eaten, either cut out in Slices and boil'd, or the Leaves made into Meal for Pap, or Hasty-Pudding, which 'tis likely is not very well reliss'd, tho' in some Parts it is the common Food of the Ordinary sort of People. Ensete-*Tree.*

Ethiopia has all sorts of Tame Beasts that are common in *Europe*, as Horses, Mules, Cows, Oxen, and other Cattel in vast numbers, this being the Principal wealth of the Country, as it us'd to be in former Times, when the World, tho' it abounded not so much in Gold, was in the Golden Age; and it is very fine to see the mighty Herds of large Cows, and stately Oxen, grazing in the Fields, especially in the Kingdom of *Tigre* and Country of the *Agaus*. *Tame Cattel.*

They have abundance of noble Horses, and of the true Breed, Black, Roan, Bay, Grey, Dappled, Cream-colour'd, Pyebald, and others as Mettlesome and Sprightly, as the *Spanish Andaluzians*, and when well manag'd they Gallop, Trot, Pace, Curvet and Wheel, as well as the best of ours. They make their Saddles very light and sure, all like our Manage-Saddles, but rising higher, both before and behind; their Stirrups very small, and the Stirrup Leathers long; but they put only their Great Toe into the Stirrup, *Horses.*

Stirrup, so that it is likely they cannot sit so fast. For the most part, even when they go to the War, their Horses are led, and they Ride on Mules, which are very gentle, large and beautiful; which Custom they retain, as an Inheritance from the *Jews*, of whom they are descended, as we shall see hereafter; for it is plain in Holy Writ, that the Kings did not Ride on Horses, but pamper'd Mules.

Mules.

Elephants and Wild Beasts.

There are abundance of Wild Elephants, and no tame one was ever seen in the Country. There are also Ounces, Wolves, Foxes, Monkeys, Cattamountains, Civet-Cats, Hares, Rabbits, Tigers, and many very large Lions, some of which they breed up Tame, when very small, but can never trust them much. In the Year 1630, a Countryman kill'd a Lyon, near *Maegoga*, in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, which was Eight Cubits long from the Tail to the Neck, and he kill'd him all alone, fighting him in open Field, without any other Weapon, but only two Horsemans Darts, in this manner. This Fierce Creature was so blooded with the many Men it had devour'd, beside the Oxen, and other Creatures it had torn in Pieces, that it was thought necessary to use Art to deliver Travellers from such a mischievous and dreadful Creature. To this purpose they dug a great Pit in the way this bloody Beast us'd to come down from the Mountains. On a sudden it came upon two Shepherds, who had just dug the Pit; the Eldest of them, bid the other, who was his Brother, to secure himself, by flying in Time, for he was resolv'd to try what he could do with his Darts, and when he could do no more, he would trust to his Heels, for he was very nimble. Having so said, and being left alone, he put himself into a Posture to receive his formidable Enemy, which being come within the cast of his Dart, he let it fly so dexterously and with such Force, that he struck the Lyon through one Shoulder, which made the Monster Roar, shake its Mane, and leap furiously from side to side, till it fell into the Pit, that had been provided for that purpose; where the Victorious Country-Man pierc'd it several Times with the other Dart, many Wounds being necessary to destroy so potent an Adversary, till he made an end of the bloody Creature.

Wild Ass.

There are many sorts of Wild Beasts, which I do not mention, because they are not very strange in their shape, and will speak of two, which are more remarkable for their Rarity. The first is that they call, the wild Ass, being as big as a good Mule, Fat, Sleek and well Shap'd, only the Ears disgracing it, and from them had the Name, tho' in all other Respects it deserves not so mean a Denomination. It is wild, but easily tam'd, and what there are of them, are brought into *Ethiopia*, from certain Woods beyond the Countries the *Gallas* are at present possess'd of. The most

moſt remarkable thing in them, is the Curioſity wherewith they are by Nature diverſify'd, ſtrip'd and painted, for acroſs the Loins they have a black Circle, which is, as it were, the beginning and foundation of the reſt, for both ways from it there run other Circles or Stripes intermix'd, the one Jet Black, the other Aſh-colour'd, all of them ſo proportionable, ſo orderly, and uniform, ſo equal in breadth and ſo exact in length, that nothing can exceed it in the fineſt Painting. And as this Creature's Body either ſpreads on the Back, or contracts on the Neck, Head and Legs, ſo theſe Circles or Stripes go on proportionably, as if Nature, when moſt at leiſure had undertaken to beautifie and ſet it off, to humble others which bear nobler Names, but are much inferior to it in Perfection. The Emperor *Sultan Segued*, ſent one of theſe as a Preſent to a *Baſſa* of *Suaqhen*, of whom an *Indian Moor* bought it for 2000 *Chequins*, to carry it to the Great *Mogol*. *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* ſays, he prevail'd with the ſame Emperor to ſend another to the *Baſſa* of *Suaqhen*, for his Civility to the *Jeſuits*, in their Paſſage; and he carry'd it to *Conſtantinople*, to the Great *Turk*, which gain'd him a favourable Reception and diſpatch of his Buſineſs, by reaſon of the Rarity of the Preſent; for very often valuable Gifts go farther in diſpatch of Affairs than good Service.

Giratacachem, *or* Struthio-Camelus.

Here is another Creature they call *Giratacachem*, ſignifying *Slender End*, which ſeems to be the largeſt Creature on the Earth, yet known, for it is much bigger than the Elephants, tho' not ſo groſs of Body. Men mounted on good Horſes eaſily paſs under it; the Fore-legs being 12 Spans, or four Yards high, the Hind-legs ſomewhat ſhorter; the Neck Proportionable and long to reach the Ground and Graze, for that is its Food. I am of Opinion this is the *Struthio-Camelus*, the Ancients ſpeak of, for as they Write, it is more like the Camel, than any other Creature. Thus much of the Beaſts of the Earth, the Fiſhes and Birds in *Ethiopia* are almoſt the ſame as in *Europe*.

Chap. VIII.

Of the several sorts of People in this Empire, of their Features, Inclinations, and Habit, and of some of their Customs, as to Eating, their Marriages and Behaviour towards the Dead.

Several Nations.

HAving spoken briefly of the Climate, Product, and Animals of *Ethiopia*, we will now be more particular concerning the main point, which is the Men. These Countries are inhabited by great variety of People, *Christians*, *Mahometans*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*. These last for the most part live in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and are some of them *Agaus*, others *Gafates*, and many *Gallas*, to whom the Emperor himself has there given considerable Lands, as also in *Dambea*, to make use of them in his Wars, against other Races of *Gallas*, who are more Barbarous and his Enemies.

Jews.

There were always *Jews* in *Ethiopia*, from the Beginning, without including those who came with *Melileec*, and some of them have been converted to Christianity, and they formerly had large Possessions of Lands, almost all the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and the Provinces of *Ogara* and *Cemen*; but the Empire being now drawn into a narrower compass by the *Gallas*, the *Ethiopians* have streightned the *Jews*, and drove them out by Degrees. However in *Cemen* they defended themselves most couragiously, being much assisted by the great Height and Craggines of their Mountains, yet the Emperor *Sultan Segued* subdu'd them of late Years, so that the most and best of them being kill'd in sundry Encounters, such as remain'd submitted to the Will of the Conqueror, or dispers'd themselves into several Parts. Of these there are many in *Dambea*, some were baptiz'd and live by Weaving, or else by making of Darts, Plows, and other such like Necessaries, being great Smiths.

Another sort of them.

Besides, betwixt the Emperor's Dominions and the *Cafres* dwelling near the River *Nile*, and now free from any Subjection to the Empire, there are still many of these *Jews*, whom they there call *Falaxas*, which signifies, Strangers, and it may be suppos'd, they also came into *Ethiopia* out of the Captivity of *Salmanasar*, or afterwards, when they were expell'd, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, and therefore the *Abyssinians*, tho'

many

many of them were also *Jews*, descended from those who came with *Melileec*, the Son of the Queen of *Sheba*, by *Salomon*, always treated them as Strangers, God so ordering, that they should have no settled Dwelling on the Earth, who would not receive the King of Heaven. These have still *Hebrew* Bibles, and sing the Psalms very scurvily in their Synagogues.

The next sort of People are *Mahometans*, who live throughout all the Empire, intermixt with the Christians, and are almost the third Part of the Inhabitants of *Ethiopia*. Some of them live by Tillage, others are Factors, for no Christians being permitted to resort to the Sea-Ports, they are sole Masters of all the great Trade, and carry Gold to the Sea, whence in return, they bring Silks and Stuffs, and not being over Conscientious, they make their Advantage of this Factorship, getting Estates out of other Men's Goods. *Mahometans.*

As there are divers sorts of Nations, so is there also variety of Languages, for the *Moors* speak their own *Arabick*, the *Jews*, *Hebrew*, but with as much corruption in the Words, as there is in their Lives and Manners. They are moderate Eaters, but exceed in drinking, whether it be Wine, if they can come at it, or their Ale, call'd by them *Sava*, with quantity whereof they make amends for the want of better Liquor. *Languages.*

Almost all these People are understanding and of good Dispositions, not cruel or bloody, easie in forgiving of Wrongs, nor have they many fallings out among them; and what they have are seldom decided by the Sword; but for the most part by Cufs and Cudgels. They are naturally very submissive to Reason and Justice, and consequently upon any Quarrel, as soon as ever they have done Cudgelling, they put the matter to a Reference, or lay it before the Lord of the Place; both sides pleading by word of Mouth, without our Tedious Bills and Answers, which are so many Volumes of Cheat and Fraud, and when Judgment is given, they stand to it without any Muttering, Reply, Discontent, or Appeal, and so save all the Noise and Babbling of Lawyers and Costs of Sute. *Good disposition of the People.* *No Lawyers.*

In the Kingdom of *Tigre*, they are not so apt to forgive, if there be any Blood-shed; but if a Man chance to be kill'd, the Enmity continues betwixt the Kindred of the Dead Man, and the Party who kill'd him for many Years; which they call having Blood betwixt them, and therefore that of the Slain, is not wash'd away, but by all that of the Slayer, or much of his Friends and Relations. They are not free from Malice; and are generally light and unsteady, which is of very ill Consequence, and appear'd in their changing to and from the Catholick Faith, as we *Revenge and unsteadiness.*

shall see hereafter. They are apt to Swear, and as ready to break their Oaths; and this Inconstancy, is the occasion of their frequent Rebellions, where the Mutinous have the Remedy at hand, for if they miscarry, they beg the Emperors Pardon, who readily grants it, and they are as good Friends as before, tho' the offence be never so heinous.

Habit, and Beds. A word now of their Habit. Within less than 60 Years last past, none but the Emperor, and some of his Kindred and Favourites, were allow'd to wear any thing but Breeches, and a Piece of Cloth they cover themselves with, and serves for many uses; for in the Day Time it is a Cloak, and at Night a Blanket and Sheet, their Bed generally being only a Hide, they call *Nete*, which is instead of a Quilt. There is something more of Curiosity in the Boulster or Pillow, which is a sort of Wooden Fork call'd *Bercuta*, whereon they rest not their Head, which lies hollow, but the Neck, and this they do to avoid lying upon their Hair, it being curiously dress'd, as we shall see. This is hitherto the usual Bed of all the greater number, and even considerable People; tho' of late some of the Prime Men have got their corded Couches, on which they lay the aforesaid Hides; and some of the Princes and greatest Lords have *India* Quilts, brought them from the Ports of the Red Sea, with Silk Borders to them, and those who have two or three of these, keep their Beds in their outward Rooms, for the Couches serve them instead of Chairs, and on them they lay the two Quilts, that both may be seen plainly, the Border of the one hanging down below the other, so exposing both to view, for the Grandeur of that Couch, like the Man *Martial* speaks of, who endur'd the Distemper of his Body, to show the Richness of his Bed.

Habit of the better sort. The Breeches and Piece of Cloth I mention'd above, are at present the Habit of the common sort; those who are better to pass wear a sort of *Indian Banyan*'s Vest, not quite open, but only to the Waste, and closed with small Buttons. They have little Collars, and the Sleeves very streight and long, so that they lie in gathers on the Arms, and these they call Shirts, tho' in reality they are not so. They are generally made of a sort of *Cambaya* Callicoes, or of a blue Stuff brought from thence, like a Fustian; and over them they wear fine *Ethiopian* Cloth, or Silk, sew'd together in the middle, without any other Fashion. Some of the richer great Men, make those Shirts of Taffeta, or Sattin, or Damask, and have *Turkish* Vests of Velvet, or Brocard of *Mecca*, and these wear no Cloth over them, that they may show their Silk.

The

The Breeches worn by the prime Men of Quality, are after the *Mooriſh* Faſhion, reaching down to their Feet and wrinkled, and theſe from the Knee downward are made of Damask or Velvet; but all above that being hid under the Veſt, they all, and even the Emperor himſelf, agree it is ſo much Silk loſt, and therefore they make them of courſe Cloth, which is often ſeen as they ſit down; but they never trouble themſelves about ſuch Niceties; ſo free are they from that Vanity, which reigns among us, of wearing Silks upon Silks, ſome outwardly for Oſtentation, and others underneath meerly for Superfluity. But as theſe Breeches of the better ſort are cloſe, ſo thoſe of the other People are after the old Faſhion, as wide at bottom as at the top, which is very cumberſome, and thus they are generally very ill dreſs'd and awkward. *Breeches.*

We muſt ſpeak one word of their Hair, which is the covering for the Head, both of Men and Women, and which they much value themſelves upon. They let it grow, tho' it will not be of any great length, but being frizly and thin, they have many ways of ordering it, eſpecially the Men, for the Women leave all looſe but the fore part, whereas the Men braid and make it up after ſeveral Faſhions; and to this purpoſe they keep it well daub'd with Butter, which is all the ſweet Eſſence and Perfume they have, never regarding, as we do, that ſtrong Scent of greaſie Hair, full of Duſt. And thoſe People having much idle Time, they ſpend the greateſt part of the Day in that Employment; but we have little occaſion now to reflect upon the *Ethiopians* on this account, when ſo many Hours are among us ſacrific'd to ſuch Follies. *Dreſſing of Hair.*

Ill Company was ever reckon'd a contagious Diſtemper, which eaſily infects thoſe who are near it, and if this be of long ſtanding, it is not eaſily to be cur'd. The *Abyſſinians* live among *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* and their Errors are of that ſort the Prophet ſpeaks of, when he ſays, *They are eſtranged from the Womb*, Pſalm 58, and 3. for as we ſhall ſee hereafter, before they became Chriſtians, they obſerv'd the Law of *Moſes*, and ſince they embrac'd the Faith of *Chriſt*, they never ſincerely renounc'd the *Jewiſh* Perverſeneſs; whence it comes, that they Circumciſe themſelves to this Day, as the *Mahometans* do, who live among them, and even the *Gentiles* of *Ethiopia*, that they may not be affronted with the Name of Uncircumciſed. *Errors of Ethiopians.*

And even in the manner of Baptizing their Children they conform'd to what the Old Law preſcrib'd to Women, touching their coming to the Temple to be purify'd; for they Chriſten'd the Males on the 40th Day, and the Females on the 80th, nor would *Baptiſm.*

they

they admit them to Baptism before those Days, even in case of Necessity; nay, at the Time when they receiv'd the Faith of *Rome* by the preaching of the Fathers of the Society, they very unwillingly forbore Circumcision, so prevalent are ill Customs when they have once taken Root.

Sitting and Eating. They generally sit on the Ground; the Great Men on Carpets, and the rest on Mats, and therefore their Tables are low, and all round, on which they have no Table-Cloths, much less any Napkins; but they wipe their Fingers on *Apas*, which is a sort of Bread they make of several sorts of Meal, as Wheat, Millet and Peas. The Table is cover'd with these *Apas*, and on them, without any other Plates or Dishes, the Meat is laid, whether it be Roast or Raw, as they Eat it; but if they happen to have any Hen or Mutton Broth, or their usual Pap, wherein they dip their *Apas*, these Things are serv'd up in Black Earthen Porringers, cover'd with those they call *Escambias*, being like Caps made of fine Straw; and this is the usual Service at all, and even the Emperor's Table: So that what was look'd upon as a Rarity in *Sicily*, at the Table of King *Agathocles*, who valu'd himself upon Eating out of Earthen Ware, is here usual at the Table of these Emperors, with only this difference, that *Agathocles*, tho' he had much Gold was serv'd in Earthen Ware, in Memory of his Father, who had been a Potter; whereas these who think themselves to exceed the Sun in Nobility, delight in Gold, but Eat out of Earthen Ware.

Raw Beef Eaten. They always Eat Beef raw, and call it *Berindo*, this being the Meat they most delight in, which they Salt and Pepper very well, if they have it; and the better sort, if they can get the Gaul of the Beast that is kill'd, think they have a great Dainty. To make the most of that delicious Sauce, they beat the Piece of Beef they have before them very well, and squeeze out that Savoury Juice on it, and when well soak'd in, they Eat it, and their Palate is so Enur'd to that Gaul, that nothing relishes better with them. But they find yet another stranger Dainty in the Beast, which is taken from the finest Part of the Filth in the Guts, season'd with Salt and Pepper, which serves them instead of the best Mustard, and is reckon'd a most curious Sauce, call'd by them *Manta*; but only Princes and very great Persons can attain this Royal Dish, because it requires much Pepper, which all Men have not.

Women grind the Corn. As plain and as ordinary as these their Dishes are, it costs them no small Pains to Dress them; for having no Mills, they are fain to grind all Things by Hand, which Work is so peculiar to the Women, that even the meanest Male Slaves will not do it upon any Account. A Woman Grinds as much daily as will make 40 or 50 *Apas*, which

which muſt be made every Day, for they are good for nothing the Day after, and conſequently it is a great Toil, and requires many Slaves and much Wood, to make the *Apas* they Eat and the Ale they Drink. Theſe are the Mills one boaſted of, ſaying, that the Emperor had 500 of them in his Camp, and he might well have ſaid 3000, for it plainly appears this proceeds from want of Induſtry, rather than Grandeur.

Their Wine is none of the celebrated *Chios* or *Falernum*, but made of 5 or 6 Parts Water put into a Jar, with one part of Honey, and a handful of parch'd Barley, which makes it ferment; then they add ſome Bits of a ſort of Wood they call *Sardo*, which ſo qualifies it, that in 5 or 6 Days it loſes the fulſomeneſs of the Honey, and tho' it be not ſo well taſted as our Wine, is more wholeſome. They never Drink whilſt they are Eating, but after all is taken away, as many of the Antients us'd to do, who brought in the Goblets when the Diſhes were remov'd, and this the *Ethiopians* do to ſuch exceſs, that it is wonderful to think how they can hold ſo much; ſo that, tho' this Wine is very weak, yet the quantity makes it have the ſame Effect as the beſt in *Europe*, for turning the Brain, making the Tongue run, and weakning the Legs. *Liquors.*

As for their Marriages, they contracted them till our Days, in ſuch manner, that they were not really valid, becauſe they did it with a *tacit*, or expreſs Conſent, that they might part whenſoever the Man and Wife happen'd to diſagree, and they there gave Security for Performance. The Principal Motives for parting were the Breach of Matrimonial Vows on either ſide, want of Children, or Strife among themſelves, and this laſt being very frequent among Married People, Divorces are as common. But as to the Point of Breach of Faith they eaſily reconcil'd it, the Offender giving ſome of his Goods to the Party wrong'd, and hence it is, that Married People have each of them their own Chattels and their Lands apart, and if they Eat together, each brings what they have dreſs'd, ſuch are their Marriages. *Marriages.*

The Reconciliation is not ſo eaſy, if the Quarrel be on account of Diſlike, or Contention at Home: In this Caſe they repair to the Judge, to whom theſe Cauſes belong, and there being only a Verbal Proceſs it is ſoon decided, and as ſoon as Judgment given, they are both Free and may Marry where they pleaſe, ſo that the *Ethiopians* are ſooner reconcil'd to a Wife defam'd by Adultery, than to a peeviſh one. The *Jeſuits* took no ſmall Pains to reduce theſe People to contract Marriages after the true Catholick manner, by reaſon this Error had prevail'd for ſo many Ages, and this was one of the Cauſes why they afterwards fell off. *Divorces.*

They

Duties to the Dead. They bewail their Dead for many Days together, beginning their Lamentations very early in the Morning, and holding on till the Day is far advanc'd. There the Parents, Kindred, and Friends of the Party deceas'd meet, with many Women Mourners, like the ancient *Præficæ*, among the *Greeks* and *Romans* who were hir'd for the Solemnity of that Lamentation, which among the *Abyssinians* is done to the Beat of Drums, clapping their Hands, striking their Breasts and Faces, and uttering such dismal Expressions, in a doleful Tone, that they torment the Head, and grieve the Heart. They bring to the Place of Mourning the Dead Persons Horse, if he had any, his Launce, his Shield, his Cloaths and other Weapons. They bury the Dead in the Churches, and make their Offerings to the Clergy, who say their Psalms and other Prayers for them. They also make Offerings to the Churches, and bestow Alms on the Poor, killing Cows to divide among them, with abundance of *Apas* and Wine, which they do the 3d, the 7th, the 30th and the 40th Days, and at the Years End; and yet they deny'd Purgatory, but were easily convinc'd, by their own Prayers and Alms offer'd for the Dead.

Lamentations When they receive the News of the Death of any near Relation, or of their Lord, or their Lord's Son, or Daughter, they immediately cast themselves on the Ground, with such heavy falls that some die of them, others are maim'd, and others come off with broken Heads, Arms, or Legs. Those who do not thus cast themselves on the Ground, are look'd upon as disaffected to the Deceas'd: The *Gafates* instead of falling down, beat themselves and wound their Heads and Arms, of which Follies, I know not which is the most tolerable.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Custom observ'd by the Abyssine *Emperors, of keeping their Sons in the Fortress of* Amba-Guexen; *the Description of that Place, and of the Ceremonies us'd in taking them out from thence to be promoted to the Throne.*

Occasion imprisoning of Princes.

AMong the other most remarkable Customs in *Ethiopia*, there was one relating to the Emperor's Sons, which being very singular, shall be here taken notice of. About the Year 1260, an Emperor call'd *Ighunu Amalac*, who then reign'd in *Ethiopia* had Five Sons, or Nine according to others, to whom the Father, before his Death, very earnestly recommended Unity among themselves, and being willing to leave them equal in their Inheritance, since they were equal in Parentage, order'd they should all Reign alternatively, every one his Year, beginning with the Eldest, and so descending, according to their Ages. So they did for some Years, but not many, for the World was always the same, and there is none that will admit of any Partner in Empire, because Majesty is not divisible, as has been found by Experience.

Accordingly it happned, that the Youngest of these Princes had not Patience enough to wait so long for his Year of Government. His Name was *Free-Hecan*, and he was the more provok'd to see that those who had govern'd did Eat together at the same Table, and he with the rest, whose turn of ruling was not yet come, were left to the second Table, and were to go out into another Room to wash their Hands, because it is look'd upon as ill manners in *Ethiopia* to wash their Hands before their Betters. These things put the Prince upon contriving, how he might once come by the Empire, without being subject to such Changes and alternating. These Thoughts possessing his Breast, he could not rest, but not knowing how to ascend the Throne sooner, he resolv'd that when his turn came, he would put an end to that Ceremony of Annual Government, like that the *Greeks* feign'd of the *Theban* Brothers.

It being very hard to conceal a mighty Design, without imparting it to somebody; this Prince at length communicated his Resolution to a Friend, acquainting him in Secret, That when it was his Year to Reign, he would seize all his Brothers, and put them

Duties to the Dead. They bewail their Dead for many Days together, beginning their Lamentations very early in the Morning, and holding on till the Day is far advanc'd. There the Parents, Kindred, and Friends of the Party deceas'd meet, with many Women Mourners, like the ancient *Præficæ*, among the *Greeks* and *Romans* who were hir'd for the Solemnity of that Lamentation, which among the *Abyssinians* is done to the Beat of Drums, clapping their Hands, striking their Breasts and Faces, and uttering such dismal Expressions, in a doleful Tone, that they torment the Head, and grieve the Heart. They bring to the Place of Mourning the Dead Persons Horse, if he had any, his Launce, his Shield, his Cloaths and other Weapons. They bury the Dead in the Churches, and make their Offerings to the Clergy, who say their Psalms and other Prayers for them. They also make Offerings to the Churches, and bestow Alms on the Poor, killing Cows to divide among them, with abundance of *Apas* and Wine, which they do the 3d, the 7th, the 30th and the 40th Days, and at the Years End; and yet they deny'd Purgatory, but were easily convinc'd, by their own Prayers and Alms offer'd for the Dead.

Lamentations When they receive the News of the Death of any near Relation, or of their Lord, or their Lord's Son, or Daughter, they immediately cast themselves on the Ground, with such heavy falls that some die of them, others are maim'd, and others come off with broken Heads, Arms, or Legs. Those who do not thus cast themselves on the Ground, are look'd upon as disaffected to the Deceas'd: The *Gafates* instead of falling down, beat themselves and wound their Heads and Arms, of which Follies, I know not which is the most tolerable.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Custom observ'd by the Abyssine *Emperors, of keeping their Sons in the Fortress of* Amba-Guexen; *the Description of that Place, and of the Ceremonies us'd in taking them out from thence to be promoted to the Throne.*

Occasion imprisoning of Princes.

AMong the other most remarkable Customs in *Ethiopia*, there was one relating to the Emperor's Sons, which being very singular, shall be here taken notice of. About the Year 1260, an Emperor call'd *Iqhunu Amalac*, who then reign'd in *Ethiopia* had Five Sons, or Nine according to others, to whom the Father, before his Death, very earnestly recommended Unity among themselves, and being willing to leave them equal in their Inheritance, since they were equal in Parentage, order'd they should all Reign alternatively, every one his Year, beginning with the Eldest, and so descending, according to their Ages. So they did for some Years, but not many, for the World was always the same, and there is none that will admit of any Partner in Empire, because Majesty is not divisible, as has been found by Experience.

Accordingly it hapned, that the Youngest of these Princes had not Patience enough to wait so long for his Year of Government. His Name was *Free-Hecan*, and he was the more provok'd to see that those who had govern'd did Eat together at the same Table, and he with the rest, whose turn of ruling was not yet come, were left to the second Table, and were to go out into another Room to wash their Hands, because it is look'd upon as ill manners in *Ethiopia* to wash their Hands before their Betters. These things put the Prince upon contriving, how he might once come by the Empire, without being subject to such Changes and alternating. These Thoughts possessing his Breast, he could not rest, but not knowing how to ascend the Throne sooner, he resolv'd that when his turn came, he would put an end to that Ceremony of Annual Government, like that the *Greeks* feign'd of the *Theban* Brothers.

It being very hard to conceal a mighty Design, without imparting it to somebody; this Prince at length communicated his Resolution to a Friend, acquainting him in Secret, That when it was his Year to Reign, he would seize all his Brothers, and put them

them into a very strong *Amba*, being one of those naturall Fortresses we have before spoken of, where he would secure them for ever coming out, that so he might perpetuate the Empire in himself. There is no Secret that deserves the Name, after it has once broke out of the Breast where it lay conceal'd; nor is there any Cause to complain of being betray'd by another, when a Man could not keep his own Secret. The unfortunate *Free-Hecan* was taken in his own Snare, like the improvident Person the Prophet speaks of, who fell into the Pit he had made, *Psal.* 7. 16.

It happened that the Friend he entrusted, immediately acquainted the Brother then reigning with the Secret. He considering the Danger he was in, and liking the Contrivance, concluded that the natural Fortress of *Amba-Guexen*, was very fit for that purpose, and before he could be seized himself, clapt up not only the projecting Brother, but all the rest with him; and soon after put his own Sons into the same Place, for Ambition is jealous even of them, as was seen formerly in *Herod*, and at this Day in the Barbarous Custom observ'd by the *Ottoman* Family, and many other wicked Tyrants, who think not any Power secure, unless it be cemented with Blood. *Mercator* in his Map of *Ethiopia*, and *Johnson* in his, call this Mountain where the Princes were kept *Amara*, but they were misinform'd, for the Name of it is *Amba-Guexen*, tho' the Kingdom it stands in is *Amara*.

That Custom abrogated.

This Custom was observ'd in *Ethiopia* for 200 and odd Years, till the Emperor *Nahod*, Father to *Onac-Segued*, who was the last Prince of that Country, that came out of the Penitential Life of *Amba-Guexen*, broke it off, upon the following occasion. He had a Son, he doated on betwixt Eight and Nine Years of Age. This innocent Child being one Day by his Father, a great Man of the Court, who was a Privy Councellor, and happen'd to be present, said to the Emperor, Sir, *this Child is grown very big*; but he who was no Child in Capacity, understanding what that Councellor's Observation tended to, and as it were struck to the Heart with the Expression, fixing his Eyes full of Tears on his Father, said, *What, am I grown up for* Amba-Guexen? These words so sensibly affected the Emperor, that assembling the great Men of his Court and Privy Councellors immediately, he took an Oath in their Presence, and made them Swear, that no Son of his, or any other Emperor should ever be put into that Prison; and this has been punctually observ'd ever since, as the Fathers, who have been in *Ethiopia* do testifie, and that the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, who died in the Year 1632, as we shall see hereafter, had several Sons, and never thought of shutting them up in that Prison,

Prison, that Custom of confining the Princes being wholly abolish'd.

This is the Reason, the greatest Statesmen agree in this Point of Politicks, that a King in many Cases, is to behave himself, even towards his own Children, rather as a publick Person, than as a Father; and tho' innocent Princes suffer in that Place, yet when the Distemper is dangerous, it is allow'd to cut off a Limb, rather than hazard the whole Body, notwithstanding the Member must be taken off where it is found; for *Tacitus An. lib.* 14. well observes, great Evils can scarce be redress'd without some Injustice, but the publick Advantage makes amends for the wrong done to private Persons. So that considering the Inconstancy of the *Abyssinians*, and their Aptness to set up new Princes, provided they be of the Blood Royal, it was a very prudent Practice to keep them so confin'd, tho' very uneasie to them. *Wicked Policy.*

We will now describe the Place, where those unfortunate Princes were shut up. On the Borders of the Kingdom of *Amahara*, next to that of *Xaoa*, stands that *Amba*; which they call *Guexen*, being an impregnable Mountain, Perpendicular, like a natural Fortress of solid Rock. The breadth of it on the top, along the Slope of the Rock, may be about half a League, but at the Foot it is half a Days Journey about. The Height is so great, that a Stone cast out of sling by the strongest Arm, will not reach the top. The Ascent, tho' not so difficult at first afterwards grows so painful, that even the Cows, which in this Country skip like Goats, cannot get up, or down, unless hoisted with Ropes, or Thongs. At the top of this way stood a House built with Stone and Clay, and Thatch'd, like all others, being the Habitation of the Guards of those wretched Princes, who liv'd there as if they had been Enchanted. In the midst of the Plain, on the top, there are two Pools, being the Work of Nature, with Springs of their own, one of which serves to drink and the other for washing. Amba-Guexen *describ'd.*

To render this Prison yet more intolerable, it is to be observ'd, that the Country being all craggy, there is no Fruit-Tree to be found throughout it, nor any other, except some Wild Cedars, and a few Shrubs and Bushes, no other sort growing there to sweeten the Bitterness of that Confinement. Close by one of those Pools, a Hill rises, on which there are two Churches, the one Dedicated to God the Father, the other under the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin. Near to them live some of their Religious Men, and some *Depteras*, who are as it were Canons, or benefic'd Clergy-men and Chanters of the said Churches. Formerly there were about 14 of those Religious Men, there are still Six or *Its Barrenness.*

Seven, the *Depteras* having Families of Wives and Children, are always more numerous.

Poor dwellings for Princes.

By what has been said it sufficiently appears that the Retreat of *Amba Guexen* was not very comfortable; yet there the Poor Princes resided, dwelling in little Houses of Stone and Clay, lin'd on the Inside with Straw. At the first shutting of them up there, they were promis'd the 3d part of the Revenues of all the Empire; but time convinc'd them, how easie it is to promise that which is never design'd to be perform'd; for they had only some Lands about their Prison assign d them.

Their rigid Restraint.

There also liv'd some Persons of Note on *Amba-Guexen*, and others near to it, who reliev'd one another, being as it were their Stewards, and at the same time watch'd and observ'd them so strictly, that no Creature whatsoever was permitted to come near; nor was there any Message, or Letter deliver'd to them, but what was first examin'd by these severe Goalers, who, pursuant to the severe Rules there observ'd, kept these distressed Penitents so much under, that they would not allow them to wear any better Cloaths than the ordinary, which were of Cotton, for fear lest the mending of their Garb should inspire them with greater Thoughts.

An Instance of it.

It was there reported, touching this Point, that one of these nice Guards seeing one of the Princes better clad than was allow'd by the Rigour of the Law, he not only reprov'd him and acquainted his Father, but it seems he lay'd violent Hands on him, that it might be a warning to him never to think of such Cloaths any more, unless he would have the Seams so settled again. It happened, that a few Years after, that same Prince came to be Emperor, and the Keeper remembring what he had done, took care to secure himself, for fear of falling into his Hands whom he had so roughly handled. But the Emperor, who had not forgot how he had been treated, caus'd him to be sought out and brought before him; and he full of Dread and Apprehension, cast himself at his Prince's Feet, begging Pardon for his Offence. The Emperor bid him rise, and caus'd him to be Richly clad, in return for the good Cloaths he had forbid him, giving him a Gold Bracelet of great Value, and saying, *You did your Duty well, and serv'd your Master faithfully, go back to your Employment and execute it with the same Zeal.* This Emperor doubtless acted like a Discreet and not a revengeful Man; yet this Passage show'd, how natural it is for Men to alter their Minds, as they change their Conditions; for he thought it fit to have others treated in the same manner as he had mislik'd himself.

What

What has been here said, plainly shews the Hardships were undergone in that Confinement, whereof nevertheless *F. Urreta* writ so many Fables, as if he would perswade us there had been another Terrestrial Paradise conceal'd in that Place, but this is the real Truth we have here deliver'd, as many Religious Men of the Society testifie, and may be seen in *F. Francis Alvarez*'s Book, *chap.* 56. And *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*, who actually saw what we here describe, adds, that if this *Amba* be compar'd to many others there are in *Ethiopia*, there will be above 100 found that exceed it in all Points, as being much higher and more difficult of Access, having more and better Water within them, and containing larger and more fruitful Fields, for those on this *Amba* produce nothing but Beans, Barley, and some Wheat; whereas others are much more fertile and better; all that made this more or less fortunate, was its being the appointed Prison for those innocent Penitents, which caus'd it to be more talk'd of both in *Ethiopia* and without it.

Manner of taking out the Prince to be Enthron'd.

We will next relate, in what manner they drew out of this Place of Captivity, the Prince that was to succeed the Emperor Deceas'd, which was done after long Consultation, and much enquiry made into the Behaviour of him that was to be Enthron'd. As soon as it was resolv'd, which of them it was to be, the Governor or Vice-Roy of the Kingdom of *Tigre* march'd with some Forces, and encamp'd at the Foot of the *Amba*, then he and the Principal Men present went up, and entring the Cell of the Prince they had pitch'd upon, put a sort of Gold Pendant into his Ear, which they call *Belul*, and was the Token of his Election. This done they sent word to the other Princes, who all met there to own the new Emperor and Congratulate him; which they could not but do with much Regret, since all of them expecting some happy Hour to be deliver'd from that Purgatory, they saw one go out to Reign, whilst they were continu'd in Misery, without any hopes of finding the least Commiseration for Sighs and Tears.

His Coronation.

The new Emperor being gone down, the Governors march'd out with all the Army to meet him, and as soon as they came near, alighted all together, upon a Signal by him given, mounted again, and taking him into the midst of them, conducted him with abundance of Musical Instruments, as Drums, Waites, and Kettle-Drums, and many other Tokens of Joy, after the manner of the Country, to his Royal Tent, which they call *Debana*, where he alighted within, and all the rest without it. Then a dignify'd Clergy-man, whom they call *Seraje Macare*, anointed him with Sweet-Oyl, whilst the others Sang Psalms.

This

This done, they clad him in the Royal Robes, and plac'd on his Head the Crown, consisting of several Pieces of Gold and Silver, fix'd on a Thing like a Hat, on the top whereof was a Cross. Next they put a naked Sword into his Hand to denote Justice, and seated him on the Regal Throne. Then the *Ker Ace*, who is his first Chaplain got up on a high Place and made Proclamation, *We have caused such a one to Reign.* As soon as this was heard, the Standers by and all the Army and other People, made great Acclamations of Joy, and all came in order to kiss his Hand.

F. Urreta *condemned.*

This is the Truth of what was practis'd touching the Confinement of the Princes of *Ethiopia* and the Election of their Emperors; and all the rest that was invented and Printed by *F. Urreta*, is to be look'd upon as the Product of a Head bent towards making of Fables, and fruitful in Fictions. Unless it be that the said Author intended to show the World how such an Election ought to be manag'd, assigning Rules and Ceremonies for the performing of it, as was done by *Xenophon*, who writ the Life of his renowned *Cyrus*, not as he really liv'd, but as he ought to have done; to give the World a Pattern of an accomplish'd Prince, as there had been many of Tyrannical Kings.

Chap. X.

The manner how these Emperors take and declare their Empresses, and of the Government of the Abyssine *Empire.*

Polygamy of the Emperors.

THE Common Enemy of Mankind has always endeavour'd to introduce Looseness of Life and Behaviour in all Parts, where Ignorance in Matters of Faith has prevail'd. In *Ethiopia*, as well as many other Parts of the World, the ill Custom has always been practiz'd from great Antiquity, of the Emperors having several Wives, all of them reputed Lawful, besides others unlawful; which evil Custom is so ancient in this *Ethiopia*, that it seems to have been brought by *Melileec* from *Jerusalem*, as learnt of his Father *Solomon*, when he went thither to visit him, as shall be said hereafter.

And

And notwithstanding *F. Francis Alvarez* writes of the Emperor *Onag Segued*, who was first call'd *David*, in whose Days the said Father went into that Country, that he had not many Wives, either the Father was misinform'd, or this might be so when he arriv'd there; for it is evident by the Account the Fathers of the Society had several Times from the excellent Prince *Raz Sella Christos*, of whom we shall often have occasion to speak, that he had many, and some of them Gentiles, to please whom, like his Ancestor *Solomon*, he consented to have Idols for them in his Court: So that on one side was the Church of God, and on the other the Heathen *Pagod*, so vilely are they mislead, who having the Regal Power, suffer themselves to be blinded by Affection. Fran. Alvarez *contradicted.*

As for those Emperors marrying the Daughters of *Mahometan* or *Pagan* Kings, or other Great Men, causing them first to be Baptiz'd, it was so common, that even King *James*, brought one, Daughter to the *Mooriſh* King of *Adea*, with a design to Marry her, and treated her as a Wife, but that he dy'd before they were united by Matrimony, as is testify'd by *F. Peter Pays*, who was then at the Court. *Those Emperors marry'd the Daughters of* Mahometans *and* Pagans.

Those they generally marry'd were the Daughters of Subjects of Noble Families, whereof there are many in the Kingdom of *Tigre* and some other Provinces; yet sometimes they did not Regard their Quality, but rather their Natural Endowments, saying, that the Wives Birth adds nothing to the Emperor, and she is sufficiently ennobled by being preferr'd to his Bed. When any of these Ladies was pitch'd upon, she was brought to Court, and there kept in the House of some of the Emperors Kindred, that they might be the better acquainted with her good Qualities. Being satisfy'd as to them, the Emperor and she went together to Church on a *Sunday*, to hear Mass and receive the Blessed Sacrament, all the Court being in their best Apparel upon that Occasion. From the Church they both return'd to the Palace, where the *Abuna*, who is as it were their chief Bishop, us'd to perform the Matrimonial Ceremonies. Then the Emperor din'd at his Table alone, as he always does, without being seen by any Body, as will be declared hereafter: The Queen din'd in another Room with many Ladies, and the Clergy-men and *Depteras* were nobly treated in others. *Their Nuptials.*

This is as to Eating, for in order to Drink they all constantly meet every Day, tho' at great Entertainments there is more plenty of Wine and a greater number of Guests. The Custom as to this particular is, to place in the middle of the Imperial Chamber many Pots of Liquor, leaning against certain Wreaths of Straw, for the easier pouring of it out, and the Cups go round, beginning *The Entertainment.*

ning with the Emperor and Empress, both which have a Curtain drawn before them when they Drink, that they may not be seen, and so down to the rest, according to their Quality. Whilst they Drink, and sometimes with the Cup in their Hands, they Discourse and tell several Stories, as long as the Liquor lasts; for as soon as that is out, there is an end of the Company; but it seldom fails in the King's Lodgings till the Night is well advanc'd and Sleep comes on, when every one drops where he is, and so the Feast ends, but there is no Liquor left.

The Empress's Title.

Thus the Nuptial Solemnity concludes; but the Empress has not yet the Title of *Itigue*, which is her Highness, or Majesty. In order to receive this Title, some Days or Months after, as the Emperor pleases, the Queen comes from her House to the Palace, for her House is always separated from his, and within another Enclosure, tho' near at Hand, and sitting down near the Emperor's Throne, which is his Couch, on a Step somewhat high, she is there clad in rich Apparel, and then one of the Principal dignify'd Clergy-men in the Court goes out into the Court, and standing upon a Chair as making Proclamation, utters these Words with a loud Voice: *Anagasna Danguecera Chem*; which signify, *We have caus'd our Slave to Reign:* Which all the People present answer with loud Acclamations, and from thence forwards they give her the Title of *Ethié*, or Highness.

Empress Dowager honour'd.

It is to be observ'd, that as long as the Emperor's Mother lives, if she was Empress and Wife to the Emperor deceas'd, the Wife of the Emperor actually Reigning is not call'd *Ethié*, but that Honour is always given to the Old One; insomuch, that not only the Wife of the new Emperor, but he himself, tho' he be not her Son, calls her Mother, and Honours her as if she were really so.

Great Men all Deacons.

They never Crown her, nor was it ever practised with any Queen of *Ethiopia*. As for a Scepter, the Emperors themselves use none; and as for what some have said, that a Cross was the Scepter of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, it was a mistake; for tho' they carry'd a little Cross in their Hands, they did it not as a Token of Empire, but of their being Deacons, which Order they all of them receiv'd, as did most of the Great Men, that they might not in the Churches be left without the Curtains, or Chappels, as Lay-Men are always, and Communicate there, but that they might go in and receive with the Clergy.

Ethiopians call'd the Emperors Slaves.

That sort of Proclamation above mention'd, *viz. We have caus'd our Slave to Reign*, may seem odd to any Stranger; but is so usual in *Ethiopia*, that whensoever the Emperor bestows on any Man, tho' it be one of his own Brothers, any Employment, which they call

call *Xumete*, the Honour is always attended with that great Expression: *We have constituted such a One our Slave, Viceroy, or Governour, of such a Kingdom, or such a Province.* These are the Words of the Proclamation. They tell us of a *Portugueze* among the *Abyssinians*, who having receiv'd some such Honour from the Emperor, and not liking the Title of Slave to the Monarch of *Ethiopia*, being born in a Country where the Kings call their Subjects Children, he offer'd a great Sum to the Cryer, that he might not call him Slave, but barely such a one, which the Officer durst not do; and the Reason of it is, because the Emperor looks upon them all as Slaves, and they do not think it any undervaluing to them to be so.

All Lands at his dispoſal.

There is but one only Sovereign who Rules and Governs in the Provinces and Kingdoms we have said belong to this Empire, nor has he any other King under him; for he of *Dancali*, who is a *Mahometan*, and he of *Gingiro*, who is a *Heathen*, are not properly Subjects, nor pay any Tribute to the Emperor, tho' as to a powerful Neighbour they respect and in some manner acknowledge him for their Superior. He takes and gives all the Lands at Pleasure; yet in the Kingdom of *Tigre* particularly, there are some, the Dominion whereof he never takes from certain Families, descended from the ancient Possessors. Such are those of the *Barnagaes*, and the *Xumos*, or Governors of *Seraoé*, *Syré*, *Temben* and others. So in *Dambea*, the Power of the *Cantiba* never departs from the Race of the ancient Possessors; but the Emperor once in two Years, or every Year, or half Year, takes these Commands from some Persons, and bestows them on others of the same Families, according to their Merits, or his Pleasure.

All Commands sold.

The worst of it is, that not only these but all other Governments in his Kingdoms and Provinces, are rather sold than given; for no Man has them without paying down as much as he expects he can make by them and be a Gainer. Now the Candidates being many, they generally carry the Posts who bid most, and thus they give more than they are honestly worth; so that to save themselves they devour the People, and sell inferior Posts and Commands to the highest Bidders, and thus all Things here are expos'd to Sale; and these Great Men being Lords and Judges, and having absolute Power over the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects, they are generally more like Robbers than Governours.

No Redress against Oppressors.

It is true there lies an Appeal from them to the Supream Courts and the Emperor, but there are few that dare Appeal, which is declaring themselves the Governor's or Viceroy's Enemies, and then they fear he may find some specious pretence to undo them. When the Governor's Command is expir'd, which should seem to

be a proper Time to bring in any Complaint against him, either by Favour or Corruption he prevails with the Emperor to put out a Proclamation against laying any such Information against him, or any of his Family for any thing they have done: And thus by means of this Jubilee, and entire Remission of theirs and the Sins of others, all the Outrages and Extortions committed are bury'd in Oblivion. This is all the Account those Governors are call'd to for their Administration, and so establish'd among them, that they look upon it as no Sin, or take any Care to Redress it; but if any one is scandaliz'd at it, they say, This same is and ever was the Form of Government in their Country, and it will cause great Troubles to alter it; so tenacious are Men of ancient Customs, that they will rather be in the wrong their own way, than stand corrected by others.

Beteudets, *Prime Ministers suppress'd*

There was formerly under the Emperor a high Dignity they call'd *Beteudet*, which imports, the Beloved, or the Favourite, and there were two so honour'd, the one of the Left and the other of the Right Hand. These two had all the Power of Government, for the Emperor spoke to no Man, nor would he suffer himself to be seen but by very few; and those two *Beteudets* did all Things. But of late Years the Emperors are grown more familiar, and suffer themselves to be seen and talk'd to by all Men; by which means they have found they had no use for that high Dignity, because the two *Beteudets* were Kings, and the Emperor had only the Name, for which Reason they suppress'd the Charge; instead whereof they constituted another call'd *Raz*, which signifies Head; because he who has that Employment is next the Emperor, Head of all the great Men in the Empire; he is first Councellor and Prime Minister, both in Civil and Military Affairs, and is Generalissimo, as Commanding for the most Part in all Wars of any Moment.

Raz *now Prime Minister.*

Next under him is another they call *Bellatinoche Goytà*, which signifies *Lord* of the Servants, being like a Lord Steward, and he has Power over all Viceroys, Generals, *Xumos*, or Governors, and over the *Azages*, and *Umbares*, who are the Judges of the Empire. There is another at Court call'd *Tecâcase Bellatinoche Goyta*, signifying, *Lord* of the Lesser Servants, or an under Steward, who only commands the Houshold Servants, which are all mean; for the Emperor is far from being serv'd by the Sons of Kings, as *Urreta* feign'd, whereof there are none in the Empire, but even not by those of good honest substantial People, for he has none but Slaves of several sorts; some of them *Agaus*, others *Gonga's*, and others *Cafres*, or *Ballous*; yet these he often makes *Xumo's*, and raises them to the greatest Employments at Court. Nor is this any way re-

Lord Steward.

flected

flected on, and the Emperor says, he does it because he finds none faithful but those People he breeds up and raises from nothing, tho' all of them are not so, but it seems they are more trusty than others.

Under the *Bellatinoche Goyta* are all the other Viceroys, and Governors of Kingdoms and Provinces, and the Commanders of the Emperors Camp, being those of the Van, the Rear, the Right and Left, as also the Courts and Ministers of Justice; the chief whereof is that of the *Azages*, which looks like the Judges of the King's Court in *Spain* and *Portugal*, but that they make no Distinction betwixt Judges of the Court and of those for Criminal and Civil Affairs; only there are some of the Right and some of the Left Hand, and under them the *Umbares*, which signify the Chairs, so call'd, because they Sit whilst the Plaintiff and Defendant stand, and to these, if they belong to the Court, all Appeals in Causes either Civil or Criminal, throughout the Empire, are first brought; as also all Causes belonging to the Court or Camp, which are the same Thing in this Country, are first try'd before them. These are also of the Right and Left Hand, and from them the Appeal goes up to the Court Judges. *Great Officers.*

There are no Proceedings in Writing, but all Causes are commenc'd and concluded by word of Mouth, as has been said; nor are any Witnesses heard but the Plaintiffs, and therefore for the most part Judgment is given for him, because he brings what Evidence he pleases: But the Defendant may invalidate their Credit, and does it all the ways he can; yet the Success of the Cause depending on that, the Plaintiff has still a great Advantage, especially when without any Remorse of Conscience he bribes the Evidence, which is to be done with ease and cheap enough in *Ethiopia*, as well as in other Countries. *Judicial Proceedings.*

A Criminal convicted of Murder is by the Judges delivered up to the Kindred, Children or Wife of the Party murder'd, which Custom, besides many others, they have retain'd from the *Jews*. Those Relations either sell the Murderer's Life, or put him to Death after what manner they please. When the Murther cannot be prov'd upon any one Man, all the Inhabitants of the Place where the Fact was committed, are fin'd, and the dread of this Punishment prevents much Bloodshed. *Murder, how punish'd.*

Chap. XI.

Of the Abyssinian *Soldiery, and the manner of their Camp; of the City* Aczum, *and other Towns and Buildings; and of the Revenues and Taxes of this Empire.*

Abyssines *good Soldiers.*

IT may be said in general, that the *Abyssinians* are good Soldiers; for they Ride well, are strong, well made, and enur'd to Hardship, enduring Hunger and Thirst to a Miracle, which is the Commendation *Agesilaus* gave his Soldiers, saying, *They could Fight with Hunger and Thirst.* So these continue in the Field most part of the Year, patiently suffering all Weather, as the scorching Heats, the sharp Cold, and violent Rains, and this with very little Food. They are bred up to War from their Infancy, and grow Old in it; for those who are not Husbandmen are Soldiers, and to that purpose the Emperor gives them Lands to live on, which they enjoy as long as they serve; but if they fail he gives them to others, and this is all their Pay; which is the Reason he can raise a great Army with little Charge.

Their Weapons.

The Weapons they use are a sort of short Spears, the Staves of them thin, and the Iron of one sort narrow, like ours, and of the other broad, but thin; the one to be darted strongly, the other to fence with in close Fight, with one Hand; for the other holds the Buckler, which is made of wild Buffalo's Hide, very strong. Each Soldier generally carries two of these Spears or Darts. The narrow ones they dart, as was said, with such Fury, that they pierce Coats of Mail and Bucklers; the broader they keep to continue the Fight, as we do with Sword and Buckler. The better sort have Swords, but very rarely make use of them, only wearing them in time of Peace, by way of Ornament, and therefore they endeavour to have a Gilt or Silver Hilt, and the Scabbard of Velvet, or some other Silk; when they talk with any body, they hold them in their Hands, and so walk; but when they go in the Streets the Servants carry them under their Arms. Some wear Daggers under their Breasts, with the Hilt towards the Right, and the Point to the Left. They also carry Clubs of hard Wood and heavy, which they call *Bolotas*, with Daggers in them, which they use when

when they come to grapple together, and ſometimes they dart them.

The Horſe have no Weapons to fight with but ſhort Lances, ſuch of them as have Coats of Mail, which are but few, do not care for Bucklers, as being leſs encumber'd, but they carry ſome of the narrow pointed Spears above mention'd, to dart at a diſtance. *Horſe.*

The Emperor, when he gathers all his Force, brings into the Field 30 or 40000 Men, 4 or 5000 of them Horſe, the reſt Foot. Of the Horſe about 1500 are ſizeable, and ſome of them very fine and ſtrong. About 7 or 800 of theſe Horſe wear Coats of Mail and Head-Pieces, all the reſt both Horſe and Foot, have no other Arms than have been ſaid above, the Spears and Bucklers. They have above 1500 Fire Arms, but there are ſeldom above 3 or 400 Muſquetiers in any Action, and thoſe for the moſt part ſo ill train'd, that they never fire above once; nor can it be otherwiſe, becauſe Powder and Ball are ſo ſcarce, that very few have any to Exerciſe at other Times, and thoſe few Principal Men that do, uſe a Reſt which they have not leiſure to do in their Wars with the *Gallas* and others; ſo that they are little the better for their Learning. *Abyſſine Army.*

There being no ſuch Martial Diſcipline among them, as we have in *Europe*, and conſequently their Armies, Batallions and Squadrons, not being ſo regularly drawn up, the firſt Shock begins and ends their Battels; either the one ſide or the other turning their Backs, and the other purſuing; nor do they think much of running away, becauſe it is daily practis'd. *No Diſcipline.*

The aforeſaid number of Troops, or a much leſs, makes an extraordinary great Camp, by reaſon the other People that follow the Army are far more numerous than the Soldiers, and the Baggage very much; and this is becauſe they commonly go to the War with their whole Families, Wives and Children, and the Queen herſelf goes; and there is need of many Women to make their *Apas*, which are their daily Food, as has been ſaid, as alſo their Wine; and all theſe Hangers on, with the Merchants and other Followers, amount to ſo great a number, that where there are 10000 Soldiers, there never are leſs than 30000 Souls, and if the Emperor be there 100 or 120000. *Multitudes following the Camp.*

Here the Emperor, Great Men, Ladies, Commanders, and many Soldiers, have abundance of Tents, which are ſet up in very good Order, and always the ſame: For the Emperor's Tents being 4 or 5 very beautiful ones, are plac'd in the Center, and then leaving a large ſpace between on the Right, Left, Front and Rear of them, are thoſe of two Churches he carries with him, and thoſe of the Queen *Manner of encamping.*

Queen and Great Men, who have all their fixt Places; then those of the Officers and Soldiers, according to their Posts; those of the Vanguard before, those of the Rear behind, and the two Wings on the Right and Left. The Camp thus pitch'd, takes up a very great Space, and is certainly very graceful to behold, especially in the Night, by reason of the Multitude of Fires lighted.

Of marching. When they are to march, the *Titaurari*, so they call him that performs the Duty of a Major, or Quarter-Master General, goes before, and pitches upon the Ground for encamping, where he sticks a Lance, which shows that the Emperor's Tent is to be set up there, and by that every Man knows what Place belongs to him. On their march they observe no Order, but before the Emperor go the Waites and Kettle Drums, and he always mounts and alights within his Tent; and if he happens to alight by the way, those who are nearest make a Ring, hiding him with their Cloaks, and they bring him a Couch, which is always carry'd near at Hand, on which, cover'd with Carpets and Cushions of rich Silk, he uses to rest him.

Disorders of the Army. Most of these People carry no Provisions, and they who have any, when it is spent live as well as all the rest upon what is given them, or they take in the Country Towns they march through, which they leave as much undone, as the *Gallas* their Enemies could do, were they in their Places, especially when the Army continues any time on the same Ground, for there is no other way, but for the Emperor, or General, to assign them certain Towns, which they rob of all sorts of Provisions, and under that colour all the rest goes; so that the Inhabitants have no other Remedy but Patience, and may say with *Job*, *The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* This is also the Reason why the *Gallas* so easily make Inroads into the Empire, and on the contrary the Emperor's Forces cannot go far into their Lands; because they do not Sow, nor have they any Stores of Provision laid up, but live upon the Milk of their Cows, and when they have occasion, easily drive them away, retiring themselves, and leaving the *Ethiopians* the desert Fields, which obliges them to retire speedily, or Starve.

How the Emperor moves. About the Emperor march his *Azages* and chief Men, attending him, and he always travels with his Crown on his Head, made up of several Pieces of Gold and Silver, with some Seed Pearl; for precious Stones were never so much as seen in *Ethiopia*. He also wears his Silk Hat, brought from *India*, like those us'd there; none of those Curtains, which formerly were, being now carry'd about him, that he might be seen by no Man. On the contrary he sometimes quits his Mule and Prances on his Horse.

When

When the Enemy is near, the Army marches close and in better order; all the Divisions in their Posts, and neither the Van advances far, nor the Rear stays much behind. The Wings are stretch'd out, the Emperor being in the Center with some of his Guards, great Men and Ladies, leaving a sufficient Interval for the Baggage to be enclos'd and in safety. *Damian de Goes*, writ a Treatise, *de Moribus Abyssinorum*, from which *Illescas* took what he relates in the 2d Part of his Pontifical History, *lib. 6. cap. 22.* but neither of them had such certain Information of what they deliver, as we have.

The Learned *Mercator*, in the 3d part of his *Atlas*, describing *Ethiopia*, says, there are few Cities among the *Abyssinians*, and would have been more in the Right, had he said, there were none, as he is where he writes, they live in Villages. The new *Atlas* publish'd in *Spanish ann.* 1653, follow'd *Mercator*. At this time there is no settled City in all *Ethiopia*; formerly the Town of *Aczum* was very famous among the *Abyssinians*, and still preserves somewhat of its Renown; and this place seems to have been a City, at least they look upon it as most certain, that the Queen of *Sheba* kept her Court there, and that it was the Residence of the Emperors for many Ages after, and they are Crown'd there to this Day. This is the City *Aczum*, or *Auxum*, often mention'd by the learned Cardinal *Baronius* in his Ecclesiastical Annals, as we shall see hereafter; at present it is only a Village of about 100 Houses. This place is Three Leagues from *Fremona*, and about 45 from *Mazua*, in 14 Degrees and a half Latitude. There are to be seen many ancient Ruins, particularly those of a spacious Church, which appears to have been of 5 Isles, 165 Foot in Length, and 75 in Breadth. Aczum *Town.*

The most magnificent Thing that appears here, are certain very tall Stones, in the nature of Obelisks, or Pyramids, the biggest of them 78 Foot in Length, the Breadth at the Foot Seven Foot Six Inches. It is cut as it were in small Cushions, each of them about half a Yard Square; the smallest of them being between 25 and 30 Foot high are rude misshapen Stones. Some of those which seem to have been tallest are thrown down, and they say, the *Turks* entring *Ethiopia* overthrew them. The end of erecting these Pyramids may reasonably be suppos'd to have been for Monuments, near their Graves; which was the Design of the *Egyptians* in their so famous Pyramids. Here is also a Stone set up with a large Inscription, in *Greek* and *Latin* Characters, but they do not make any Sense. The Ceremonies here us'd at the Coronation of Emperors were many, whereof enough still remain; we shall *Obelisks.*

speak

ſpeak of them hereafter at the Coronation of the Emperor *Sultan Segued.*

The Imperial Camp the only City.

There is no City at this time in *Ethiopia*, only the King's Camp reſembles a Royal City and the Capital of the Empire. It may deſerve the name of a City, not in regard of the Buildings, but for the Multitude of People, and the good order obſerv'd in taking up their Ground, eſpecially the Place where they Winter, which is generally the ſame, but never for many Years. When the Fathers of the Society were there, the Emperor repair'd to a Place call'd *Dancaz*, which laſted near 10 Years; but the ſame Emperor in 13, or 14 Years before that had 5, or 6 other Places, in each of which he continu'd 2, 3, or 4 Years. This has been always the Cuſtom of *Ethiopia*, and when he removes, for the moſt part there is nothing remains to be ſeen, but, *Fields where* Troy *Town ſtood.*

Frequent removes.

Theſe frequent removals, are occaſion'd in the firſt place by the ſmall expence in building their Houſes, as ſhall be ſoon ſhown; and ſecondly with regard to the ſeveral Wars they have in Hand, ſometimes with one Enemy, and ſometimes with another; but above all, for want of Wood. Firſt the Ground is choſen, where there may be Plenty of Wood; but no order being obſerv'd in falling the Trees, the Mountains and Valleys are ſoon left bare, and then they preſently think of removing to another Place, where there is Wood; and they are amaz'd to hear, that in *Europe* and other Parts of the World great Cities can continue long in the ſame Place without being in great want of Wood.

None but Villages in Ethiopia.

Excepting the Emperor's Camp, or that of ſome great Man, there is no Habitation throughout the whole Empire, that can deſerve the Name of a City, nor ſo much as of a great Town. They are all Villages, ſome greater and ſome ſmaller; but ſuch as can claim no other Title. Of theſe, in ſome Provinces and Territories there are many ſo cloſe together, that all the Country ſeems to be inhabited; other Parts are leſs Populous, and many are quite Deſart. Thus we may judge they are all open, without Walls, or other Encloſure; only in the Kingdom of *Amahara* and ſome others, ſuch as are on the Frontiers, next the *Gallas*, who ſo infeſt them with continual Incurſions, that they cannot ſo much as Till the Land, theſe, being ſeated on *Ambas* and high Mountains, have alſo ſome ſort of Walls of dry Stone.

Buildings.

The Houſes are generally of Stone and Clay, I mean thoſe of the better ſort, for the reſt make their Walls of Stakes drove cloſe together and cover'd with Straw. Only on the Sea Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Tigre* the Roofs are terraſs'd; but for the moſt part

part so low, that a Man may reach them with his Head. Most of the Houses are round; yet some they build long, as were commonly those of the Emperors, which they call *Sacala*, and thence this same Name signifies the Palaces of the Emperor, or great Men. The round ones, if they be any thing large, they call *Behet Nugu*, importing a Royal House; for *Behet* is a House, and *Nugu* a King. The great Lords and Rich Men adorn these Houses with Quarters of Cedar, so close to one another that they serve instead of Wainscot, and this Wainscot they bind and fasten together with Lines of several colours, so that they look handsome enough, and are pleasant and convenient for ground Rooms. Every Man of Quality has 6, 8, or more of these Houses, or Rooms within large Enclosures, which are made of dry Stone, 6, or 7 Spans high, and on the Top of them they raise close Hedges, full of Thorns. At this time, as will be said hereafter, they have some knowledge of Lime, and have built some Churches and a few Houses with Lime and Stone.

Revenues.

The Revenues of this Empire are very small, and as *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* testifies, that he had it from the Emperor *Sultan Segued*'s own Mouth, these Princes never had any Treasurers; so that whatsoever *F. Uretta* writes concerning this Point is all Chimerical; I will therefore give *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*'s Account. 'The Kingdom of *Narea*, says he, yields more Gold than any 'other of this Empire. The Emperor now reigning affirms that 'from all Antiquity, never so much was brought to any one, as to '*Malac Segued*, who reign'd from the Year 1563, till 1596; and 'of all that came to the said *Malac Segued* every Year, only one 'amounted to 5000 *Oqueas*, as some report, which many do not 'look upon as certain. For the most Years it did not exceed '1500 *Oqueas*, which are 15000 Pieces of Eight. This same Sum 'our Emperor, (meaning *Sultan Segued*) receiv'd for some Years; 'but now he has not usually above 1000 *Oqueas*. These came 'to him Five Years since, when I was in the Country of the '*Damotes*, and their Viceroy, who was then the Catholick and 'Brave *Buco* went to fetch them, through the midst of the *Gallas* 'and *Cafres*, but from that time to this, *Narea* being infested by the '*Gallas* and the great Men of that Kingdom at variance, in all 'these 5 Years, the Emperor has receiv'd but 500 *Oqueas*; yet it 'is hop'd that for the future he will not fail of 1000, which is 'the usual Tribute at this Time.

'Some Lands of *Gojam* Yearly yield 1100 *Oqueas* in Gold by 'way of Tribute, little more or less; tho' sometimes the Emperor 'has bestow'd all these Lands, or part of them on some great 'Men, as his Sons, or Brothers, and they spend that Revenue.

'The same Kingdom yields 3000 Pieces of Cloth, worth a Piece 'of Eight each; besides 200 *Bezetes*, being very large and close 'Cloths made of Cotton, with a Pile, or Shag on the one side, like 'our Carpets, each of which is worth an *Oquea*, little more or less. 'Formerly, they say, the same Kingdom paid 3000 Horses; but 'it is to be observ'd that most of that Kingdom were, and still 'are ordinary Nags and low priz'd Beasts. This Tribute has 'ceas'd, because, since the *Gallas* drew near and made continual 'War on that Kingdom, the Emperor *Malac Segued* thought 'good to remit this Duty, the better to enable those People with 'their Horses to defend themselves against the *Gallas*. All that '*Francis Alvarez* adds, touching this Point, of what he saw 'brought to Court in the Days of *David* the Emperor; and the 'Ceremonies and Magnificence he there describes, of the manner 'of bringing this Tribute, was a Contrivance to show it, like 'many more perform'd before him and his Companions, that they 'might have something to talk of in strange Countries.

'The Emperor receives no Tribute in Gold from any other 'Kingdom of his Empire; but the Governors he places over them 'give it him for their Commands; so that he receives 25000 'Pieces of Eight from several Governments, which they call '*Xumetes*, in the Kingdom of *Tigre*; from the *Xumetes* of *Dambea* '5000; from those of *Begameder*, *Amahara*, *Noleca* and *Xaoa*, 'something, but less, because those Countries are infested by the '*Gallas*. Of this sort of Revenue, the former Emperors receiv'd 'much greater Sums than the present, because they had many 'more and much larger Kingdoms; part whereof are now 'possess'd by the *Gallas*, and others pay no more Subjection, 'because the *Gallas* are got betwixt them and the Emperor's Do-'minions.

'They have some Passes on Mountains, where all Commo-'dities pay a Duty. Sea Ports on the Ocean no *Abyssinian* Emperor 'ever had any; on the Red-Sea they had *Mazua*, but the *Turks* 'have long since been Masters of it. Most of the Duties pay-'able on those Passes the Emperor has given to great Men, with 'the Lands, where they are; but that of *Lamalmon* he keeps for 'himself, which yields him the value of 100 *Oqueas* a Year.

'The Emperor has some Lands, which are like Royalties, from 'which he draws 10, or 12 Loads of Provisions. Besides this he 'has another Duty of Provisions, an Account whereof the Hus-'bandmen of *Dambea*, *Gojam*, *Begameder* and some other Provinces 'pay each a Load, little more or less; but most of this he has 'given to several of his Commanders. What comes from *Dam-'bea*, being about 10, or 12000 Loads, he divides among some

'Soldiers,

'Soldiers, on whom he has not bestow'd Lands, gives some Alms 'to the Poor, and distributes among some Men and Women of 'Quality, who are in Want at Court.

'There is one considerable Tax in *Ethiopia*, which was impos'd 'less than 80 Years since, by which every Man that has Cows, 'every three Years pays him one out of Ten; and the Country 'being full of Cattel, most of which is Kine, this Tribute a-'mounts to a great Value, and the Kingdoms and Provinces are 'so distributed, that some of them pay it every Year. This they 'call Burning, because they burn a Mark upon that they chuse 'for the Emperor; but it may deserve the Name for other Rea-'sons, in regard that the Officers, who are to gather this Cattel, 'commit so many Insolencies on the poor Country People, that 'they ruin, and consume them. Besides this every Loom that 'Weaves Cotton-Cloth, if belonging to a Christian, pays one of 'those Cloths; if to a *Mahometan*, a Piece of Eight, and by this 'Duty he gathers every Year in *Dambea* and the Neighbouring 'Parts 1000 Cloths. He has the same Revenue in other King-'doms, but has bestow'd it on those Lords to whom he has 'given the Lands of those Countries.

'These are the Revenues of the *Abyssine* Empire, which being 'summon'd up, it plainly appears are inconsiderable enough; 'not only in regard of what Fame has spread abroad, but of 'what might be expected from so many King loms and Provinces. 'However, besides all this we have here mention'd, which in a 'poor Country amounts to much more than can be imagin'd in 'others, that which makes this King great, is his being absolute 'Lord of all the Lands within his Dominions; so that he can 'take away and give them all as he thinks fit; for neither great 'nor small possess any thing but by the Emperor's Gift, and all 'they have is a Bounty during Pleasure. And it is so usual, 'for the Emperor to chop, change and take away, every Year, or 'two, or three, or in the midst of it, the Lands any Man has, 'and to bestow them on another, that it is never thought much 'of, and very often, one Plows, another Sows, and a third reaps. 'Hence it is that no Man improves what he has, or so much as 'Plants a Tree, as knowing it is a mighty rarity for him that 'Plants to gather the Fruit. It is the Emperor's Advantage that 'they should all so entirely depend on him; for thus they all 'serve him in Peace and War, some for fear of losing the Lands 'he has given them, and others in hopes of getting those they 'have not; and for this reason they make him their Presents, 'according to their Ability, for generally he gets most, who gives

'most, and he has least, who presents least. These are the Words 'of *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda.*

CHAP. XII.

Wherein a short Account is given of the Gallas, *who are at present the greatest Enemies of the* Abyssinians.

Gallas, *where they live.*

WE shall have often occasion in this History to speak of the *Gallas*, who are at present the Scourge God has made use of against the *Abyssinians*, and therefore I have thought it necessary to give some Account of them in this place. In order to it, we must first observe that the most Southern parts of this Empire are, the Kingdom of *Cambate* due South, that of *Narea* South West, and that of *Bali* South East. From the Kingdoms of *Narea*, and *Cambate* to the Sea there are several hundred Leagues; but from that of *Bali* to the Sea, going directly from North West to South East, there are less than an hundred Leagues to the Coast of the Ocean, which Sailers call the Desert Coast, and is the nearest to *Ethiopia*, as lying next the Kingdom of *Bali*, formerly belonging to *Abyssinia*. These Lands that lie betwixt *Bali* and the Ocean are the proper Country and Habitation of the *Gallas*.

Suppos'd to be Jews.

The most received Opinion among learned Men is, that these People are originally descended from those *Jews*, who on occasion of the Transmigrations, or Dispersions of the said Nation under *Salmanasar*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Titus*, *Adrian*, and *Severus* settled on that Part of the Borders of *Ethiopia*; and that from them came those we now call *Gallas*, or *Callas*, which signifies, Milks, changing the C into G, as is frequently done in other Nations: so the *Abyssinians* changing *Calla* into *Galla*, gave the Name to these *Jews* and to other *Greeks* and *Assyrians*, who mix'd with them, *Gallas*, or *Callas* signifying White Men, for *Calla* in the *Hebrew*, signifies Milk, and they were call'd Milks, to denote they were White; and still these People are call'd *Gallas*, that is Whites, tho' they are now Black. So the Race of the *Portugueses*, who enter'd *Ethiopia*, with *Don Christopher da Gama*, are still by the *Abyssinians*

Abyssinians call'd *Portugueses*, as being descended from them, tho' they are now *Abyssinians* and of their Colour. In the same manner these *Gallas* having no Education and conversing continually with Barbarous Nations, are become some of the most brutal of all the *Cafres*.

Their first coming into Ethiopia.

The first time this Plague broke out of their own Country, where they dwelt and enter'd *Ethiopia*, was in the Days of the Emperor *David*, otherwise call'd *Onag Segued*, of whom I shall speak hereafter; and their Irruption was at the same time that the *Moor Granhe* of *Adel*, had made an Incursion and conquer'd a considerable part of the Empire, for Misfortunes never come alone, and their first Inroad was by the Kingdom of *Bali*, on which they border'd.

Their Conquests.

The Irruption of these Barbarians into *Ethiopia*, was like an Inundation from a mighty River, which swelling over all the Plain, spares nothing that stands in its way, but bears down all it meets, Men, Cattle, Corn, and Buildings; so that when the Emperor *Sultan Segued* began his Reign, these Savages had subdu'd most of the largest Kingdoms of *Ethiopia*, from that of *Angot*, which now lies almost East of them, to the Southward through *Doaro*, *Oifat*, *Bali*, *Fategar*, *Oge*, part of *Xaoa*, *Bizamo*, and *Damut*, which lies West of *Gojam*, and they are now Masters of these Kingdoms, and of many Provinces lying between them; and had not Providence so order'd it, that they should be continually at War among themselves, one Hord, or Race against another, there would not by this time be one Foot of Land in the whole Empire, but what they would be Masters of. To this end also Providence farther seems to have order'd that the Kingdoms remaining under the *Abyssine* Emperor should be full of prodigious high and craggy Mountains, where the Horse of the *Gallas* cannot easily make their Inroads, which is their way of Warring.

Their Barbarity.

Tho' at first these People were of a white Race, yet as in Process of time they lost their Colour and turn'd Black, so for want of Improvement and through too much mixing with Barbarians, they became at length so very brutal, that their way of living is more hideous than their Colour. They are Heathens, or rather neither Christians, *Mahometans*, nor Gentiles, for they worship no Idols, and have very little knowledge of God. However, since they have Peopled the Lands of the Empire, being in the midst between the Christians, and the *Mahometans* of *Adel* and *Adea*, they have taken to Circumcision, rather because it is the Custom of the Country, than as an Act of Religion.

Not-

Manner of living.

Notwithstanding their being all Black, yet they show their Progenitors were not so, for they have not flat Noses, like the *Cafres*, nor thick Lips, like those of *Angola*; but have generally very good Features, and are well shap'd and many of them rather deep Tawny than Black. They neither Till, nor Sow, nor gather any thing the Land produces; all the spacious Vales and rich Plains they are Masters of, only serve to afford their Cattle such Sustenance as the Earth naturally produces. They look after their Flocks, drink their Milk and eat their Flesh, which is all their Food, without any Bread, so easily are these Barbarians fed. Yet when they enter the Lands of the *Abyssinians* and find any Bread they do not mislike, but eat it, with a very good Appetite, and yet will not Sow.

Policy to defend themselves.

The reason they alledge for it is, that so the *Ethiopians* or other Enemies may not be able to over-run their Lands; for as soon as the *Gallas* perceive an Enemy comes on with a powerful Army, they retire to the farther Parts of the Country, with all their Cattle, which is all their Wealth, and taking that they take all away; then have the *Abyssinians* several Days march to come at them, for which they cannot carry Provisions, according to their little forecast, and there being none on the Lands of the *Gallas*, as not being Till'd, they must of necessity either turn back, or perish. This is an odd way of making War, wherein by flying they overcome the Conquerors; and without drawing Sword, oblige them to encounter with Hunger, which is an invincible Enemy; tho' at the same time the *Gallas* fight against themselves, as always wanting Bread, to prevent their Enemies eating it sometimes; so that they are like the Dog in the Manger, that will neither eat Hay himself, nor suffer the Horse to eat it.

Cruelty to Children.

The *Gallas* for the most part are barbarous and cruel, using their own Children more inhumanly than even the Wild-Beasts; for they take no care of breeding them up or providing for them, during the first Six, or Seven Years after they are marry'd, but rather throw them about the Fields, a Savageness odious to Nature, which has given the fiercest Lyons and Tigers a Sense of Tenderness for their Young. However they are generally Men of their Words, and of no ill Disposition, as was seen in some that were bred up in the Emperor's, and other great Men's Houses, who all prov'd so tractable, that the best of the *Abyssinians* did not exceed them; and some of them, who imbrac'd the Catholick Religion, were as constant in maintaining it under Torments, as they had been ready to profess it in Words.

Good Qualities.

They

They are generally valiant and brave. For defenſive Armour, they have only Targets of double Oxes Hides, and of late ſome are of Wild Buffalo, which is very ſtrong; their offenſive Weapons are ſuch ſmall Spears as has been ſaid the *Abyſſinians* uſe, and Wooden Clubs which they alſo caſt, like thoſe People. The firſt of the *Gallas* fought all a foot, but now they have Horſes, tho' not ſo good, or nobly tempered, or of ſo choice a Breed as the *Ethiopians*; but very hardy, becauſe they keep them in Breath, making them run half a Day together at half Speed. *Weapons.*

The Saddles they uſe are very light, and eaſily made, their Stirrups very thin, and ſmall, becauſe they don't put their Feet into them, but only their Great-Toes, which they learnt of the *Abyſſinians*, who all do ſo, and therefore they all and even the Emperor himſelf always ride bareſoot. I do not approve of the Cuſtom, much leſs of the *Roman*, who us'd no Stirrups at all, nor had ſo much as a Name to call them by, for in all the *Latin* Tongue there is no proper word to expreſs them. Nor can we approve of the Practice of the *Numidians*, who had neither Stirrups, nor Bridles to their Horſes, ſince it is certain that Bridles and Stirrups make Men ſit faſter and rule their Horſes better. *Horſmanſhip.*

That which always made the *Gallas* dreadful is their great Reſolution in joyning Battle, where they abſolutely conclude they will either Conquer, or Die; and this is the Reaſon they have obtain'd ſo many Victories over the *Abyſſinians*, tho' theſe were ſtill more numerous, and had better Arms and Horſes. The *Gallas*, when they make an Incurſion ſeldom exceed 7, or 8000, but theſe are choſen Youths, and ſworn to ſtand by one another, and therefore the Emperor *Sultan Segued* was wont to ſay, *That the* Ethiopians *could not ſtand the firſt ſhock of the* Gallas, *and therefore he always ſuffer'd them to run deep into the Country, that they might Plunder, and cool, and at their return, when they were loaded with Booty, thinking only how to get home and enjoy their Prize, and their firſt Fury much abated, then he lay in wait for them on the way, and call'd them to account for what they had robb'd, not only recovering the Prey, but ſacrificing their Lives to his Reſentment.* *Reſolution.*

They have no King, or Sovereign among them, but every Eight Years they chuſe a ſort of Conſul or Governor, whom they call *Luva*, and obey him as their General. The firſt thing he does, as ſoon as enter'd upon the Government, is to gather all the beſt Men he can, and make an Inroad into the Empire, killing and plundering all in his way, to gain himſelf and his Soldiers Wealth and Fame, for the unfortunate *Ethiopia* is the *India* they reſort to for what they want. This firſt Irruption they call *Dila* *Government.*

Dela Grito, which is as much as, a General Muster. It is an Establish'd Custom among them, never to cut the Hair of their Heads, till they have kill'd an Enemy in War, or some Wild-Beast, as a Lyon, or Tiger, and as soon as that is done they pole their Heads. On the top of it they leave a Lock, as is the Fashion of the *Japoneses*, which they much value themselves upon, as a Token of their Valour, not inherited from their Parents, but obtain'd by their own Merit.

This may suffice, as to the *Gallas*, and much less would have satisfy'd the *Abyssinians*, who are not only oppress'd but utterly undone by these Barbarians, Almighty God making use of them to chastise them for their Sins and Errors, as he made use of the *Philistines* to humble the Children of *Israel*, and both Nations did and do still deserve it, the *Jews* for their Rebellion, and the *Ethiopians* for their Schism.

Chap. XIII.

How the Abyssinians *came to the knowledge of the true God, by means of the Queen of* Sheba, *who went to see* Solomon, *and of the Son she had by him; with an Account of what seems to be real and what fabulous, touching the coming of that Queen, and her Son by him.*

Ethiopian *Histories.*

THE *Abyssinians* have but a very imperfect Knowledge of their Histories and ancient Times, for want of the Curiosity of writing Books, which are the Treasury wherein we lay up the precious Wealth of Knowledge, valu'd by *Solomon* more than mighty Kingdoms; and those few Books they have, their Monks take great care to keep from the Catholicks, because of the strong and irresistible Arguments they draw from them to confound the Errors of *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches*. However I will here deliver, what can be gather'd out of a very ancient Book of theirs, which is to them like another Gospel, and kept with extraordinary Veneration in the Church of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, being the ancient Metropolis and prime Seat of all the *Abyssine* Empire, there

there being a most positive Tradition among them, that there was the Residence of the Queen of *Sheba*, and there is no question but for many Ages it was the Court of the *Abyssine* Emperors. I will here briefly relate, what is very largely contain'd in that Book and others of theirs, and what is unanimously receiv'd among all those People, which is,

That a mighty Potent Queen, call'd *Azeb* or *Maqueda*, reigning in *Ethiopia*, she was inform'd of the great Power and Wisdom of *Solomon*, by one *Tamerin*, a Merchant of hers; and being desirous to see and hear *Solomon*, she came to *Jerusalem* with a mighty Retinue of the greatest Princes and Lords in *Ethiopia*, and abundance of Treasure. There *Solomon* gave her the Knowledge of the true God, and returning home at the end of Nine Months, she was delivered of a Son begotten by *Solomon*, who was call'd *Menilehec*, and by another Name *David*. This Son afterwards went to *Jerusalem* to see his Father *Solomon*, by whom he was magnificently entertain'd, and he caus'd him to be anointed and Sworn King of *Ethiopia*, by *Sadoc* and *Joas* the Priests; and when well instructed in the Law of God, which he was to cause to be observ'd in his Country, he assign'd him several of the first begotten of *Israel* to attend and serve him in *Ethiopia*, and furnish'd him with all Officers and Servants belonging to the Royal House of *Juda*, as also a High Priest and Levites, and Men learned in the Law of *Moses*.

Queen of Sheba.

Menilehec her Son.

Then the aforesaid Book proceeds to give an Account how these first begotten, at the Instigation of *Azariah*, the Son of *Sadoc* the Priest, took an Oath to one another to carry away with them the Ark of the Covenant, which they call'd the Heavenly *Sion*; and that going by Night to the *Temple*, Providence so ordering it, they found the Gates open, and put the Ark upon a Cart, and being attended by abundance of People, with much Wealth, and great Acclamations, they travell'd so swiftly, that *Solomon*, who went to recover the Ark, could not overtake them, and with the same Expedition they cross'd the *Red Sea*, as joyfully as the Children of *Israel* had done, with only this Difference, that the *Israelites* pass'd it on Foot, without being wet, and they flying in their Chariots; so that the Sea obey'd the former, and the Air was subservient to the latter.

Fable about the Ark.

This Book farther tells us, that when Queen *Maqueda* understood that her Son already made King was coming, and brought along with him all those first begotten, as also the Ark of the Heavenly God of *Sion*, she went out with great Solemnity to meet them, and plac'd the Ark in the Temple of the Land of *Maqueda*, all the People of *Ethiopia* receiving the Knowledge of the true God; there

being none at that time, throughout all the World, to compare to King *Solomon* in *Judea*, and to Queen *Maqueda* in *Ethiopia*. It further adds, that the Queen afterwards reſigned the Kingdom to her Son *David*, and oblig'd him and his Great Men to Swear by the Heavenly *Sion*, that they would never after admit any Woman to the Throne of *Ethiopia*, nor any but the Male Race deſcending from *David*.

All theſe Stories are told much at large in that Book of theirs, which they look upon as of undoubted Reputation. As to what they ſay, that the Queen of *Sheba* went out of *Ethiopia* to *Jeruſalem*, the *Abyſſinians* believe it to be beyond all Controverſy. It is true, thoſe precious Sweets the Scripture tells us the Queen of *Sheba* carry'd with her, are rather to be found in *Arabia Felix* than in *Ethiopia*, and in the ſame *Arabia* we find the *Sabean* Region, which is the proper Land of Frankincenſe, as appears by all Authors who have treated of it, and ſo ſays the Prince of Poets, *Georg.* 1.

Arabia the Country of Perfumes.

India *mittit Ebur, molles ſua Thura* Sabæi.

Beſides the Name of *Sheba*, or as the *Latin* has it *Saba*, denotes that the Queen was of this *Sabean* Country, which is in or near *Arabia Felix*. Many Holy Expoſitors have alſo declar'd that this Queen was of *Arabia* and not of *Ethiopia*; of this Opinion are *Juſtin*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, Cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, and others. But *Joſephus* in the 2d Book of his Antiquities, ſays, the Queen of *Sheba* was of *Ethiopia*, and *Origen*, *St Auguſtin*, *S. Anſelm* and others, quoted by *F. Toledo*, are of the ſame Opinion; but that Author adds, that *Arabia* is not far diſtant from *Ethiopia*, and ſo ſhe might be Queen of *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, and *Joſephus* ſays, ſhe was alſo Queen of *Ægypt*.

Opinions concerning this Queen.

F. Peter Pays of the Society, a Man of great Sincerity, whom we ſhall often ſpeak of, being taken by the *Turks* in that Part of *Arabia*, was carry'd with his Companion *F. Antony* of *Montſerat*, from *Doſar* to *Xaer*, and thence to *Senaan*, and they gave an Account, that in that Journey through *Arabia*, they found a Parcel of very large and wonderful ancient Ruins of Old Structures, and enquiring of the Natives concerning thoſe Antiquities, they anſwer'd, That Place had been formerly the Pen for the Queen of *Sheba*'s Cattel; and it may be ſuppos'd, adds the ſaid Father very diſcreetly, that the ſaid Great Queen was Miſtreſs of *Ethiopia*, and of that Part of *Arabia* lying oppoſite to it, beyond the *Red Sea*; and thus we may reconcile the Authors, who ſay ſhe was Queen of *Arabia* with thoſe who affirm ſhe was Queen of *Ethiopia*, and hence

hence ſhe might carry the Gold, ſince this is to be found in *Abyſſinia*, as are Sweets and Frankincenſe in *Arabia*. A farther Confirmation of this Opinion is the Name the *Abyſſines* give this Queen, ſaying, She was call'd *Maqueda* in *Arabick*, but the Name ſhe goes by in their Book is *Negueſta Azeb*.

Near to *Auxum* or *Aczum*, in the Kingdom of *Tigre* in *Ethiopia*, there is ſtill a ſmall Village call'd *Saba* or *Sabaim*, where they ſay the Queen of *Sheba* or *Saba* was Born. There is alſo another Village call'd *Azebo*, which anſwers to the Name of *Azeb*, and another call'd *Beth David*, ſignifying the Houſe of *David*, and in the *Ethiopian* Books this Queen is ſometimes call'd *Saba*, ſometimes *Azeb*, and ſometimes *Maqueda*. *Her ſeveral Names.*

In the firſt Book of *Kings*, *chap.* 10. and in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *chap.* 9. She is call'd Queen of *Sheba*, or according to the Vulgate *Saba*; in *S. Matthew*, *chap.* 12. where our Bible has the Queen of the South, the *Ethiopick* Verſion has *Negueſta Azeb*, which is the ſame Thing; for *Negueſta* ſignifies Queen, and *Azeb* in *Arabick* is the South Wind, and our Saviour call'd her ſo, becauſe *Ethiopia* and *Arabia* lie to the Southward of *Jury*. *In Scripture.*

It is farther ſaid of this Queen in that Book, that ſhe built a City, which was Capital of *Ethiopia*, calling it *Debra Maqueda*, which they ſay is the ſame as *Auxum* or *Aczum*, and for many Ages was the Court and Capital of *Ethiopia*, and in it, they ſay, the Queen of *Sheba*, as ſoon as ſhe came from *Jeruſalem*, built a ſtately Temple, in Honour of the true God; which ſame they add, Queen *Candace*, whom they call *Andake*, afterwards conſecrated to our Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, and to the bleſſed Virgin his holy Mother. Auxum *City and Temple.*

I am ſenſible there are many Fabulous Notions among what has been ſaid in this Chapter, and therefore as to the Point of the Queen of *Sheba*'s having a Son by *Solomon*, it ſeems no difficult matter to believe, and the Patriarch *Don Alfonſo Mendez*, has endeavour'd to prove it; nor is it hard to credit that he who took to Wife the Daughter of *Pharoah*, and lov'd without meaſure the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Sidonians*, *Hittites*, and others, ſhould contract Affinity with the Royal Family of *Ethiopia*; which is further confirm'd by the *Abyſſinians* to this Day, calling all the Offſpring of their Kings *Iſraelites*, and theſe muſt of neceſſity by their Laws be deſcended of the Male Line of theSons of *Menilehec*, the Son of *Solomon* and the Queen of *Sheba*; and for this ſame Reaſon the Arms of *Ethiopia* are a *Lyon*, with this Inſcription in an Orle, *The Lyon of* Judah *hath overcome.* *Arms of* Ethiopia.

Queen of Sheba *brought* Judaism *into* Ethiopia.

I make no Question, as the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, and the other Fathers of the Society who were there, do declare, that the Queen of *Sheba* was a Native of this *Ethiopia*, and introduc'd in it the Customs of the Court of *Jerusalem*, with Circumcision and the other Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Law, which continu'd even in the Days of our Saviour, and the preaching of the Gospel, as appears by the Pilgrimage the Eunuch of Queen *Candace* undertook to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, whom *S. Philip* the Deacon, as appears in the *Acts* of the Apostles, *chap.* 8. *ver.* 27. found reading the Prophet *Isaiah*; whence it may be inferr'd, that he observ'd the Law of *Moses*. They were so tenacious of these Customs, that we shall hereafter see how obstinately they adher'd to Circumcision, the keeping of the *Sabbath*, *or Saturday*, and other *Jewish* Ceremonies.

Resemblance between Jews *and* Ethiopians *in Customs.*

A further Confirmation of this Truth we find in the exact Resemblance there is betwixt the Customs of the *Jews* and those of the *Abyssines* in Peace and War, and in the Administration of Justice, for whatsoever we read in Holy Writ is there to be seen represented to the Life. The aforesaid Patriarch, who was one of the most learned Men in *Spain* as to Holy Writ, owns this of himself, that after his coming into *Ethiopia*, he understood many Passages of the Scripture he was before ignorant of, by comparing the Customs of those People with what the Bible relates, and that it is so undoubtedly an establish'd Opinion in *Ethiopia*, that this Queen was Born there, of her introducing the *Jewish* Rites, and of several Places retaining her Name, that it would be there look'd upon as no less Folly to deny their Emperors descending from *Solomon*, than it would be in *Rome* to say, that City was not built by *Romulus* and *Remus*; or in *Spain*, that their Kings did not descend from the *Goths*, or theirs in *Portugal* from King *Alfonso Henriquez*.

Fabulous Stories.

As for the Story of the Ark of the Covenant, stolen by *Azariah* and his Companions, all of them first begotten Sons, and the Miracles of their flying through the Air, and making their escape from *Solomon*, it is a Fable much like that of *Dædalus* his flying, when he escap'd out of *Crete* into *Italy*; and if the Inhabitants of that Island, were, as St *Paul* writes of them, in his Epistle to *Titus* C. 1. *v.* 12. *always Liars*, the *Abyssines* are nothing inferior to them in this particular, as the Fathers of the Society found by sufficient Experience; so that all the Relation was doubtless the Author's Invention, to gain Reputation to that Church and its *Tabot*, which is the Altar Stone, saying it stood on the Ark of the Covenant.

For the better understanding of what they pretended to urge as to this particular, we must observe that in *Ethiopia* they call an Altar

Altar Stone *Tabot*, which Name ſignifies the Ark of the Covenant, and the ſame they give to *Noah*'s Ark. It is alſo well known, that in the Infancy of Chriſtianity, the Altars were of Wood, and like little Cheſts, and there were no other Altar Stones, till the Time when St. *Silveſter* Pope began to Conſecrate Altar Stones; but leaving in St *Peters* Church the little Wooden Cheſt, which had for ſo many Years ſerv'd as an Altar to ſo many holy Popes, and on which none but his Holineſs is now permitted to ſay Maſs.

Tabot, *an Altar Stone*, &c.

From this ancient Cuſtom of the Church, ſeems to be deriv'd that which the *Abyſſines* ſtill obſerv'd, of ſaying Maſs on little Cheſts, and therefore they gave it the Name of *Tabot*, ſignifying the Ark of the Covenant, and they thought they added much Reputation to their Church of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, by ſaying their Cheſt or *Tabot*, was the very Ark of the Old Teſtament that was in *Solomon*'s Temple, and that God brought it ſo miraculouſly into *Ethiopia*; the Inventor of this Fable never reflecting, that it is directly contrary to the holy Text, 2 *Machab.* Chap 2. v. 4 and 5. where it is ſaid, *That the Prophet being warn'd by God, commanded the Tabernacle and the Ark to go with him, as he went forth into the Mountain where* Moſes *climb'd up, and ſaw the Heritage of GOD. And when* Jeremy *came thither, he found an hollow Cave, wherein he laid the Tabernacle and the Ark, and the Altar of Incenſe, and ſo ſtop'd the Door.*

Rather a Cheſt to ſay Maſs on.

This the Scripture delivers plain enough, but they will not hear of it, much leſs ſubmit to what the Fathers of the Society urg'd upon this Point, ſo poſitive are Men in their Errors, that ſome make their Appetite their God, and others have no Goſpel but their Opinion. The *Abyſſines* to gain more Reſpect to this little Cheſt of theirs, always kept it ſo cloſe and conceal'd, that they would not ſhow it even to their Emperors. They call it by way of excellency *Sion*, or *Seon*, as they pronounce it, and for the ſame Reaſon the Church, where they kept this to them ſo precious a Relick, being dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, had the Name of S. *Mary* of *Seon*.

Ethiopians *obſtinate*.

Not many Years ſince, perceiving that the Catholick Faith began to ſpread abroad, and fearing leſt this little Cheſt of theirs ſhould be taken away, or diſregarded, the moſt Zealous of their Monks remov'd it thence, and very privately convey'd it to the Territory of *Bur* near the Red Sea, where they hid it among cloſe Thickets and vaſt high Mountains, in order at a convenient Time to reſtore it to its ancient Place, in the Church of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, where in all likelyhood it now is, ſince their Revolt, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Hide their honour'd Cheſt.

This

This is what is known in *Ethiopia*, concerning the Religion they followed from the Days of the Queen of *Sheba*, till the Conversion of Queen *Candace*'s Eunuch to the Faith of *CHRIST*, which is above 1000 Years; for according to the Computation of our most diligent Writer *F. Cornelius a Lapide, in Synopſ. ad Tom. Gen. &c.* from the building of *Solomon*'s Temple till the Birth of *CHRIST*, there elaps'd 1017 Years. We will next come to the Emperors that Reign'd after the Queen of *Sheba*.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Emperors that reign'd in Ethiopia *after* Solomon's *Son, and particularly of one call'd* Lalibela.

Number of Emperors.

THIS Empire is of great Antiquity, and had always a Succeſſion of Emperors, tho' in their Books they only make mention of them ſince the Days of the Queen of *Sheba*; and from that Time to the Birth of our Saviour they reckon 24 Emperors, and from our Saviour to the preſent Emperor *Faciladas* there were 68. [*Obſerve this Emperor was at the Time the Author writ, which was in the Year* 1659, *and the ſame may be taken notice of in other Places, where he ſpeaks of the preſent Time.*] I will here give a brief Account of theſe Kings, which *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* faithfully tranſlated at large from their Book of the Church of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, and another Book of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, and I will adjoin the Years anſwerable to thoſe of the *European* Emperors, that we may gueſs about what Time they reign'd.

Queen of Sheba.

The firſt Royal Perſon nam'd in thoſe Books is the Queen of *Sheba*, who is there alſo call'd *Negueſta Azeb*, which is the ſame as Queen of the South, as our Saviour call'd her in the Goſpel. This Queen, as was ſaid in the laſt Chapter, went to *Jeruſalem* in the fourth Year of *Solomon*'s Reign, and had by him a Son call'd *Menilehec*, by another Name *David*. It is ſaid of her, that after her return Home, ſhe reign'd 25 Years, and her Son *Menilehec* rul'd 29 Years, and according to this ſhe liv'd to the 29th Year of *Solomon*, and her Son was 11 Years contemporary with him, and the other 18 with *Rehoboam*.

Menilehec her Son.

Menilehec

Menilehec had a Son call'd *Sagdur*, and there was a Succeſſion of 24 Kings from Father to Son till King *Phacen*, who was contemporary with *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and in the 8th Year of this *Phacen* our Saviour was Born. From this Year of the Birth of our Saviour, till 327 there were 13 Emperors in *Ethiopia*, at which Time two Brothers call'd *Abra* and *Abza* rul'd jointly in a peaceable and friendly manner, a Thing rare between Brothers ſwaying the ſame Scepter, which allows of no Brotherly Affection, nor Fidelity to one another, according to that certain Rule of *Lucan*, lib. 10. *Nulla fides regni ſociis, &c.* In the Days of theſe two Brothers S. *Frumentius* came into *Ethiopia*, ſent by S. *Athanaſius*, as we ſhall relate, and it is likely his coming was in the beginning of their Reign.

24 Kings before our Saviour.

13 Others.

After them Three other Brothers call'd *Azfa*, *Azfed* and *Amey* reign'd jointly, of whom it is ſaid, that for their better Governing in Peace, and without interfering with one another; they divided the Days into 3 parts, which was doubtleſs an odd ſort of Government, and ſubject to more Confuſion; yet the *Abyſſinians* will perſuade us, that it proſper'd well with them. Their Succeſſors were *Arado*, *Aladoba* and *Amiamid*, and at this Time their Books ſay, many Religious Men came from *Rum*, who, as ſhall be ſhown, enter'd the Kingdom of *Tigre* about the Year 424 little over or under. After *Amiamid* reign'd *Tacena*, and then *Caleb*, who anſwers to the Time of the Emperor *Juſtinian* in *Europe*, which was about the Year of Grace 521; and this *Caleb* is the ſame that Cardinal *Baronius*, and the Acts of the Holy Martyr S. *Aretas*, call *Elesbaan*. The *Roman* Martyrology, and the ſaid *Baronius* call him a Saint, and as ſuch he is reckon'd, as ſhall be ſhown hereafter.

3 Brothers Reign at once.

From the Year 521, till 960, when *Del Noad* reign'd, there was a Succeſſion of 19 Kings, and at this time the Line of *Solomon's* Poſterity was interrupted, and a Family call'd *Zague* enter'd upon the Government, and held the Empire 340 Years, for ſo many there are from 960 to 1300, about which time, according to the Catalogues of theſe Emperors, and the general receiv'd Opinion of *Ethiopia*, *Iqhunu Amalat* Reign'd, in whom the Poſterity of *Solomon* was reſtor'd to the Empire, and thoſe are the only Emperors there taken notice of, for I do not now ſpeak of thoſe, who intruded themſelves into the Empire, which did not belong to them.

A Time of Uſurpation.

From this *Iqhunu*, who Reign'd about the Year 1300 till *Zara Jacob*, who Govern'd about 1437, they reckon 16 Emperors. In the Days of this *Zara Jacob* the *Florentine* Councel was held, as ſhall be hinted hereafter, and this was he that deſir'd to reduce his Empire to the Catholick Faith, and in order to it writ Letters and

The right Line reſtor'd.

and sent some of his *Abyssinians* to Pope *Eugenius* the 4th, who then govern'd the Church, and answer'd him in a Letter mention'd by the Emperor *David*, or *Onad Segued* of *Ethiopia*, as will be seen hereafter, in a Letter he writ to Pope *Clement* the 7th. After *Zara Jacob* follow'd *Beda Mariam*, and after him *Escander*, or *Alexander*, in whose Days *Peter da Covilham* came into *Ethiopia*, about the Year 1491. The next was *Andeseon*, who Reign'd but 6 Months, and then *Naod* Rul'd 13 Years, answering to the Year of our Lord 1500. Next came *Onag Segued*, otherwise call'd *David*, in whose Days *Don Roderick de Lima* enter'd *Ethiopia*, with the Embassy from King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, and with him went *F. Francis Alvarez*, often mention'd in this History. *David* began his Reign in 1507, and held it till 1540. In his Days the *Moor Granhe* enter'd *Ethiopia*, destroying and conquering the greatest part of it, as we shall see hereafter.

Asnaf Segued *or* Claudius *Emperor.*

Asnaf Segued, otherwise call'd *Claudius*, or as the *Ethiopians* name him *Glaudios*, succeeded his Father *David*, to succour whom *Don Christopher da Gama* came into *Ethiopia* with 400 *Portugueses*, who restor'd the Empire and slew *Granhe*. This Emperor ascended the Throne in 1540, and dy'd in 1548. Then follow'd *Adamas Segued*, by another Name *Minas*, and this was he who persecuted and banish'd the Patriarch *Don Andrew de Oviedo*. His Successor was *Malac Segued*, who began his Rule in 1573, and dy'd in 1597. In his Days dy'd the aforesaid Patriarch *Don Andrew*, and the other Fathers his Companions, as shall be shown, this Emperor neither persecuting, nor favouring them, but suffering them to live at *Fremona* and administer the Sacraments to the *Portugueses*. The next *Jacob* rul'd 7 Years; then *Za Danguil*, after whose Death *Jacob* reign'd again, whose Competitor was *Socinios*, otherwise *Sultan Segued*. The Controversie lasted 3 Years, *Socinios* prevailing in the end and governing 25 Years, without including the 3 the Civil War lasted, for there are so many from 1607, when *Jacob* dy'd, till 1632, when he ended his Reign with his Life.

All these make 99 Emperors descended from *Solomon*, and it is no small Reputation to the *Abyssines*, to show so great Antiquity, and produce a Line of Kings for so many Ages to this Time, when that Empire is much decay'd, by the Neighbourhood of the *Gallas*, and the Tyranny of the *Turks*, as this History will show. *(I know not how to reconcile the Author to himself here, saying the Emperors were 99, whereas before he says, there were but 24 before Christ, and from thence till his writing 68, which in all make but 92.)* I have not here taken notice of the Queen of *Sheba*, or of Queen *Candace*, or the Empress *Helen*, because it

Women not taken notice of.

is

is not the Custom of the *Abyssines* to Name Women in these Catalogues of theirs, wherein they also follow the Custom of the *Jews*, from whom they descend, who, as *S. Jerome* observes, did not use to take notice of Females, in their *Genealogies*.

We have thus given a very brief account of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, descended from *Solomon* in a direct Male Line, for among them they do not admit of those who descended by the Females. I took no notice of those, who usurp'd the Empire, during that Interval the Family of *Zague* Rul'd, for the reason before given; but among them there was one call'd *Lalibela*, who prov'd very potent, had great Dominions and was extraordinary fortunate, not only in regard of his long peaceable Possession of the Empire, which lasted 40 Years, and for leaving a Son to succeed him, who govern'd as long; but also for his greatness of Mind, in erecting sumptuous Structures, which perpetuated his Name in *Ethiopia*. He caus'd many notable Architects to be brought out of *Egypt*; where there were always some famous, since the raising of the celebrated Pyramids, and spent 24 Years in building 10 admirable Churches, after an unusual and wonderful Method, for they were all hew'd out of solid Rocks, and most curiously contriv'd. So that as in other stately Works we admire how much they increase by the addition of the Stones the Workmen lay on; in these prodigious Churches the Work increas'd as the Stone diminish'd, for all the advancing of the Structure depended on what was hew'd from it. The Names of the Churches were these, *S. Emanuel*, *S. Saviour*, *S. Mary*, *the Holy Cross*, *S. George*, *Golgotha*, *Bethlehem*, *Marcoreos*, *the Martyrs* and *Lalibela*. This last, which is the chiefest, and finest Structure retain'd the Name of the Founder of them all, well deserv'd by a Prince so magnanimous and of such singular Piety, who in a Country where there ever were such mean Structures, and so great a Scarcity of Builders, had Resolution and Treasure enough to bring those notable Artists from so far, which must be an extraordinary Expence, and to erect such singular Works, worthy to be reckon'd among the most sumptuous and wonderful in the World. The particular Description of these Churches I leave to *F. Francis Alvarez*, who saw them himself, as he writes in his History.

Lalibela, a great Emperor.

Churches hew'd out of solid Rocks.

On Account of these Renowned and Pious Works, the common People look'd upon this Emperor as a Saint, and perhaps he might be so; I will here set down what we find written concerning him, in a Book of theirs. *On the* 17th *of June*, says the Book, *the blessed, unspotted Contemplator of the Heavenly Mysteries*, Lalibela, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *went to rest: When this Saint was*

Lalibela reckon'd a Saint.

born, his Parents educated him in the Fear of God; and when he was grown up a Youth, the Emperor his Brother was told, that he should poſſeſs his Empire and ſit upon his Throne; whereupon he grew envious, ſent for him, and order'd him to be whipt, but the Stripes did not touch him, the Angel of the Lord delivering him, which Angel reveal'd to him, that he ſhould build the Ten Churches, and when he had done building them, he reſted in Peace.

Abraham another.

Thus far their Book, which is no Goſpel, but relates many Aprocryphal Stories, as *F. Emanuel de Almeyda* informs us, and as ſuch I look upon what *F. Francis Alvarez* tells us, that he ſaw written in a Book they kept in that Church, wherein it is ſaid, That a King, whoſe Name was *Abraham*, liv'd there a retir'd Life, for the ſpace of 40 Years, and that he was a Prieſt, and ſaid Maſs every Day, for which an Angel daily ſupply'd him with Bread and Wine. I queſtion not but he was a Holy Man, if the Angel came thus to attend him; but it does not appear that there was any ſuch Emperor then in *Ethiopia*.

This ſhort Account of the Emperors of *Ethiopia* will give us ſome Light, for the better underſtanding of this Hiſtory; and as we have ſeen the Original of the Knowledge of the true God in *Ethiopia*; ſo ſhall we now ſee how the Faith of JESUS CHRIST came into this Empire. The famous *Portugueze* Hiſtorian *James de Couto* Decad. 7. lib. 1. cap. 8. brings a long Catalogue of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, but not upon ſuch certain Information.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

At what Time and in what manner the Knowledge of the Faith of CHRIST *was brought into* Ethiopia; *a Proof of it out of the* Ethiopian *Books; a farther Confirmation of it.*

AS to the Knowledge of the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, it is a moſt unqueſtion'd Tradition among the *Ethiopians*, that they receiv'd it by means of the Eunuch and great Favourite to *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, of whom mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles, *chap.* 8. I will here deliver this Story in the ſame Words it is written in the aforemention'd Book of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, whence *F. Emanuel de Almeyda* took it, and it runs thus.

Story of Q. Candace.

Before the Queen of Sheba *went to* Jeruſalem *to hear the Wiſdom of* Solomon, *all the People of* Ethiopia *were Heathens; but at her Return, ſhe brought them the Hiſtory of* Geneſis, *and they continu'd in the* Jewiſh *Law, till the coming of CHRIST. After that, Queen* Candace's *Eunuch's going to* Jeruſalem *to pay his Worſhip on the Feaſt of the* Paſſover, *was the cauſe of their becoming Chriſtians, for the Gentiles, who embrac'd the* Jewiſh *Law, went to* Jeruſalem *at the* Paſſover, *becauſe it was not lawful for them to offer Sacrifice in their own Country, but in the Place where the Name of God was call'd upon. And as the ſaid Eunuch was returning, the Angel of the Lord ſpoke to* Philip, *and ſaid to him,* Ariſe and go towards the South to the way that goes down from *Jeruſalem* to *Gaza* in the Deſert. *He went thither and found an* Ethiopian, Eunuch to *Queen* Candace *of* Ethiopia, *who was Treaſurer of all her Wealth and came to adore in* Jeruſalem, *and was returning into his Country in his Chariot; and* Philip *coming up, heard he read a Prophecy of* Iſaiah, *and ask'd him, Whether he underſtood what he read? He, anſwer'd, How ſhould he underſtand it, unleſs ſome body taught him? And intreated* Philip *to come up into his Chariot, which he did, and taking occaſion from what he ask'd, concerning that Prophecy, he preach'd to him JESUS CHRIST, converted, inſtructed him in the Faith and baptiz'd him. Then the Spirit took away* Philip, *and he ſaw the Eunuch no more. He continuing his Journey very joyfully, for what*

had hapned to him, came into Ethiopia, *and to his Mistresses Palace, and telling this Story, they believ'd in the Gospel of the Grace of JESUS CHRIST.* Thus far the *Ethiopian* Book, which is almost the same we read in the above quoted place of the Acts of the Apostles.

Ethiopia *the first Country Converted,*

The Histories of *Ethiopia* farther add, That, when our Saviour was born, *Bacena* Reign'd, being the twentieth King from *Menilehec*, the Son of *Solomon*. (*Note here that the Author before calls this King* Phacen, *and says he was the 24th Emperor from* Menilehec, *which is a gross mistake, as well as that before observ'd.*) It is no small honour to the *Abyssinians* to have been the first of all Forreign Nations that embrac'd the Faith of CHRIST, after the Apostles began to spread it through the World; and so it is many Fathers expound those Words of the 68 *Psalm*, *ver.* 31. Ethiopia *shall soon stretch out her Hands unto God*; becaus it submitted to CHRIST before any other Province in the World.

But that Eunuch being no Bishop, nor so much as a Priest in *Ethiopia*, and having but an imperfect Knowledge of the Mysteries of the Faith, as being instructed and baptiz'd upon the Road, and that by *Philip*, who was a Deacon, and neither Apostle, nor Bishop, who are the Fathers of spiritual Life, and by Imposition of their Hands can in Spirit beget Sons, that may also be Fathers, his Preaching was not in such perfect Knowledge as might be requisite, and they only receiv'd a confuse Idea of the Faith of CHRIST, and continu'd in the Observation of the Law of *Moses*, till S. *Athanasius* was preferr'd to S. *Mark*'s Chair at *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord 326; for in his Time God ordain'd the Faith should extend all over *Ethiopia*, and that there should be a Bishop in it and Priests.

But imperfectly.

S. Matthew *not in* Ethiopia.

As for S. *Matthew*'s coming into this *Ethiopia* and preaching the Gospel, it is a thing the *Abyssinians* know nothing of, and altogether groundless, and when the *Jesuits* told them, that our Histories gave an Account of it, they answer'd, It must be understood of the lower *Ethiopia*, which stretches from *Suaghem* up the Inland, as far as *Egypt*; for they never knew any thing of S. *Matthew*, or any other Apostle coming into their Country, as their Books testifie, and all those affirm, who among them value themselves upon having any Knowledge of Antiquity.

The occasion and manner of the Faith of CHRIST being more formally introduc'd into *Ethiopia*, in my Opinion, was that we find in *Russinus* his Ecclesiastical History, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. The learned Cardinal *Baronius* gave such entire Credit to him, that he inserted all his Relation in the 31 Volume of his Annals, in the Year of Grace 327, when he thinks it happen'd, which had been before

before done by *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*. Yet none of the four knew certainly, which the Country was they spoke of, thinking it enough to say, that the great Conversion they treated of happen'd in the Lower, or Hither *India*, as it really was. But *Ruffinus* was mistaken, in placing it, beyond the Gulph of *Persia*, between the *Parthians* and the *Medes*, whereas he should have brought it into this *Ethiopia*, near the Red Sea. And whereas the Connexion there is between this Story of *Ruffinus*, and that the *Abyssinians* tell us of their Conversion, was before unknown; it has pleas'd God to discover this Truth to the Fathers of the Society, who were there, by reading our Books, and those of *Ethiopia*, comparing them both together. To come to the Relation *Ruffinus* in his Tripartite History speaks thus.

Ethiopia *when converted out of* Ruffinus.

'A certain Philosopher born at *Tyre*, whose name was *Meropius*, being desirous to Travel through *India*, left his Country, taking along with him two Children his Nephews, whom he instructed in the liberal Arts. The Youngest of them was call'd *Edesius*, the Elder *Frumentius*. Having travell'd and seen all he desir'd, he return'd towards *Tyre*, but falling short of Water and Provisions, was oblig'd to put into a certain Port of Barbarians with his Ship. It is the Custom of that Nation when any Ship arrives there, to enquire of the Neighbouring People, whether the Peace they have made with the *Romans* holds good, and if they hear of any Breach, they immediately fall upon the Mariners, and kill all the *Romans* they find among them. On this pretence they seiz'd on the Philosopher, taking the Ship and killing all the Men in it. The two Children were, at this Time, ashore, resting themselves, and conning their Lessons. The Barbarians seeing them, and being mov'd to Compassion, spar'd their Lives, and carry'd them as a Present to their King, who was so fond of them, that he made *Edesius* his Cup-Bearer, and finding *Frumentius* more solid and understanding entrusted him with all his Writings, and Accounts. The King dying, appointed the Queen to Govern his Dominions, till his Eldest Son, then under Age, was capable of the Administration; and gave the two Youths their Liberty, and free leave to go wheresoever they pleas'd.

Frumentius *Governs.*

'They being about to prepare to return into their own Country, the Queen earnestly intreated them to stay, and assist her in the Government, till such time as her Son was of Age to manage it himself, being destitute of Persons of such Experience, and whom she could so well trust as they. This she did chiefly on account of *Frumentius*, whose Wisdom was such, that he alone could have govern'd larger Kingdoms; for *Edesius* was a

'plainer

'plainer Man. They two having the ordering of all Things, 'God mov'd the Heart of *Frumentius*, who was a Christian, ob- 'serving that *Roman* Merchants resorted to that Country, to en- 'quire, whether there were any Christians among them, whom 'he sent for, show'd them extraordinary Kindness, and allow'd 'them great Privileges, to the end they might meet in some Towns, 'and there offer up their Prayers, after the *Roman* manner. He 'himself would be present, and invited the People of the Country 'with Gifts and Kindness, allowing them to Embrace the Faith 'of CHRIST, to which he drew many of them. When the 'Prince was of Age and Discretion to take the Government upon 'him; tho' both he and his Mother us'd all endeavours to retain 'the two Brothers, they could not prevail.

Is made Bishop.

'Returning homewards, *Edesius* made all Speed to *Tyre*, to 'see his Parents and Kindred; but *Frumentius* went to *Alexandria*, 'where S. *Athanasius* had not long been Patriarch, to whom he 'gave an account of all his Adventures, and the good Disposition 'there was in that Country for a plentiful Harvest of Souls, 'telling him it would be convenient to send some Bishop thither, 'to take Charge of those Churches and Christians there were al- 'ready. S. *Athanasius* assembling the Bishops, looking upon *Fru- 'mentius*, and considering his Actions, his Words, his Zeal, and 'Understanding, said to him in the midst of them all. *Whom 'can we find equal to your self, on whom the Divine Spirit may so 'much reside, and operate?* And Consecrating him Bishop, he 'order'd him to return, with his Blessing, and the Grace of the

Converts Ethiopia.

'Lord. *Frumentius* returning for *India*, was so full and replenish'd 'with the virtue of the most high, that he wrought many Mi- 'racles, not inferiour to those of the Apostles, by which many 'became Christians in those Parts of *India*, many Churches were 'built, and many Priests ordain'd. This we do not deliver without 'good grounds, only upon Hearsay, but having had it from the 'Mouth of *Edesius* himself, who had been Companion to *Fru- 'mentius*, having met him at *Tyre*, where he was a Priest. These 'are the Words of *Ruffinus*, inserted by *Baronius* in his 3d Vo- 'lume, in the Year of CHRIST 327.

This Story we find almost in the same Words and Method, in several *Ethiopian* Books, and particularly in that they so highly value of the Church of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, which delivers it thus.

The same from the Ethiopian *Books.*

'After many Years were past, a Merchant came from *Tyre*, 'with two Servants, the one call'd *Fremonatos* and the other *Sy- 'dracos*, and the Merchant falling sick, dy'd near the Sea, in the 'Dominions of *Ethiopia*; for which Reason the Youths were

'brought

'brought to the King, who was well pleas'd with them, and or-
'der'd they should be with his own Sons. They wonder'd
'much at the People of *Ethiopia*, and ask'd them, How they
'came to believe in the Faith of CHRIST, because they saw
'them Pray and Adore the most Blessed Trinity, and that their
'Women wore the Sign of the Holy Cross on their Heads, and
'they prais'd God, who had been so merciful to those People, as
'believe without preaching, and that they should receive the Faith
'without an Apostle. They continu'd in that King's Court
'whilst he liv'd, and at his Death he discharg'd and gave them
'leave to go whither they pleas'd.

'*Sydracos* therefore return'd to his own Country *Tyre*; and *Fre-*
'*monatos* went to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, desiring him to
'provide for the Salvation of the *Ethiopians*, and told him all he
'had seen, and how they believ'd, without having been taught
'by the Apostles. The Patriarch rejoyc'd very much, and gave
'great Praise to God, for his mercy in acquainting them with his
'Holy Faith. Then he said to *Fremonatos*, you shall be their
'Pastor, for God has chosen and rais'd You. Then after Ordaining
'him Priest, he made him Bishop of *Ethiopia*; and he returning
'baptiz'd the Natives, and ordain'd many Priests and Deacons,
'to assist him, and was much honour'd and respected by all Men.
'And because he brought Peace, they call'd him *Abba Salama*,
'which signifies Father of Peace, or Peaceable. His coming into
'*Ethiopia* was in the Reign of *Abra* and *Azba*, Brothers, who
'receiv'd the Doctrine of Holiness, as the dry Earth receives the
'Rain from Heaven. Thus far the Book of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*.
In another containing the Life of *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, of whom
we shall speak hereafter; it is express'd, that the Patriarch of *Alex-*
andria who consecrated *Fremonatos* and sent him into *Ethiopia*
was S. *Athanasius*; and this is the Tradition and Belief of all
those, who in this Country know any thing of History.

Both these Histories, as well the *Ethiopian*, as ours agree that S. *Athanasius* was the Patriarch, who Consecrated *Fremonatos*, or *Frumentius*; and all the *Ethiopian* Books consent that this was the beginning of the Conversion of the *Abyssines* to the Faith of CHRIST, there being no material Difference; for they only vary in not calling *Meropius* by his Name, and not saying he was a Philosopher, but a Merchant of *Tyre*, and that he dy'd a natural Death, and that the younger of the Lads was call'd *Sydrachos*, and in calling *Frumentius Fremonatos*, which does not at all lessen the Credit, or the Connection of the Story.

Consent between the two Relations.

For as to the first Point, the *Ethiopian* Writers might perhaps not know the Name of *Meropius*, who was a Stranger; and

Difficulties reconcil'd.

and as for saying he dy'd a natural and not a violent Death, either they might believe so, or be asham'd to own such a piece of Barbarity and Cruelty of their Country, as the murdering of a Stranger that came upon their Coast. Nor is it any Contradiction to call him a Merchant and not a Philosopher, for it is well known that many of the Ancient Philosophers were also Merchants, as *Solon*, *Thales*, *Crates*, *Zenon*, *Hippocrates*, and *Plato*; which Custom was also at *Tyre*, where the Merchants were not only Philosophers, but also Princes and Governours, as appears by those Words of *Isaiah* chap. 23. v. 6. *Who hath taken this Counsel against* Tyre, *the crowning City, whose Merchants are Princes, whose Traffickers are the honourable of the Earth?* And the Traders of *Tyre*, had settled their Trade towards *India*, on the Red Sea, at the Port we now call *Tor*, or *Gibel-Tor*, as being at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*, and in sight of it and the *Arabs* calling a Mountain *Gibel*, they therefore call'd Mount *Sinai*, *Gibeltor*, because it stands over the Town of *Tor*.

Tyrians *trading to* India.

Here it is likely *Meropius* embark'd for *India*, being of *Tyre*, and this might be the Port he directed his Course to in his return, but was forc'd into *Mazua*, 45 Leagues from *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, the Metropolis of *Ethiopia*. By reason of this Trade, the *Tyrian* Mariners were as well acquainted with the Red-Sea, as the *Mediterranean*, on whose shore their City stood, and those who came from *India* for *Tyre* by Sea, must needs run up the Red-Sea to *Tor*, or some other nearer Harbour, whence they might Travel by Land to *Tyre*; but they putting into *Mazua* were carry'd to *Auxum*, or *Aczum*.

Ethiopia *call'd* India.

Nor was *Edesius* mistaken, in calling *Ethiopia* by the Name of *India*; but *Ruffinus* was out in not knowing, and misplacing it. For the People of *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* give the Name of *India* to all that Tract of Land, which stretches out to the Eastward from *Suez*, on both sides the Sea, and particularly to *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, which is the *Abyssine* Empire we speak of. *Marcus Antonius Sabellicus Ænead.* 10. lib. 8. writes out of *Herodotus*, that a great number of People swarm'd out of *India* into *Arick*, and being settled and increasing there, gave it the name of the Country they came from, calling it *India*; as we see the *Vandals*, gave the name of *Vandalia* to that Province of *Spain*, we corruptly call *Andaluzia*; and *Virgil* speaking of the *Nile*, which has its Source in *Ethiopia*, as has been observ'd, says it rises among the *Indians*.

Usque coloratis Amnis devexus ab Indis. Georg. 4.

Encherius

Eucherius on the 1ſt Book of Kings, calls the Queen of *Sheba*, *Indian*; and *Procopius* on *Iſaiah*, *Ethiopian*. Which name was ever after continu'd to the *Abyſſinians*, as appears by a Letter Pope *Alexander* the 3d ſent the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1174, by *Philip*, a Phyſician, mention'd by Cardinal *Baronius* in his 12th Volume, the Superſcription whereof runs thus, *Chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio, illuſtri & magnifico Indorum Regi, &c.* To our moſt dearly beloved Son in CHRIST, the Illuſtrious and Magnificent King of the *Indians*, &c. *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, who travell'd all over the Eaſt, about the Year 1300, calls *Abyſſinia* the middle *India*; yet not properly, becauſe to be call'd the middle, there ought to be another below it, however the name of *India* is allow'd.

Nor is the Connexion between theſe two Relations any way leſſen'd by the *Ethiopian* Books calling *Frumentius*'s Companion *Sidracos* and not *Edeſius*; for as much as it is an ancient Cuſtom of Maſters to give new Names to their Slaves, as we ſee in *Daniel* and his Companions, one of whom, *viz. Ananias*, was by the Prince of the Eunuchs call'd *Shadrac*, which is the ſame as *Sidrac*, or *Sidracos*. In the Name of *Frumentius* the Alteration was ſmall at firſt; calling him *Fremonatos*, and many other Names are much more alter'd in *Ethiopia*, for they call S. *Sylveſter*, *Solpetros*; S. *Damaſus*, *Damaris*; S. *Dionyſius*, *Dionaceos*; S. *Ildefonſus*, *Decios*, and ſo others. Four Leagues Eaſtward of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, which was their Metropolis, as appears by a Place in S. *Athanaſius*, which we ſhall ſoon quote, ſtands a Town, the moſt famous and frequented in all the Kingdom of *Tigre*. It is call'd *Fremona*, where the Fathers of the Society had their firſt and principal Reſidence, and it ſeems to have been ſo to S. *Fremonatos*, and he to have taken this firſt Name from it. *Names frequently chang'd.*

Afterwards, the People obſerving the Sanctity of their Prelate, and that he had made Peace betwixt God and them, they call'd him *Abba Salama*, which ſignifies, Peaceable Father. From him to *Simon*, who was the *Abuna*, that rebell'd with *Elos* againſt the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, and was kill'd at the Battel of *Sada*, in the Year 1618, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, they reckon 95 *Abuna's*; and this Holy *Abba-Salama*, or *Fremonatos*, was ſtill living in the Year 356, which was the 20th of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, when that Emperor being an *Arian* Heretick, had put *George* an *Arian* Patriarch into *Alexandria*, in the Place of S. *Athanaſius*, as is to be ſeen in the Life of that Saint and many other Books; and the Saint abſconding, the wicked Emperor thought he was fled into *Ethiopia*, to his Son *Frumentius*, and therefore writ to the *Ethiopian* Monarch and Governors of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, that Letter S. *Athanaſius* Frumentius *call'd* Abba-Salama.

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Encherius

Eucherius on the 1ſt Book of Kings, calls the Queen of *Sheba*, *Indian*; and *Procopius* on *Iſaiah*, *Ethiopian*. Which name was ever after continu'd to the *Abyſſinians*, as appears by a Letter Pope *Alexander* the 3d ſent the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1174, by *Philip*, a Phyſician, mention'd by Cardinal *Baronius* in his 12th Volume, the Superſcription whereof runs thus, *Chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio, illuſtri & magnifico Indorum Regi, &c.* To our moſt dearly beloved Son in CHRIST, the Illuſtrious and Magnificent King of the *Indians*, &c. *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, who travell'd all over the Eaſt, about the Year 1300, calls *Abyſſinia* the middle *India*; yet not properly, becauſe to be call'd the middle, there ought to be another below it, however the name of *India* is allow'd.

Nor is the Connexion between theſe two Relations any way leſſen'd by the *Ethiopian* Books calling *Frumentius*'s Companion *Sidracos* and not *Edeſius*; for as much as it is an ancient Cuſtom of Maſters to give new Names to their Slaves, as we ſee in *Daniel* and his Companions, one of whom, *viz. Ananias*, was by the Prince of the Eunuchs call'd *Shadrac*, which is the ſame as *Sidrac*, or *Sidracos*. In the Name of *Frumentius* the Alteration was ſmall at firſt; calling him *Fremonatos*, and many other Names are much more alter'd in *Ethiopia*, for they call S. *Sylveſter*, *Solpetros*; S. *Damaſus*, *Damaris*; S. *Dionyſius*, *Dionaceos*; S. *Ildefonſus*, *Decios*, and ſo others. Four Leagues Eaſtward of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, which was their Metropolis, as appears by a Place in S. *Athanaſius*, which we ſhall ſoon quote, ſtands a Town, the moſt famous and frequented in all the Kingdom of *Tigre*. It is call'd *Fremona*, where the Fathers of the Society had their firſt and principal Reſidence, and it ſeems to have been ſo to S. *Fremonatos*, and he to have taken this firſt Name from it.

Names frequently chang'd.

Afterwards, the People obſerving the Sanctity of their Prelate, and that he had made Peace betwixt God and them, they call'd him *Abba-Salama*, which ſignifies, Peaceable Father. From him to *Simon*, who was the *Abuna*, that rebell'd with *Elos* againſt the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, and was kill'd at the Battel of *Sada*, in the Year 1618, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, they reckon 95 *Abuna's*; and this Holy *Abba-Salama*, or *Fremonatos*, was ſtill living in the Year 356, which was the 20th of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, when that Emperor being an *Arian* Heretick, had put *George* an *Arian* Patriarch into *Alexandria*, in the Place of S. *Athanaſius*, as is to be ſeen in the Life of that Saint and many other Books; and the Saint abſconding, the wicked Emperor thought he was fled into *Ethiopia*, to his Son *Frumentius*, and therefore writ to the *Ethiopian* Monarch and Governors of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, that Letter S. *Athanaſius*

Frumentius *call'd* Abba-Salama.

nasius mentions in his first Apology, entitul'd thus: *Hæc adversus Frumentium Episcopum Auxumeos, Tyrannis ejus loci Scripta sunt:* That is, This was writ to the Governors of *Auxum*, against *Frumentius* the Bishop of that Place. And in the Letter, the Heretical Emperor testifies, that *S. Frumentius* was consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius* in these Words: *Ye know and remember, unless ye pretend to be Ignorant of such Things as are notoriously manifest, that* Frumentius *was chosen to this Rank by* Athanasius, *a Man guilty of all sorts of Ills.* And to conclude, he orders them, in case *Athanasius* be among them to send him to *Alexandria*, to be punished, and with him *Frumentius* to be instructed, and confirm'd by *George* the *Arian* Bishop. Cardinal *Baronius* handles this Point, *Anno Christi* 356. *num.* 18.

Bellarmin *his mistake.*

This makes out a mistake in the said Cardinal *Baronius*, who in his Notes on the *Roman* Martyrology on the 27*th* of *October*, where in the said Martyrology he makes mention of our *S. Frumentius* or *Fremonatos*, says, that in the Days of *S. Athanasius* there were two Bishops, who bore the Name of *Frumentius*, the one consecrated by that Saint, Bishop of the Lower *India*, whose Feast is kept on that Day, and of whom we here treat; and the other Bishop of *Auxume*, a City in *Egypt*, of whom *S Athanasius* makes mention in his first Apology. But *S. Frumentius* and the Bishop of *Auxume* or *Auxum*, is the same with him of the lower *India*; for *Auxum* was the Capital City of it, as has been shown. Nor doe *Ptolemy*, tho' an *Egyptian* and of *Alexandria*, in his Tables or Geography, Name any City call'd *Auxume* in *Egypt*, but in *Ethiopia*, above *Egypt*, which is this we speak of, and in the same Place where the Ruins of it are now, and he calls it a Royal City, as may be seen in the 5th Book of his Geography, *cap* 8. and in the 4th Table of *Africk*.

Besides the same Letter from *Constantius* plainly proves, that *Auxum*, where *Frumentius* was Bishop, and which is there spoken of, was not a City in *Egypt*; for there are these Words in it: *Therefore send the Bishop* Frumentius, *as soon as possible into* Egypt, *to the most Venerable* George, *and other Bishops in* Egypt, *who have the Supream Authority in treating and judging of Bishops.* So that had *Auxume*, where *Frumentius* was Bishop, been a City in *Egypt*, there was no need for the Emperor to order him to be brought into *Egypt*, and be presented before the Bishops of *Egypt*. But as *Ruffinus* was mistaken in placing the hither *India*, whereof *Edesius* spoke to him, near *Parthia*, so Cardinal *Baronius* err'd in not placing the City *Auxume* in this lower *India*, or *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, but in *Egypt* itself; which may sometimes happen to those who do not write what they saw, but what they receive from others.

Error of Ruffinus.

A

A further Proof hereof is, that the Governors of *Auxum* are in that Letter call'd *Tyranni*; for this Name the *Romans* gave to all Kings and Great Men who were not their Subjects, as those of *Ethiopia* were not; whereas all *Egypt* was theirs, since the Days of *Augustus Cæsar* and *Cleopatra*, who was the last Queen of *Egypt*.

The King to whom the two Lads *Edesius* and *Frumentius* were presented as Slaves, was in all likelyhood *Agder*, between whom and *Bacenà*, who reign'd in our Saviour's Days, the Catalogue of Kings of *Ethiopia* places 13 others. The Child at his Death left under Age to govern, was perhaps *Abrà*, who seems to have associated to him in the Kingdom another younger Brother call'd *Azba*; for all the *Ethiopian* Books tell us, that when S. *Frumentius* return'd into *Ethiopia*, consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius*, two Brothers call'd *Abrà* and *Azba* reign'd jointly, and that in their Days there were great Numbers converted to the Law of *CHRIST*. *Two Kings reigning jointly.*

Genebrardus in his Chronicon makes mention of them, by the Name of Defenders and Spreaders of the Christian Religion, and that in the 17th Year of their Reign, the Faith extended wonderfully; but he was mistaken, in making them an hundred Years more Modern than they really were; for he says they liv'd in the Year of *CHRIST* 460, whereas the utmost they could live to must be 360, because the said two Brothers were reigning when *S. Frumentius* return'd from *Alexandria*, consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius*, who was lately made Patriarch, and begun to be so in the Year 326: So that *S. Frumentius* might return about 330, and he being still alive in 356, as has been shown, the two Brother Emperors could not probably Survive 360. *At what Time.*

I suppose all those who shall happen to read this History, will not make a Question of *Ethiopia*'s being the lower *India*, where *Meropius* landed in his Return to *Tyre*, and where *S. Frumentius* was first a Captive or Slave, and afterwards Bishop of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, and Apostle of that Nation; since in it we find an Agreement of all Circumstances of Name, Place and Actions, and did not the Power of Truth so strongly unite the Relation of *Ruffinus* and the Histories of *Ethiopia*, there could not be such Consonance between them. Ethiopia *the Lower* India.

By all that has been said it appears, that the Faith of *CHRIST* was brought in Form into *Ethiopia* by means of *S. Frumentius*, sent by *S. Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord 330, little more or less; for *S. Athanasius* dy'd in the Year of Grace 372, according to the best Account of Cardinal *Baronius*. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 331, and that Saint governing his Church 46 Years, his beginning being under *Constantine* the Great, who commenc'd *When fully converted.*

his Reign in 326, and this Passage of *Fremonatos*, being in the beginning of *S. Athanasius*'s Rule, it follows, as has been said, that the Faith of *CHRIST* came into *Ethiopia* about the Year 330, little over or under. The *Roman* Martyrology makes mention of *S. Frumentius* sent by *S. Athanasius* to this Conversion, on the 27*th* of *October*.

CHAP. XVI.

At what Time the Monastical Life began in Ethiopia; *with an Account of the Holy King* Kaleb.

WE have fix'd the Time, when the Knowledge of the Faith of *CHRIST* began more regularly in *Ethiopia*; it remains now to clear another Point, very considerable in itself, and very acceptable to the Curious, which is, at what Time the Monastical Life first came into that Empire; and in regard this Affair is much controverted, there being variety of Opinions about it, and much Falshood intermix'd with some Truth: Therefore I will here deliver what the most Reverend Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonso Mendez* writ concerning it, in the Information he gave upon Oath, after he had with indefatigable Labour fairly extracted all he found relating to this Point in the *Ethiopian* Books, and Authors that treat of such Affairs, being himself then in *Abyssinia*.

Monks when first in Ethiopia.

'It is likely, (says he) that *S. Athanasius* did not send *S. Frumentius* into *Ethiopia* alone, but that he gave him some Councellors and Assistants, of those he always had about him, who were try'd Monks of Exemplary Lives, bred up under *S. Antony*, then living, for whom he had so great an Esteem, that he writ his Life, and boasts of his Friendship and Instructions; whereof he gave Testimony when going to *Rome*, in the Year 340, being call'd by *S. Julius*, then Pope, to answer to the Calumnies laid to his Charge by the *Arians*, who took along with him *Isidorus* and *Ammonius*, two chosen Monks; the sight of whom drew the Eyes and inflam'd the Hearts of the *Roman* Court and Nobility, to imitate the Monks of *Egypt*, as *S. Jerome* testifies, *Epist.* 16.

'16. *ad Principiam. Palladius Hiſtor. Lauſiac. cap* 1. mentions '*Iſiderus*'s bearing *S. Athanaſius* Company; and that *Ammonius* 'did ſo, *Sacrates* teſtifies 4 *Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap* 18.

'I am perſwaded, that S. *Athanaſius* gave S. *Frumentius* ſuch 'Companions, by the Words of S. *Jerome Epiſt.* 7. *ad Lætam*, 'where inviting her to ſend her Daughter *Paula*, then a Child, to 'her Grand-mother S. *Paula*, the Elder, that ſhe might there be 'fed among the Lillies of Purity, he ſays, *From* India, Perſia *and* 'Ethiopia, *we daily receive Troops of Monks.* And that it may 'appear, he does not ſpeak of that *Ethiopia* which bordets on *A-* 'rabia, where *Moſes* took his *Ethiopian* Wife, but that it was 'this above *Egypt*, in the 17th Epiſtle to *Marcellus*, he ſays, *What* 'need we mention the Armenians, *the* Perſians, *the* Indians, *the* Ethio-'pians, *or* Egypt, *cloſe by abounding in Monks?* From which Places 'we may collect, that the Religious Life enter'd *Ethiopia* toge-'ther with the Faith of *CHRIST*; for according to the Compu-'tation of Cardinal *Baronius*, *Tom.* 4. *anno* 372. S. *Jerome* was 'Born in the Year 342, which was the Time, a Year over or 'under, when S. *Frumentius* converted all *Ethiopia*; for about that 'Time muſt fall the 17th Year of *Abra* and *Azba*, and he dy'd 'in 420: And in that Interval of Time, when he writes, the 'Monaſtical Life did ſo flouriſh in *Ethiopia*, that Swarms of Monks 'went thence to viſit the Holy Places.

'Tho' there were already Monks in *Ethiopia* in the Days of S. 'Jerome, yet 50 or 60 Years after his Death, there was a great 'Increaſe of them by many Monks that came in, who the *Ethio-'pian* Hiſtories of the Monaſtery of *Auxum*, and of all the other 'Churches, ſay, came from *Rum* and from *Egypt*. Theſe, it may 'be gather'd, enter'd that Country betwixt the Years 470 and '480. The moſt renown'd of them are Nine, who ſettled and 'erected Monaſteries in the Kingdom of *Tigre*; which we find 'expreſly declar'd in the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*, in the Chroni-'cles of *Auxum*, and in many other Books.

'Theſe Chronicles tell us, that after the Days of *Abra* and *Azba*, 'in whoſe Time S. *Frumentius* was conſecrated Biſhop, till the 'coming of theſe Religious Men, there were Six Emperors, *Azfa*, '*Arded* and *Amey*, Brothers, who they ſay divided the Days in-'to 3 Parts, and took their Turns round in the Government, *A-'rado*, *Aladoba*, or *Saladoba* and *Amiamid*, whom others call *Ala-'mid*, and others *Alamida*; and whom *F. James Gualterius* in his 'Chronicle, rightly places in the 5th Century, under this laſt 'Name. It will not be impertinent here to tranſlate the very 'Words of the Chronicle of *Auxum*, which are theſe. *In the 'Days of* Amiamid *many Monks came from* Rum, *who fill'd all the*

Empire

'*Empire*; *Nine of them stay'd in* Tigre, *and each of them erected a* '*Church of his own Name.*

'To Eight of them the People of the Country gave Names af-
'ter their manner, from something that befel them, and only one
Nine famous Monks. 'call'd *Pantaleo* preserv'd his own. The Names are these, *Abba*
'*Arogavy*, signifying the Old Man, because he was the Eldest and
'Superior of them all; *Abba Pantaleon*, *Abba Guarima*, *Abba A-*
'*lefi*, *Abba Sahami*, *Abba Afe*, *Abba Licanos*, *Abba Adimata*; *Ab-*
'*baos*, whom they call'd *Guba*, signifying Swollen, because he
'building his Church on a very high Mountain, where he liv'd
'alone, those that pass'd by the Foot of it said, *What high Swollen*
'*Monk is this?* Whence this Nickname stuck by him. These
'Monks wrought extraordinary Miracles, by which they convert-
'ed a great Part of *Ethiopia*. Among the rest, they tell one of a
'great Serpent that was about *Auxum*, which devour'd many
'Men and much Cattel, and burst asunder by their Prayers. Thus
'far the Books of *Auxum*. In the Life of *Tecla Haymanot* there is
'writ as follows. *He came to the Monastery* Damo, *built by* Abba
'Agaravi, *one of the Nine Saints that came from* Rum *and* Egypt,
'*in the Days of* Alamida, *the Son of* Saladoba, *and Predecessor to*
'Tacena. *These Nine are so many Stars that gave Light to all the*
'*World*, *&c.* And so they run on in their Praises.

'*Rum* mention'd in these two Places, is not *Rome*, which the
Greece *call'd* Rum. '*Abyssines* always call *Romea*, as well in their Vulgar Tongue as
'in the learned of their Books, but *Greece*, *Thrace* and *Constanti-*
'*nople*; because *Constantin* removing the Seat of his Empire thither,
'and designing in all Respects to make it equal to *Rome*, would
'have it so in Name also, calling it *New Rome*, as we read in se-
'veral Imperial Laws, Councils, and *Greek* Historians; and with
'the Emperor and his Court all the Prime Nobility of *Rome* came
'thither, and the *Turks* afterwards making themselves Masters of
'*Constantinople*, it may well be suppos'd, from *Romans* they came
'to be call'd *Rumes*. That Emperor dividing the adjacent Lands
'of *Thrace* among his Pretorian Bands, that so they might forget
'their Possessions in *Italy*, they all settled there; whence *Thrace*
'came to change its first Name, being from the New *Roman* In-
'habitants call'd *Romania*, which Name it still retains throughout
'all the *East*: And as all the *Western* People are call'd *Frangues*,
'from the *Francs* or *French*, who went to Conquer the Holy Land,
'so all the *Greeks*, and any other *Europeans* thereabout Subject to
'the *Turks*, are call'd *Rumes*, because many of their Ancestors were
'*Romans*; and so *Constantinople* and *Greece*, *Rum* for the same Rea-
'son. Hence came that which we find in our Histories of *India*,
'as *John de Barros*, *Couto*, *Maphæus*, *&c.* that the *Portuguezes* al-

ways

ways forbid any *Rumes* coming thither, and they often fought with and overthrew them, they being *Turks*, *Greeks* and *Europeans*, for none then came from *Rome*.

'Thus, when those Histories tell us, that those Nine Monks came from *Rum*, we must understand from *Greece* and *Constantinople*; and from the Name of one of them, in which all agree there was no Alteration, that is *Pantaleon*, being doubtless a *Greek* Name, we may conclude that the rest were also *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, and not *Latins*.

'We farther suppose, that they were all of the Order of St. *Antony*, which at that Time flourish'd not only in *Egypt*, that Saint's Native Country, but was then spread through all *Greece*. For not to speak of the rest, they speak these very Words of *Abba Aragavi*, the Eldest of them, in the Life of *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, viz. That *Abba Aragavi* took the Habit of a Monk of S. *Pachomius*, S. *Pachomius* of S. *Macarius*, S. *Macarius* of S. *Antony*, (*which Words we shall relate more at large in the* 16*th Chapter*, *when we speak of* Abba Tecla Haymanot, *who was descended from* Abba Aragavi. Now if he being the Eldest and their Superior, was of the Order of S. *Antony*, how could the rest chuse but be of the same? Let us now take particular Notice of the two Names of *Abba Pantaleon* and *Abba Aragavi*; for by them we shall discover the true Year those Nine Monks came into *Ethiopia*, and the Time that *Tecla Haymanot* liv'd in.

'In order to prove that those 9 Monks enter'd *Ethiopia* between the Years 470, and 480, it must be allow'd, as an undoubted Truth, that in the Year 522 *Elesbaan*, whom they call *Kaleb*, the Son of *Tacena*, and Grandson to *Alamida*, of both whom we have spoken, was Emperor of *Ethiopia*. This King *Elesbaan*, or *Kaleb*, was a Saint of great Renown, and as such honour'd by the Church, and inserted in its Martyrology, on the 27th of *October*. *Simeon Metaphrastes* writ his Life, as also the glorious Martyrdom of S. *Aretas*, whom the *Abyssines* call *Eruck*, and of 340 of his Companions, put to Death by *Dunaan*, the *Jewish* King of the *Homerites*, which Life is in the 5th Volume of *Surius*, on the 24th of *October*; and Cardinal *Baronius* in his Annals, in the Year of our Lord, 522. *King* Elesbaan, *or* Kaleb.

'The same Story translated litterally from *Simeon Metaphrastes* is in the *Ethiopian Sanquazar*, which is their *Flos Sanctorum*, or Lives of Saints; and King *Kaleb*'s Life is also by it self, and agrees in all points with that of the Holy Martyrs, without any other difference, save only in the Names of the Kings, for they call him *Kaleb*, whom we Name *Elesbaan*, and him we call *Dunaan*,

'they

'they Name *Phineas*, or *Phinees*; but all we write of *Elesbaan* 'and *Dunaan* they say of *Kaleb* and *Phineas*.

Several Names given to one Person.

'Nor is this to be look'd upon as an Objection, because, a-'mong the *Abyssines*, there is a great diversity and multitude of 'Names, especially among their Emperors, who have two at least 'the one given in Baptism, the other at their Coronation. And 'not to mention the Queen of *Sheba*'s Son, who we have already 'shown had three Names; that King who sent the first Embassy 'to the *Portugueses*, when he heard of their being come into *India*, 'was first call'd *David*, afterwards *Lebna Danguil*, signifying, the 'Virgin's Incense, and lastly *Onag Segued*. His Eldest Son was 'nam'd *Claudios* and *Asnaf Segued*; his Son *Sarza Danguil*, and '*Malac Segued*, the Emperor who sent for the Fathers of the 'Society, and receiv'd them with great Honour, *Socinios* and *Sul-'tan Segued*; his Son, who cruelly persecuted and expell'd them '*Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, and *Sultan Segued*.

'Hereof there are also many Examples in Scripture, as *Jacob* 'and *Israel*; *Jesus* and *Joshuah*; *Raguel* and *Jethro*; *Hobab* 'and *Cin*, and many more. In all other Respects there is a 'wonderful Agreement, between our Books and those of *Ethi-'opia*, which I compar'd together, with all possible Care and 'Exactness; and theirs begin precisely as ours do with these 'Words, which may be seen in *Surius*, Tom. 5. Octob. 24. 'and in *Baronius*, Tom. 7. An. 522. lit. n. *It was now near the 'the 5th Year since* Justin *weilded the Scepter of the* Roman *Em-'pire, at which time* Elesbaan *was Emperor of the* Ethiopians '(they call him *Kaleb*). *A Man, who universally obtain'd a great 'Name for his Piety and Justice. He had built a Palace in the 'City* Auxume, *&c.* The 5th Year of the Emperor *Justin*, is of CHRIST 522; for he began his Reign in 518, according to the Calculation of the Cardinals *Baronius*, and *Bellarmin*. Now the Emperor *Kaleb* living in the Year 522, it follows, that 'then also liv'd *Abba Pantaleon*, one of the 9 Monks, which is 'prov'd by the same History, as clear as the Light of the Sun.

Ethiopian *and* European *Histories agree.*

340 *Martyrs.*

'For towards the end of it we find, both in the *Latin* and *E-'thiopick* Copies, that the wicked *Dunaan*, or *Phineas*, having 'put to Death S. *Aretas*, or *Eruth* and his 340 Companions, in 'the City of *Nagran*, and the most Pious Emperor *Justin* being 'acquainted with it, he full of Holy Zeal writ to *Asterius*, Pa-'triarch of *Alexandria*, to exhort by Letter King *Elesbaan* to 'take upon him the Revenge of the Blood of the Innocent Mar-'tyrs, and the chastizing of the Perfidious *Jew*. The Patriarch, 'whom *Simeon Metaphrastes* calls *Asterius*, is in the *Ethiopian* Hi-'story nam'd *Timothy*. And the Truth is, there were both these

'Patriarchs

'Patriarchs in *Alexandria*, at that Time; but *Asterius* was the 'Catholick, and *Timothy* the Heretick; which continu'd, for the 'most part, after the Schism of *Dioscorus*, as we prove by many 'Examples in a considerable Volume, we have compos'd, En-'titled *Branhaymanot*, signifying, the light of the Faith, or an '*Ethiopian* Catechise, divided into 12 Books, where we confute 'all the Errors of *Ethiopia* and the Eastern Church; *lib.* 7. *cap.* 24. 'and it is likely, that he who translated that Story into the *E-'thioptick*, was a Heretick, and for the Honour of *Timothy*, a 'mischievous Heretick, and condemn'd in the 6th General Coun-'cil, feigns that the Emperor *Justin* recommended to him this 'Affair, whereas he committed it to *Asterius*, the Catholick, as '*Simeon Metaphrastes*, an Author renowned for Sincerity and 'Sanctity, writes.

King Kaleb *Victorious, becomes a Monk.*

'The Holy King *Kaleb* having receiv'd the Patriarch's Letters 'and Recommendations from the Emperor *Justin*, was so inflam'd 'with the just Desire of Revenge, that he rais'd an Army of '120000 Men, and gather'd a Fleet on the Red Sea of 133 Sail, 'to attack the Tyrant by Sea and Land. But he would not set 'out, before he had advis'd with, and receiv'd the Blessing of a 'Holy Old Man, to whom God reveal'd many Things that were 'to come; and who had been 45 Years shut up in a little Tower, 'doing extraordinary Penance and conversing only with God. 'The King laying aside all his Royal Robes, and putting on a 'mean Habit, went to the Holy Monk, carrying him a little 'Basket full of Frankincense, with several Pieces of Gold hid a-'mong it: The Old Man perceiving the Fraud, and rejecting the 'Present, said to him, *God be with you, and with your Queen; go 'to the War with Confidence, arm'd with the Sacrifice of the Martyrs, 'which God has receiv'd as a sweet Odour; and with the Prayers of 'the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *and the Tears of the Emperor* Justin. '*Elesbaan* hearing these Words, went away well satisfy'd, and 'fell upon the Tyrant, whom he slew, burning his Royal City, 'and restoring *Nagran* to the Christians. Then returning in 'Triumph to *Auxum*, he sent his Crown to *Jerusalem*, and go-'ing out of his Palace at Night, cloath'd in Hair-Cloth, went 'up to the top of a Mountain, where he shut himself up in a little 'Room, and liv'd a long time, like a Monk; having nothing of 'his own, but a Mat, and a Cup to drink Water out of.

'This is in short what is more largely related, both in ours 'and the *Ethiopian* Histories; but in these and all their Books, 'and in the Mouths of them all it is agreed; that the Holy Old 'Man, King *Kaleb* went to advise with, and who had confin'd 'himself 45 Years to a Tower, was *Abba Pantaleon*, one of the

'Nine Monks, no Man being able, or daring to contradict it; 'for beſides that all the Books of *Ethiopia* unanimouſly deliver it, 'the very Place, which we have ſeen ſeveral times confirms it; 'for two Miles Eaſt of *Auxum* ſtand the Church and Monaſtery, 'built by *Abba Pantaleon*, and call'd *Beth Pantaleon*, that is, '*Pantaleon*'s Houſe; and about a Musket-ſhot from it is ſtill 'ſtanding the little Tower, in which he was ſhut up, and where 'he was viſited by the Emperor; and in the mid way, between '*Auxum* and *Beth Pantaleon*, there are three Caves, within one 'another and hew'd out by Hand in the Rock, one of which is 'the Entrance, and has the Door to the Weſt, being 15 Cubits 'long and 4 in Breadth; and at the end of it are two other 'little Rooms, in the nature of a Croſs, to the Entrance, each 'of which is 10 Cubits long, and that on the Right Hand, or 'to the Southward is 4 Cubits wide, and that oppoſite to it 6. 'All the Ground lying under theſe Caves has a ſquare Wall 'about it.

Remarkable Caves.

'This is the Place, whither King *Kaleb* withdrew, and it is 'honour'd as ſuch. His Tomb and that of the Abbot *Pantaleon* 'are in the Church of *Beth Pantaleon*, which being laid open by 'a great Earthquake that happ'd in the Year 1630, we recom-'mended it to the Monks to have them ſpeedily made up. All 'theſe Places we viſited devoutly, and caus'd them to be exactly 'meaſur'd.

'Since thus it appears, that *Abba Pantaleon* was ſhut up in the 'little Tower, in the 5th Year of *Juſtin*, and in 522 of CHRIST, 'it follows, that he went into it in the 477; and ſince of courſe 'he muſt have been ſome Years before in *Ethiopia*, we may con-'clude he came thither, with his Companions, between 470 and '480, and liv'd in it, during the Reigns of *Amiamid*, *Tacena* and '*Kaleb*. Thus it muſt be allow'd, that thoſe Nine Monks, ſo 'famous in *Ethiopia* were *Greeks* and not *Latins*, and went thi-'ther in the 5th Century. Thus far the Patriarch *Don Alphonſo* '*Mendez*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

At what time Tecla Haymanot *flouriſh'd, who much dilated the Monaſtical Life in* Ethiopia; *of the manner of living of theſe* Ethiopian *Religious Men, and particularly of the Habit they wear; and an Account of ſome Monaſteries.*

THE moſt remarkable Thing in this *Ethiopia*, relating to theſe Religious Men of theirs, is the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*, who, according to their Relations, was a great Saint: and Worker of Miracles, and very much dilated, and by his Example and Doctrine reform'd the Monaſtical Profeſſion in *Ethiopia*; and in regard that ſome Modern Authors will needs make *Tecla Haymanot* to be of other Orders, I will here ſet down, what the aforemention'd Patriarch of *Ethiopia* writes of him.

Tecla Haymanot, *a Holy Monk.*

'Altho' thoſe Fathers, ſays he, who enter'd *Ethiopia*, about the 'Year of our Lord 470, in the Days of King *Amiamid*, much 'increas'd the Monaſtical Diſcipline; yet it extended not beyond 'the Kingdom of *Tigre*; where each of them founded but one 'Monaſtery, which retains their Names till this Day. But *Abba* '*Euſtatheos*, and *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, who deſcended from them, 'were Heads of great Companies of Monks, and erected many 'Monaſteries, throughout all the Provinces. Of theſe *Abba Tecla* '*Haymanot*, which ſignifies, Plant of the Faith, has a more nu'merous and renowned Family. The Head of them was for'merly *Debra Libanos*, which ſignifies, Mount *Libanus*, in the 'Province of *Xaoa*, where their General reſided, whom they 'call *Ichegue*, and he afterwards remov'd it to the Kingdom of '*Begameder*, on Account of certain Barbarians call'd *Gallas*, 'poſſeſſing themſelves of all thoſe Lands.

'It is no difficult matter to diſcover the time, when *Tecla* '*Haymanot* flouriſh'd, as, well by what has been ſaid, as by the 'reſt we find writ in his Life, which we have in our Cuſtody, 'faithfully tranſlated out of the *Amara* Language into *Portugueſe*, 'wherein is ſaid as follows: *The Pedegree and Genealogy of our* '*Fathers is this which enſues. The Angel* S. Michael *gave the* Succeſſion of '*Habit of a Monk to* S. Antony; S. Antony *to* S. Macarius; *he* Monks.

'*to* S. Pachomius, *and he to* Abba Arogavy, *who was one of the Nine* '*that came into* Ethiopia. *He gave the Habit to* Abba Christos '*Bezana, and he to* Abba Matcalmoa; *he to* Abba Joanni; *he* '*to* Abba Jesus; *he to* Abba Tecla Haymanot; *and then* Abba '*Tecla Haymanot gave the* Asquema *to* Abba Jesus, *as has been* '*said*, &c. Thus far the Book of the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*. '*Asquema* is a sort of Scapular; and it seems those Monks, be- 'ing *Greeks*, call'd it *Asquema*, because it was as much as the '*Schema Monachismi*, or the Badge of a Monk; for most of the 'Monks of *Ethiopia* are clad as every one can, or fancies, but if 'they wear that Scapular, which is made of soft well dress'd 'Thongs of Leather, they are reckon'd as Holy as *Pachomius*, or '*Macarius*. It plainly appears, that in this Tree, or Genealogy, 'there are but 3 Lives between *Abba Arogavy*, (who came with '*Abba Pantaleon*) and *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, which are those of '*Christos Bezana*, *Matcalmoa* and *Joanni*; for tho' it mentions '*Abba Jesus*, yet *Tecla Haymanot* took the Habit from *Abba* '*Joanni*.

'Now *Abba Arogavy* being very Old, when he came into *E*- '*thiopia*, about the Year 470, let us suppose he might live till '500, and let us allow 120 Years to the other three that suc- 'ceeded, and it will follow that *Tecla Haymanot* was born about '515, or 520, little over or under, which is prov'd by an un- 'deniable Argument drawn from his Life, in which it is written, 'that he being 15 Years of Age, was carry'd by his Parents to 'the *Abuna Kirilos*, who was Patriarch in *Ethiopia*, when *Abba* '*Benjamin* was so at *Alexandria*.

'This *Benjamin* was an *Eutychian* Heretick and *Monothelite*, 'as appears by an Epistle of his, which is in the *Haymanot Abbau*, 'being their Book, of the Faith of the Fathers, wherein he im- 'pugns the Belief of the two Natures of CHRIST, our Saviour, 'and the Council of *Chalcedon*, and he liv'd about the Year of our 'Lord 630, being the same when S. *Sophronius*, Patriarch of *Je*- '*rusalem* liv'd, as may be seen in Cardinal *Baronius*, Vol. 8. An. 634, 'and in *Bellarmin de Script. Eccles. an.* 634. For S. *Sophronius* in 'that excellent Epistle he writ to *Sergius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, 'which is all preserv'd at length in the 6th General Council, '*Action* 11. after having excommunicated all the ancient Here- 'ticks by their Names, towards the end adds, *With them also he* '*cover'd and cloath'd with Anathema and Catathema* Benjamin *of* 'Alexandria, *and* John *and* Sergius, *and* Thomas, *and the Ser-* '*vant of the* Syrian, *who still lead an execrable Life, and cruelly* '*oppose Piety*. If *Benjamin* liv'd in the Days of S. *Sophronius*,

'and

'and S. *Sophronius* writ about the Year 620, or 630, it is plain that
'*Tecla Haymanot* was then a Child.

Thus far the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, whence it follows, that the first Monks enter'd *Ethiopia*, together with S. *Frumentius*, in the 4th Century; and that in the 5th Century, the other Nine came, as a Supply; and that *Tecla Haymanot* regulated his Company of Monks, who follow'd his Institute in the 6th Century.

All *Ethiopia* in general looks upon *Tecla Haymanot* as a great Saint, and in his Life, which is writ in several Books, they tell us what extraordinary Penances he perform'd, the singular Graces he receiv'd from God, many Apparitions and Miracles, and how he went several times to *Jerusalem*, as Leader and Guide of a vast Number of Monks; and if he was not their Founder, he was at least the Increaser and Ennobler of their Religious Profession, which flouriſh'd very long in *Ethiopia*, after an extraordinary manner in number, Heroick Virtue and Learning.

My good Opinion of this great Saint of the *Abyssines*, is nothing lessen'd on account of the many Apocryphal Stories told of him in his Life; as for Instance, that our Saviour once appearing to him, said, That whosoever should kill a Snake, upon *Thursday*, or *Sunday*, should have all the Sins he had committed in 40 Years remitted him; and others as unlikely. For even among us many Apocryphal Tales are written of S. *George*, and many other Saints, and of the Apostles themselves, and yet we do not the less look upon them as great Saints; for we believe the Truth that is told of them, and not what is groundless.

I will here briefly describe the Course of Life of these Religious Men, as well those of *Tecla Haymanot*, as those of *Abba Eustateus*, who was another Reformer among them, of the same Order of S. *Antony*. Of these, *Tecla Haymanot* was a Native of *Ethiopia*, and *Eustateus* of *Egypt*. In the first place the Habit of them all is the same, unless we say it differs in each of them; for they are alike in their *Asquema*, among such as wear it, and that is a little Brede, of three slips of ordinary Red Leather, which being put about the Neck, are fasten'd to a little Iron, or Copper Hook, they have on a Thong they gird themselves with. In all other respects, every one cloaths himself as he can afford, or fancies. Many of them wear a Hood, others a Cap, and others a Cloth on their Head, and others nothing at all, being apparell'd like all other People. *Religious Habit.*

Many of those who profess the Eremetical Life wear Skins hollow'd about the Neck, and dy'd Yellow, or else Cloth of the same Colour; and every one goes into the Desert, when he pleases, *Monks.*

and

and ſo returns, when he thinks fit. Thoſe who go more Religiouſly clad, wear Black Cloth, which is like a Mantle, and under it, one they call a Shirt, but it is like a Caſſock, or white Habit girt with a Thong. Others wear a black Habit, and look like our Clergy-Men, eſpecially if they uſe Caps, and not Hoods. Both Clergy-Men and Monks carry in their Hand a Croſs of Wood, or Iron, or Braſs; and if they are Maſters, ſo they call the Priors, or Abbots of Monaſteries, their Croſs being large, and having no Foot, tho' well ſhap'd, is carry'd by a little ſort of Brother, who is like a Knight's Squire to carry his Spear; and the Croſs is a Token, not only of their Profeſſion, but the Dignity they enjoy.

Their Rules. They were all oblig'd to faſt all the Year, till Three in the Afternoon. They had their Canonical Hours, to ſay and ſing, the which they met at Mid-Night, and ſeveral times in the Day; and generally ſpeaking, the People of *Ethiopia* are much inclin'd to Penance, wherein theſe Religious Men ſignaliz'd themſelves, going into Water in cold Weather, and continuing in it ſeveral Hours. It is ſaid of ſome of them, that they ſhut themſelves into very large Trees, cutting open a place in them, which would contain their Body, till the Wood growing on both ſides, preſs'd and bury'd them in it ſelf, which ſeems incredible; but ſo *F. Emanuel de Almeyda* relates it. In faſting particularly they are very conſtant, many of them did never eat but once in two Days; and this ſome ſtill obſerve in *Lent*; others would only eat on *Sunday*, and many ſpent all the Holy Week, without eating or drinking.

Faſting.

Monaſteries. I will now ſay ſomething of thoſe they call Monaſteries, and ſuch Habits as we have here mention'd, deſerve ſuch built Monaſteries as we ſhall deſcribe, they being very different from thoſe of *Europe*. Perhaps when they were under their Primitive ſtrictneſs, they might have ſome more Form of a Community, but what is known to have been practis'd almoſt Time out of mind is, that there was no ſort of Encloſure among them, ſo as every Monaſtery ſhould be within it ſelf, under Locks and Keys, and ſhut up with Walls; but each of them is like a Village, or little Town, near a Church, and every one of thoſe Monks has his little Cell, or Cells of Timber, or Stone, and Clay, Thatch'd, Inclos'd or Hedg'd in, with its Land, and all other Neceſſaries, like any Country Farmer; and at preſent they have all of them Houſes and Families, unworthy their Profeſſion, and the moſt reform'd of them are Marry'd; but the Maſters, or Chiefs muſt not be Marry'd, and live ſomewhat more reſerv'd.

So

So that a Monaſtery is like a Country Pariſh, and as the Lands of a Pariſh belong to ſeveral Farmers, ſo it has always been the Cuſtom to divide among them the Lands of ſuch a Monaſtery; always leaving the Maſter a good Lot, which is like the Allowance for the Abbots Table; and every Man maintains himſelf on his Share of Land, and ſome other Gifts or Charity of Kindred and Friends; and when any of theſe Monks dy'd, if he had any thing acquir'd by his own Induſtry, and not belonging to the Monaſtery, he could leave it to whom he pleaſed; but his Lands return'd to the Monaſtery.

But if any of them be very Young, and the Maſter cannot or will not give them Lands, he maintains them, and they Eat in his Houſe, but not at the ſame Table, for he always Eats by himſelf, and there is a Curtain drawn between his Table and theirs, that they may not ſee him Eat.

Such a Community deſerves ſuch Obedience as they pay to their Superiors. Every one of thoſe Religious Men, or rather Peaſants, goes whither he pleaſes, when he pleaſes, and does what he liſts, following the Dictates of their own Will, without Submiſſion to anothers. Thoſe of *Tecla Haymanot* have a ſort of General, whom they call *Ichegue*, who makes a ſort of Viſitation among them, either in Perſon or by his Deputy, whom he empowers to that purpoſe, and ſuch as he finds faulty, which he ſeldom miſſes of, have ſome Penalty inflicted on them, which is generally the Payment of ſome Goods by way of Fine. *General of Monks.*

Thoſe who follow the Rule of *Abba Euſtateus*, have no Supream Head, but every Maſter is Chief in his own Monaſtery, and the Reaſon they give which pleaſes them, is becauſe the ſaid *Abba Euſtateus* went away into *Armenia* and dy'd there, without appointing any one to ſucceed him. The Maſter of each Monaſtery is choſen by Plurality of Votes. It is to be obſerv'd, that the Superiors of the Monaſteries of the Order of *S. Antony* in *Portugal*, had the Title of Maſters.

There were many of theſe Monaſteries formerly in *Ethiopia*, whereof there are ſtill great Remains. They were extraordinary great, not ſo much for their Structure as for the Lands they poſſeſs'd, and the multitude of Monks living on and tilling them. Some of the Churches were large, even thoſe thatch'd; but all well lin'd with good Timber, with Cedar Beans very cloſe to one another, ſupported by many Columns of the ſame Wood, very beautiful and coſtly. Almoſt all theſe Churches of theirs were round, but had in the middle a ſquare Chappel; and this in the chief Monaſteries was of ſquare Stone, and had four Gates, whoſe Portals and Windows were of curious Wood; the Roof within *Their Churches.*

was

was in the Nature of a Cupula, always very dark, as having no first Light. Without this Square, between it and the round Wall, was the Body of the Church, which look'd more like a Cloister, and the Columns were in this Space, helping to support the Roof and the Beams, which came down from the Top of the Chappel, and fell upon the round Wall; for there being a considerable distance betwixt it and the Wall of the Chappel, the Roof could not be supported without the Assistance of the said Columns.

Famous Monasteries.

The greatest Monasteries in *Ethiopia* were that of *Bisan*, which is a Days Journey from *Mazua*, among vast high Mountains, and belonging to the Monks of *Abba Eustateus*; but there are others yet more famous, as is that of *Debra Libanos*, signifying the Monastery, or Mount *Libanus*; for *Debra* signifies both a Monastery and a Mountain, and their Monasteries being generally founded on Mountains, the *Abyssines* gave them both the same Name. They call'd that Mountain *Libanus*, because it is very usual among them to give their Mountains Names of *Palestine*, and so there are others they call *Debra Sinay*, *Debra Tabor*, *Debra Zeyte*, so they Name Mount *Olivet*.

Debra Libanos *Monastery.*

Debra Libanos is in the Province or Kingdom of *Xaoa*, and because the Bones of *Tecla Haymanot*, who among the *Abyssines* is look'd upon as a Saint, were in it, the Emperors bestow'd abundance of Lands on it. The Buildings of this Monastery neither are nor ever were any better than those above mention'd. It had a Church like the rest, and on the same Mountain a sort of Village or Country Town, of thatch'd Houses, in which the Religious Men liv'd. The *Gallas* have taken away most of the Lands belonging to this Monastery, as being possess'd of the greatest part of the Province; only some few Christians live on those stony Mountains they call *Ambas*, and in the said Monastery there remain'd under 40 Monks. The Number of them formerly, all Men say, was very great, and that including the Churches and little Monasteries there were in the Country about, all of them subject to *Debra Libanos*, they might be about 10000.

Debra Allelo.

There is another Monastery very much celebrated by some Authors, call'd *Debra Allelo*, or *Allelujah*, belonging to the Monks of *Abba Eustateus*, seated in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, a Days Journey from *Auxum* on a Mountain, amidst great Woods. The Ruins of the ancient Church show it has been one of the best in *Ethiopia*. It was 99 Foot in length, and 78 and a half in breadth, and about it are to be seen the Remains of abundance of round Cells. The Fathers of the Society often ask'd the Eldest Monks of that Monastery, what number there was of them formerly in that Place, some of them answer'd 12000, others 40000, and it may be supposed

pos'd the first of them spoke of those who dwelt near the Church, and the others meant all that were subject to the Monastery in the Country about, in which it is confidently affirm'd, there were formerly 90 Suffragan Churches, and that when the Master or General went to Court upon any earnest Business, he was attended by 150 Reverend Monks on good Mules, and wearing a sort of loose Coats close before, with only a Hole to put their Heads through over their Habit, without Sleeves.

Of all this former Grandeur, nothing now remains but some Ruins, and inconsiderable Footsteps, not of what it was, but what it seems to have been; for in the midst of that fallen Church, there stands now a very little one, near which and about the *Suffragan* Churches, there are only 10 or 12 Monks left, who seem rather to continue there to keep up the Memory of what is lost, than to imitate their Perfection of Life. The Founder of that Monastery, they say, was a Monk, reputed a Saint, and call'd *Samuel*, so great a Penitent, that he is reported to have spent some Nights in a Well, where the Water came up to his middle, and with a great Stone on his Back, which was a very uneasy Bed.

CHAP. XVIII.

At what Time the first Innovation in Religion happen'd in Ethiopia, *and of the many Errors and great Schism of the* Abyssines.

THE Holy Fathers call'd *Egypt* the Forge of Idols, and Sink of Abominations, on Account of the multitude of Deities that Nation ador'd, and their many Errors in Relation to the True God. Their Neighbours, the *Abyssines*, are not at all unlike them in this sort of Deliriums, concerning the True Catholick Religion, for among them there was an Inundation of Errors, of Schisms, of Heresies, and of deprav'd Customs, without any more than imperfect Shaddows, not to call it downright Darkness of Christianity.

F. Emanuel d' Almeyda fills up the greatest part of a Book, in laying open very learnedly, many of the Hellish Abuses and Diabolical Superstitions of the *Abyssines*; but the most Reverend Patriarch *Don. Alfonso Mendez*, for whose sake I undertook this Work, writing to me from *India* in the Year 1654, tells me he is of Opinion, that all those Chapters, wherein the said Father sets down and confutes those Errors, may be reduc'd to less than one, and therefore I will contract them the most I can.

Schism of Ethiopia.

In the first Place it must be allow'd to be no less certain, that the *Abyssines* have been Schismaticks for many Ages, than it is now that the *Nile* has its Source in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*. But notwithstanding that in the Days of the wicked *Dioscorus*, who liv'd about the Year 444, there were presently Errors introduc'd into *Ethiopia*, which came from *Alexandria*; yet, as long as the Catholick Party prevail'd in *Alexandria*, which we find was till the Year 610 or 620, when the Holy Men *S. Elogius* and *S. John* the Almsgiver, were Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, we suppose that the greatest part of *Ethiopia* was subject to the See of *Rome*, always following the Doctrine of the Teachers sent into it. A good Proof hereof is, that S. *Gregory* the Great, who flourish'd about the Year 600, is highly honour'd in *Ethiopia*; as is also S. *Ildefonsus*, whom they call *Decios*, and who liv'd about 650, and was Disciple to S. *Isidorus*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, contemporary with S. *Gregory* the Great. A farther Proof hereof is, that when *Justin* was Emperor in *Europe*, about the Year 523, *Kaleb* or *Elesbaan* reign'd in *Ethiopia*, who we know was a Saint, and Obedient to the Catholick Patriarch the Emperor *Justin* had plac'd in *Alexandria*. *Baronius* treats of these matters, *Tom. 7. anno* 523.

How long it continu'd Orthodox.

But when Heresy had prevail'd in *Alexandria*, and throughout all *Egypt*, the *Abunas* coming from thence, the Water could not but run very foul, since the Spring it proceeded from was infected. This appears by many ancient Books there are in *Ethiopia*, writ on Parchment, for they have no printing; besides, other evident Tokens there are of Schism and Heresy; for at this very Time the Hereticks call the wicked Apostate *Dioscorus* a Saint, who being Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with the Assistance of the vile Abbot *Eutyches*, in the Year 444. infected *Greece* with that Heresy, of there being but one Nature and one Will in *CHRIST* our Lord. For this Reason the *Abyssines* do not reckon Pope *Leo* the First as a Saint, but rather abhor his Name, worthy of eternal Veneration; because he approv'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein 630 Bishops met, and condemn'd the two Hereticks *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches*.

First Reunion of theirs to Rome.

True it is, that in the Days of Pope *Eugenius* the IV. who held the Council of *Florence* about the Year 1439, some thought the Schism of *Ethiopia* was at an end, because about the conclusion of that Council, there came to *Rome*, together with the *Armenians*, some *Ethiopians* or *Abyssines*, sent by the Emperor *Zara Jacob*, who made Profession of the *Roman* Faith, and receiv'd and carry'd with them Letters of Union with the *Roman* Church, as may be seen in Cardinal *Baronius* in that Year, and in *Illescas p. 2. lib. 6. cap.* 23. *anno* 1438, and the Life of Pope *Eugenius* the IV. on whose Tomb

Tomb there is an Epitaph, and among the reſt one Diſtich alluding to the Converſion of theſe *Abyſſines*, which runs thus.

Quo Duce & *Armenij*, *Graiorum* Exempla ſecuti,
Romanam agnorunt, *Æthiopeſque* Fidem.

The ſecond.

Beſides, the Emperor *David* writ two Letters to the Pope, in the Year 1526, which were carry'd by *F. Francis Alvarez*, Chaplain to King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, and deliver'd to Pope *Clement* the VII. at *Bologna*, and are now publiſh'd in *Latin* by *Paulus Jovius*. In them the ſaid Emperor *David* ſaid, he would pay Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*; and he alſo ſent *Don John Bermudes* to *Rome*, deſiring of the Pope, that he would confirm him Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. All this that Emperor did, without the Approbation of his People, and when *Don John Bermudes* return'd, the Emperor *David* was Dead, and his Son *Claudius* receiv'd him with an ill Will, and ſeem'd to comply with the Promiſe made by his Father, only as long as he had ſome dependance on the *Portuguezes*, who aſſiſted him againſt the *Moor Granhe*; but as ſoon as that Infidel was kill'd, he ſent for the *Abuna Joſeph* from *Alexandria*, and from that Time we ſhall ſee how they treated the Patriarchs of the Society ſent thither.

How long the Schiſm laſted.

If therefore we date the Errors and Schiſm of the *Abyſſines* from the Days of the wicked *Dioſcorus*, till the Reign of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, when he and his People for ſome time embrac'd the Catholick Faith, in the Year 1626, they had been Schiſmaticks above 1200 Years: But if we ſay the Catholick Faith held out in *Ethiopia* as long as they in ſome meaſure were ſubject to the Catholick Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, which was till the Year 610 or 620, then muſt we ſay, that the Schiſm of *Ethiopia* laſted 1000 Years, little more or leſs, and God knows when it will ceaſe; for we ſhall ſee hereafter, how ſhort a time that Country continu'd in its Reunion.

Ignorance of Ethiopians.

Beſides the Antiquity of their Errors, there is a profound Ignorance in *Ethiopia*; for having no Schools, no Knowledge of Philoſophy and Divinity, nor any more than ſome imperfect Books, with pieces of Homilies and Councils very full of miſtakes, and their Bible very much deprav'd, they are ſo very unlearned, tho' they have good Wits, that they can neither argue in Form nor defend their wrong Notions Syllogiſtically; but blindly cleave to what their Forefathers taught them, and ſo, tho' they believe in CHRIST our Lord, it is after their own manner, and with a Thouſand Follies as to the Myſteries of his Holy Life.

Errors as to Baptism.

They have no manner of Knowledge of the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extream Unction: The other five they admit, but very ignorantly as to the Matter and Form; for in the Sacrament of Baptism some said, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Holy Ghost*; others, *I Baptize thee in the Water of* Jordan; others, *God Baptize thee*; and others, *May the Baptism reach thee.* Besides this, there was a notable Abuse of Rebaptizing themselves several Times, upon any Occasion, and many Men and Women baptiz'd themselves most indecently many times in the Morning, by some Monk they kept for this purpose in the House, besides the general Baptism they celebrated every Year on the Day of the Epiphany, with abominable Superstitions, and such Ceremonies as rather seem'd to be invented by Sensuality itself, than to be the effects of true Christianity. Yet all this Baptizing and Rebaptizing did not amount to a real Baptism, and therefore the Fathers of the Society and the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* were of Opinion, that it was requisite conditionally to Baptize all those who were converted to the Faith, because in *Ethiopia*, either they knew not the Form of Baptism, or at least did not use it.

As to Penance.

As to the Sacrament of Penance, tho' they knew, that in order to obtain Pardon of Sins committed after Baptism, it was requisite to confess them to a Priest, and receive Penance at his Hands; yet they had very gross Errors, both as to the Form, and in other Respects; for no Man went to Confession till about 25 Years of Age, little more or less, believing themselves to be Innocents till then, and calling all such Children; and hence it is that when any one Dies between 17 and 20 Years of Age, they say, *My Soul be with that Innocent's.* They confess their Sins in General Terms, and by the gross, saying, *I have sinn'd, I beseech you to absolve me.* And if the Confessor happens to bid them express their Sins, they do so, if they be guilty of any of those three, which they only look upon as Sins, which are taking another Man's Wife, Murder and Theft. And the worst is, that the Confessors do not absolve in the Catholick Form; but only utter some Words, and touch their Backs with Rods of Olive-Tree, which therefore they always use to have ready at the Church Gates, that there may be no want of Absolutions, for want of Rods.

They believe the Real Presence.

The *Abyssines* believe and confess, that CHRIST our Saviour is in the Consecrated Host, and they receive this Sacrament in both Kinds; yet we are of Opinion, that there is no true Consecration among them through the Defect of the Ministers because they are no true Priests; and there is an Essential Error as to the matter, because they generally do not Consecrate in Wine, but in Water, for they only take Four, or Six Raisins, which are very

very like those among us of the Reddest Grapes, and those they squeeze into a Cup of Water, and as soon as 'tis discolour'd, they say Mass with it. They also commit abundance of Irregularities in the Sacrament of Holy Order, for in conferring it they do not use those Ceremonies, which the Canons have declar'd Essential.

It would be tedious to run through all the Errors of the *Abyssines*, relating to the Sacraments and the Commandments; and tho' they had so many absurdities brought them from *Alexandria*, yet they fetch'd others as far as *Jury*; for they precisely keep to Circumcision, and many other *Judaical* Superstitions, like true Descendants of *Solomon*'s Son, and the other *Israelites* that came with him, who also taught them to keep the *Jewish* Sabbath, or Saturday, and many other of their Ceremonies, making a mixture of the Law of CHRIST and that of *Moses*, which is joining Light and Darkness, or God and *Belial*. And amidst so many Errors they easily admitted those which best sute with deprav'd Nature, and are most repugnant to Catholick Purity. But when the way of Truth is once lost, there follow of Course the most dreadful Precipices, till Men come to fall into the worst Abyss of Wickedness. However the *Abyssines* generally pay great Devotion to the Virgin *Mary*, and so we will forbear telling any more of their Errors, all which came from *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches*, and therefore they are call'd *Eutychians* and *Nestorians*.

Circumcision and Sabbath observ'd.

CHAP. XIX.

An Account of the Abuna, *who is the* Ethiopian *Bishop. Of what sort of Clergymen they have; and of their Vestments, and Ceremonies of the Mass.*

THE *Ethiopians* never had any more than one Bishop of all *Abyssinia*, since they receiv'd the Faith of CHRIST, and him they call *Abuna*, which signifies, Our Father. The first of them was S. *Frumentius*, of whom we have spoken above, and as this Saint was sent from *Alexandria*, by S. *Athanasius*; so ever after all the other Bishops, or *Abunas*, were sent into *Ethiopia* from the same

Only one Abuna, *or Bishop in* Ethiopia.

same Patriarchal Chair of *Alexandria*, till our Days, when *Rome* sent some Patriarchs, as we shall see hereafter. So as long as *Alexandria* had Catholick Patriarchs, the *Abyssines* had Catholick Bishops; but when *Greece* and *Egypt* separated from *Rome*, they sent Heretick Bishops, or *Abunas* into *Ethiopia*, who are generally most ignorant Persons, whereas it is so proper for Bishops to be Learned, that S. *Paul*, *Ephes.* 4. 11. calls them both, *Pastors* and *Teachers*.

His Ignorance, and Function.

Hence it is that several Fathers of the Society affirm, they knew, three, or four *Abunas*, none of whom they ever heard Preach, or Teach, and they seem to be of the number of those of whom the Prophet *Isaiah*, 56. 10. says, *They are all dumb Dogs, they cannot Bark.* *F. Francis Alvarez*, who was Six Years in *Ethiopia*, and relates very minute matters relating to it, does not mention, that ever he heard the *Abuna Mare* Preach; but only affirms, that when he conferr'd Holy Orders, he bid those not receive them, who had been twice marry'd, with a few other Instructions, wherein it is likely he declar'd some other Causes of Irregularity, passing by other matters very obvious. He farther says, he gave Priestly Orders, to the Blind, Lame, and Halt, and herein consisted all the Office of the *Abuna*. Accordingly the Orders are like him that Administers them; for they give them only by Imposition of Hands, with some Words, without delivering to those ordain'd the matter of Bread and Wine; whence it was always dubious, whether the Orders they gave were valid; besides the aforesaid doubt as to Baptism, which was common to all.

His manner of giving Absolution.

The better to show the great Ignorance of these Pastors of the *Abyssine* Souls, I will relate one particular, that by it we may come to the Knowledge of others like it. It is customary for the *Abunas* to appear sometimes in publick, sitting on their Chair, and, the *Abyssines* being naturally addicted to Piety, many of them presently flock together, encompassing their Pastor, to gain the Indulgences he uses to bestow among them. Thither repair'd such as would confess their Sins in publick, believing they that way obtain'd fuller Absolution. Then coming before the *Abuna* they discover'd one or two Sins, being generally of those three, I said above, they look upon as the most heinous. This done, the *Abuna* stood up, and with his Staff began to give the Penitent a disagreeable Absolution, of three, or four good strokes, saying to him, at the same time, in a great Passion; *Have you done so? Do not you fear God? Well go thither; give him* 30, *or* 40 *Lashes.* Then the *Mazares*, who are a sort of Officers attending the *Abuna*, the Emperor, and the Viceroy, being like our Yeomen of the Guard, begin to Lash the poor Penitent, with a sort of Thongs they carry

carry in their Hands, to keep off the People, and being long, gird about the Body. This whipping is generally very severe and the *Abuna* for the most part order'd 30, or 40 Lashes; but as soon as the Penitent has receiv'd 6, or 7, the Company intercedes for him and interposes; and after this unsavory Absolution, the Penitent withdraws, glad with all his Heart, that he is deliver'd from the *Abunas* Staff and the Thongs of the *Mazares*.

An instance of Confessing to him.

Now to come to our Story, it happen'd, not many Years since, that the *Abuna* being busie hearing these publick Confessions, one of those who came for Absolution drew near, and being unwilling to declare his Sin in publick, as fearing perhaps that which afterwards hapned, he stepp'd up to the *Abuna*, and desir'd, he would hear the Sin in private, for which he begg'd Absolution, he answer'd, *How so? Will not that Sin be made known before all the World at the Day of Judgment? Then declare it here in publick immediately.* The poor Penitent had no way to come off, after that Answer, and, tho' much against his Will, at length spoke it out in publick, and it was that he had Stolen a certain number of Cows. It was the Penitents Misfortune, that the Owner of the Cows hapned to be present, who went that Moment and accus'd him before the Judge, and there being so many Witnesses, who had heard him Confess the Fact, he was immediately order'd to restore the Cows, and they laid a farther great Penalty on him, which was more grievous, than the Lashes the *Mazares* gave him. Thus, if the poor Penitent was absolv'd from the Guilt by his Confession; yet he escap'd not the Punishment, which the Judge laid on him to his Cost, that he might be free from all Satisfaction in another Life.

Restitution not enjoin'd in Confession.

It is here fit to be observ'd, that unless some of the many Thefts committed in *Ethiopia* is not thus made good, there is never any Restitution; for neither the *Abuna*, nor any of the other Confessors oblige the Penitent to it, this being a Point never taught, nor practis'd in *Ethiopia*.

Abunas *ill Livers.*

Answerable to their Ignorance was the ill Life of these *Abunas*, who never remember'd the Advice S. *Paul* gave to *Titus*, bidding him in all Respects be a living Example of Virtuous Actions. It is said of many of them, that they liv'd publickly in a scandalous manner. Neither did they visit their Churches in Person; but now and then sent a sort of Visitors, who were more like Shearers of their Flock, than Censors of ill Lives.

No Bishops.

It is very much doubted, whether any of these *Abunas* be real Bishops, or only plain Priests, or rather not so much as Priests, but bare Lay Monks. When the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was in *Ethiopia*, a Monk of *Alexandria* liv'd there, who came to succeed

ſucceed the *Abuna Simon*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and as ſuch was immediately receiv'd by many and complimented; but the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, having at that time the Catholick Faith in his Heart, which he ſoon after profeſs'd, he caus'd that Monk to be depos'd from the Office of *Abuna*, and he converſing with the Fathers of the Society, ſoon embrac'd the Catholick Faith, and confeſs'd he was no Biſhop, but only a Lay Monk. He afterwards Marry'd, and liv'd upon making of Mills, and we believe he underſtood that Trade better than the Duty of an *Abuna*.

Their Revenues. The Revenue belonging to this their ſort of Patriarchs conſiſts in ſome Lands in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, which yield about 40, or 50 *Oqueas* a Year, worth 4, or 500 Pieces of Eight. They have other Lands in *Dambea*, which afford a great Quantity of Proviſions, and ſerve for their Table; others in *Gojam* of leſs Value, and they themſelves uſe to be their own Farmers. Beſides this they have an Underſtanding with thoſe they ordain, for all of them carry their Offerings, which I will not now go about to condemn as Simony.

It is here to be obſerv'd, that there neither is, nor ever was, any other Biſhop, Patriarch, or as they call him *Abuna*, in all *Ethiopia* but this one; this is moſt certain, and teſtify'd by all the Fathers of the Society, who liv'd ſo many Years in *Abyſſinia*, by which we ſee how much that great Hiſtorian *Illeſcas* was miſinform'd, when in the ſecond part of his Pontifical Hiſtory, *lib. 6. in Vita pag.* 3. *fol.* 257. he ſays, *Ethiopia* is divided into great Patriarchſhips, each of which has, at leaſt, two Biſhops; and the ſame Author, in the aforeſaid Place, aſſigning to *Ethiopia* 60 very rich Kingdoms, it is no wonder, he ſhould alſo allow them ſuch a numerous parcel of Biſhopricks; but what we have deliver'd is moſt certain; and it is generally very requiſite to keep a ſtrict Eye upon what has been writ concerning this *Ethiopia*, becauſe it has been repreſented very great, and is found in reality to be but inconſiderable. And I wonder that the ſaid *Illeſcas* ſhould deliver ſuch things, whereas he ſays he read *F. Francis Alvarez*'s Book, tho' he there ſometimes alſo calls him *Francis Fernandes*, and I could better excuſe changing the Name of *Alvarez* into *Fernandez*, than making ſo many Patriarchs of one ſingle *Abuna*.

They have no particular See. The *Abunas* have no particular See, or Cathedral in *Ethiopia*, becauſe, as has been ſaid, there is no City there, nor ſettled Court, only the *Portugueſe* Patriarch *Don Alfonſo Mendez* was building a ſtately Church of Lime and Stone, at *Dancas*, for a Cathedral. The Churches of the Camp are under the Direction of the *Debaroa Goyta*, ſo they call the Chief, or Superior of the *Depteras*, who

who are the Chanters and Prebends of the principal Churches, and they take their Name from the Tabernacle *Moſes* order'd to be made, which in the Language of their Book they call *Deptera*; and theſe are in *Ethiopia*, the Perſons who pretend to be beſt read in what Books they have, and yet they are not oblig'd to be Clergymen nor Monks, but ſeem to be equivalent to the *Levites*.

Depteras *their Mad Ceremonies.*

The proper Duty of theſe Men is to ſing, and to beat a ſort of Drums or little Tabors, during the Divine Office, and at the ſame time to Dance and Skip, with ſuch terrible Noiſe as if the Church were falling; ſo that our madeſt Antick Dancers could not outdo them. This noiſy and tireſome Solemnity, begins on their greateſt Feſtivals, long before Day, and they hold it on till near Noon, without ever giving over their joyful and unharmonious Exerciſe. This they value themſelves ſo much upon, that the Emperors own Brother *Raz Sela Chriſtos*, of whom we ſhall have much to ſay, was very proud of keeping Time for them, tho' the Dancers would have ſav'd him the Labour. His own Couſin *Melca Chriſtos*, Lord Steward to the Emperor, was very glad when he had the good Fortune to play upon the Tabor: Nay, they rattle and ſhake it for many Hours, and herein they ſay they imitate King *David*, when he went dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, and that they obſerve what he recommended, *Pſalm* 150. *v.* 4: *Praiſe him with the Timbrel and Dance; Praiſe him with ſtring'd Inſtruments and Organs; Praiſe him upon the high ſounding Cymbals.*

Prieſts and Deacons.

Beſides theſe their *Levites*, they have Clergymen, who in *Ethiopia* were always marry'd, and marry'd after they had receiv'd Deacons Orders; for as to thoſe of Sub-Deacon their *Abunas* do not uſe to give them, but the Degree of Deacon they beſtow on very ſmall Children, and ſometimes on ſucking Infants, eſpecially if they be the Sons of great Men, that they may have the Priviledge of going into the Chappel to receive the Sacrament with the Clergy, and not without it, or at the Church Gate, as thoſe do who are not in Orders. And theſe are the Orders ſo much talk'd of the pretended *Preſter John* had, being only thoſe of Deacon, as has been ſaid.

Clergy marry'd and Poor.

The Clergy in *Ethiopia* marrying, they have for the moſt part conſiderable Families, and tho' the Sons ſucceed their Fathers in their Churches and Benefices, yet they are generally Poor, and live upon the Labour of their Hands, tilling the Land as Lay-Farmers do. They wear no Clergymans Habit, nor are they Shorn, or have any other Mark of Diſtinction, but only a little Croſs in their Hand, and a ſmall Cap of any Colour, and accordingly are very little reſpected; and there being no Priviledges of the Church among them, their Ordination does not free them from being puniſh'd by the Lay-Magiſtrate, like other Secular Perſons.

Vestments at Mass. Such as the Ministers of the Altar, such are their Vestments, and other Necessaries for celebrating their Mass. Every time they are to say Mass, they say some Prayers over and bless the Sacerdotal Vestments, and indeed they need a daily Blessing, being so indecent for that use, that all their Benedictions are little enough to sanctify them; for instead of an Alb they generally use an old Tunick bought of the *Turks*, well worn, which they put on without any other Fashioning or Alteration, only relying on their Blessings. That which answers to the Chasuble is very narrow, but behind it drags about half a Yard, and this they call *Motat*. As for the Amice, Girdle, Stole and Maniple, they use none, and much less might serve, considering how easily they content themselves as to this their Mass, which consists of many Prayers, the Priests and Deacon say each apart, several whereof are in themselves devout and well worded.

Mannner and Hours of saying it. There is no Image on the Altar, only some one they place when they are to say Mass. Behind the East end of the Church there is always a small Room, which is for the Hosts, and in it all Necessaries for making of them, and the Host is a leaven'd Cake, which is not kept till the next Day, and they wonder we do not make Hosts every Day. They go from thence praying to say their Mass, and only one is said, with this variety as to the Hours, that on *Sundays* and other Days which are not Fasts, it is said in the Morning. On Fasting Days they say it, at the time they are to Eat, that is, at Three in the Afternoon, on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and at Sun-setting in Lent.

Wine and Communion. The Wine they prepare for Mass is thus made; they bring 4 or 5 Raisins, as has been hinted before, which they keep on purpose, and squeeze to pieces with their Fingers in a Cup of Water, bigger or less, according to the number of People that are to Communicate; for they all receive under both kinds, or to say the Truth under neither, it being most certain that the Matter here is not Wine but Water, since a Cup of Water cannot be converted into Wine by 5 or 6 Raisins. I also question their Form of Consecration, for their Words for the Body of CHRIST are these: *This Bread is my Body*; and for the Blood, *This Cup is my Blood*; which Words seem to make an essential Alteration in the Sense, as *F. Layman* expressly declares in *Theolog. mor. lib.* 3. and may be seen in the Learned *F. Francis Suarez, Tom.* 3. *in* 3 *par. disput.* 58. *Sect.* 7. *and disp.* 59. *Sect.* 5.

Hallelujas *always us'd.* In the Mass they say all by Heart, only reading the Gospel in the Book the Priest carries on his Left Shoulder, and going without the Chappel Door, there reads the Gospel of the Day. They do not vary the Gospels as we do, according to the several Festivals;

vals; but they read one Evangeliſt one whole Year, and the next Year another, and ſo in four Years run through them all. They always ſay *Hallelujas*, even in the Maſſes for the Dead, as we ſhall ſee in the ſecond Book.

The Prieſt gives the Sacrament at the Chapel Door to Men and Women, ſaying, *The Holy Fleſh of* Emmanuel *our God of Truth, which he took of the Lady of us all*; and the Communicant ſays, *Amen, Amen.* Then the Deacon gives the Blood with a Spoon, ſaying, *This is the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, for the Life of the Fleſh and Soul, and for Life everlaſting.* Then one who repreſents our Sub-Deacon, pours a little Water into the Palm of the Communicants Hand, with which he rinſes his Mouth and Drinks it. All the Communicants ſtand, and this may ſuffice as to the Ceremonies of the *Abyſſine* Maſs. *The Sacrament how given.*

Thus we have given a brief Account of the Affairs of this *Ethiopia* or *Abyſſinia*, which may improperly be call'd the Empire of *Preſter John.* We have ſeen the Original of the Catholick Religion there; we have diſcover'd who were the firſt Religious Men that enter'd into it; we have related the Occaſion they had to leave the true Faith; and we have writ what is moſt requiſite to be known of their Cuſtoms and Errors, and of their *Abunas*, who ever ſince their firſt Revolt, always came to them from *Alexandria*, till the Days of their Emperor *Zara Jacob*, before ſpoken of, who was Ten Years without any *Abuna*, endeavouring to get one from *Rome*, and after his Death continued ſo 13 Years longer, till perceiving the Impoſſibility of having one from *Rome*, they brought one from *Alexandria*, which was the *Abuna Marc*, who was living in *Ethiopia* at the time when *F. Francis Alvarez* came thither, ſent by King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, with his Ambaſſador, as we ſhall ſee, with many other remarkable Accidents, in the enſuing Book.

The End of the firſt Book.

THE TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS IN *ETHIOPIA.*

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Discoveries of Ethiopia *by Land and Sea; of the Empress* Helen, *and a Magnificent Church she built; Embassies between* Ethiopia *and* Portugal, *and some other Particulars.*

PRINCE *Henry*, Son to King *John* the first of *Portugal*, having before any other sent out Ships to make new Discoveries along the Coast of *Africk*, and they successfully passing beyond any that had been before them, the Kings his Nephews prosecuted what he had so happily begun, till their Adventurers pass'd that, ever since so famous Promontory call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*. So far had King *John* the II. proceeded, when he pitch'd upon two of his Subjects well skill'd in the *Arabick* and other

other Languages, to travel by Land into *India*, and there endeavour to find out a Christian King, vulgarly call'd *Prester John*, and enquire whether the Spices and other Commodities brought from those Eastern Parts up the *Red Sea*, and thence by Land to *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and so to *Venice* by the *Mediterranean*, might not at once be convey'd to *Portugal* upon the Ocean. These two Men were *Peter de Covilham* and *Alfonso de Payva*. Both of whom after long Travels went into *India* and *Ethiopia*, but neither return'd into *Portugal*; for *Payva* in his Return dy'd at *Grand Cairo*, and *Covilham* was not permitted to depart *Ethiopia* by the Emperor then reigning: But before he went into that Empire, he writ to King *John* from *Grand Cairo*, by means of two *Jews* sent after them by the same King *John*, giving him a particular Account of his Travels, how he had been in *India*, and found that the *Portugueze* Ships might by the way of the Ocean Sail thither, and that his Companion had been in an Empire call'd *Ethiopia*, and at the Court of that Monarch, who was a Christian, and in all likelyhood the famous *Prester John*, his Highness was so desirous to find out; and for as much as his Highness order'd a Letter to be deliver'd to the said *Prester John*, since his Companion was Dead, he was going to carry it himself. This was the Substance of *Covilham*'s Letter, and his Account was extraordinary pleasing to King *John*, and it was generally concluded throughout all *Portugal*, that the so much sought for *Prester John* was now found out; whereas the real Prince of that Name must be in *Asia*, and this here was in *Africk*; for the *Prester John* they were sent to find out, was a Christian Prince reigning in the Inland of *Asia*, at the time when *Marcus Paulus Venetus* travell'd through *Asia*, as he affirms, and the extraordinary Account he gave of that Monarch having fill'd all *Asia* with his Fame, the greatest Christian Princes conceiv'd an ardent desire of finding him out. This Discovery of *Covilham* and *Payva* happen'd in the 1490, and was follow'd by *Vasco de Gama*'s sailing round into the East in 1497. In 1505 *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* was the first *European* that enter'd the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and by that means the *Ethiopians* came to hear of the great Exploits of the *Portuguezes* in *India*, confirming the mighty Things they had been told of that Nation by *Peter de Covilham*, who was still living among them. The great Empress *Helen*, Dowager to the Emperor *Beda Mariam*, at that time governing *Ethiopia*, during the Minority of her Son *David*, and desiring to settle a Correspondence with the King of *Portugal*, writ to him, and sent a sort of Embassy by one *Matthew* an *Armenian*, and with him, as a Token of the Faith she profess'd, a Piece of the Holy Cross. This Messenger was nobly entertain'd by *Alfonso*

Covilham *and* Payva *in* Ethiopia.

Helen, *Empress of* Ethiopia.

fonso d' Albuquerque, who order'd a Gold Box to be made to carry the Holy Wood, with the greater Honour. *Matthew* coming to *Lisbon*, found an honourable Reception from King *Emanuel*, who sent him back well satisfy'd into *Ethiopia*, as shall be mention'd more fully hereafter. This was the beginning of the following Friendship between the *Portugueses* and the *Abyssines*, and hence ensu'd all those strange Accidents, which we shall speak of hereafter.

Alexander Nahod *and* David, *Emperors.*

When *Peter de Covilham* enter'd *Ethiopia*, which was in the Year 1490, as was said above, the Emperor *Scander* or *Alexander*, being the only one of that Name reign'd there, who the Natives affirm was a true *Alexander* in Generosity, as well as by Name. *Nahod* succeeding him in the Throne, would never give *Covilham* leave to depart, both because he had a great value for him, and in Regard it was the Custom of the Nation to detain all Strangers that came into it. *Nahod* reign'd 13 Years, and left the Crown to his Son *Lebna Danguil*, otherwise call'd *David*, then an Infant, and during his Minority the Empire was govern'd by his Mother *Magueza*, and the Empress *Helen*, who had been Wife to the Emperor *Beda Mariam*, much respected by all Men, for her singular Gravity and Wisdom.

A Church built.

This Lady had neither Son nor Daughter, but enjoy'd many Lands left her in the Kingdom of *Gojam* by her Husband, was very Rich, and perform'd extraordinary Works. The most famous of them all was the building the stately and magnificent Church, that had been till then in *Ethiopia*, whereof some considerable Remains were afterwards to be seen. In order to raise this Structure, she caused the ablest Architects to be brought out of *Egypt*. This Pile was erected in the middle of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, in a Territory call'd *Nebesse*, water'd by the River *Nile*. There at the Foot of a Hill was an Enclosure made of Stone and Clay square, and each side of it about 200 Fathom long, the Wall about 2 Yards thick, and above 5 in Height; the whole Work as was said of Clay and Stone, but so strong, that *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* testifies it requir'd much Strength to break off any Stone.

Within this Enclosure the Church was built, all of it square, not only in the inner Part, which is like a Chappel, but in the outward Walls, contrary to the manner of all other *Ethiopian* Churches, which are round, as has been said before. *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* saw a considerable part of these Walls still standing, and says they were about 104 Feet in length, and tho' much of it was fill'd up with the Stones that had fallen, he says the Chapel might be about 60 Foot long, and all the Stones, as well those standing as the others, fallen down large, smooth,

ſmooth, and moſt artificially poliſh'd, and on each of them were carved Roſes, Pinks, Lilies and ſeveral other Flowers, one upon each Stone; and tho' very many had every one a different Flower on it, which was wonderful to ſee, what variety of ſeveral Flowers the Artiſt could fanſie, and all of them ſo curiouſly cut, that it was impoſſible to outdo them in Gold, Silver or Wax, or even with a Pencil. And the People told the Fathers, that ſeveral of thoſe Roſes were cover'd with Gold and Silver, the Workmanſhip exceeding the value of the Metals, many of them ſtill to be ſeen.

Its Wealth and Beauty.

It was not only the Structure of this Church that coſt ſo much, for it was nobly endow'd and adorn'd, as having moſt precious Veſtments, and Gold Chalices and Patens of extraordinary value. *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* aſſures us, that even in the Days of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, he ſaw two Altar Stones belonging to it all of Solid Gold, the one weighing 800 and the other 500 *Oqueas*. However, there was one great defect in this noble Structure, which was want of light; but perhaps not the Fault of the Architect, who might likely comply with the Cuſtom of the Country, where, as has been ſaid, all the Churches are very dark. Now there being no other covering in *Ethiopia* but Thatch, and nothing to be done in this Church, either by Day or Night, but by Candlelight, we may eaſily gueſs how much it was expos'd to danger of Fire; and before this ſtately Work had ſtood 20 Years, the *Mahometan Granhe*, invited by the Fame of the Wealth it contain'd, came, and after plundering ſet Fire to it, ſo that all was reduc'd to Aſhes but the Stones. Out of theſe Ruins a *Roman Jeſuit*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor *Sultan-Segued*, undertook to raiſe a more laſting Pile, which was call'd *Mertola Mariam*, that is, the Lodging of *Mary*; and *F. Jerome Lobo*, who was then preſent, ſays, that when they came to dig up the Foundation of the Chappel to build the new one, they found four Gold Plates about the bigneſs of the Palm of a Man's Hand, with the Name of one of the Evangeliſts cut on each of them, as if the Chapel were founded on the four Evangeliſts.

During the Reign of the aforeſaid Emperor *Lebna Danguil*, *David*, or *Sultan Segued*, for he had all theſe Names, King *Emanuel*'s Ambaſſador arriv'd in *Ethiopia*, which was in Return for the above mention'd *Matthew* the *Armenian*, ſent into *Portugal*, at which Time the Affairs of *Abyſſinia* being in a better Poſture than they prov'd afterwards, that Emperor's Letter bore ſeveral magnificent Titles, as *David, the beloved of God, Pillar of the Faith, Kinſman to the Race of* Juda, *Son of* David, *Son of* Solomon, *Son of the Pillar of* Sion, *Emperor of the Great and High* Ethiopia, *and of its*

The Emperor's Titles.

its great Kingdoms and Provinces, &c. Hereupon King *Emanuel*, immediately order'd a Solemn Embassy in answer to this, and chose for it *Edward Galvam*, a Person of singular Capacity, who had been Secretary to the Kings *Alfonso* the V. and *John* the II. and Ambassador at *Rome*, in *Germany* and *France*, with whom he sent one of his Chaplains call'd *Francis Alvarez*, a Virtuous and Discreet Man. By them he sent costly Presents to the Emperor *David*, and his Protectress the Empress *Helen*. But the Ambassador *Edward Galvam* being above 70 Years of Age, dy'd in the Island of *Camarane*, which is within the *Red Sea*; so that the Embassy was disappointed at that time. Afterwards *Lope Vaz de Sequeira* entering upon the Government of *India*, and sailing into the *Red Sea* against the *Turks*, happen'd to put into the Port of *Mazua* in *April* 1520, which Island was then subject to the *Abyssine* Emperor, and being there visited by the Christians of the Country, the *Bahar Nagays*, who is Governor of the Sea Coast, and the Monks of *Bizam*, and observing how joyfully they all receiv'd *Matthew* the *Armenian*, whom he brought back from *Portugal*, he resolved to put his Prince's Commands in execution.

Portugueze *Embassy.*

To this purpose he made Choice of *Don Roderick de Lima* to go Embassador, and with him went *F. Francis Alvarez*, and some other *Portuguezes*, and tho' they suffer'd much by the way, they all came safe to the Emperor's Court, who receiv'd them with great Pomp, and Expressions of Affection, signifying his Satisfaction for that Embassy, and entertaining them with all the Magnificence *Ethiopia* could afford, dismissing them at last after many delays, either because it is the Custom of the Country, or for the more State. But the main Thing that kept them there 6 Years was the want of Shipping; for if any happen'd to come from *India*, it was at a time when they were very far from the Sea. At length they departed *Ethiopia* in the Year 1526, and the News of the Death of King *Emanuel*, and King *John* the III'ds. Accession to the Crown being brought before they were gone, the Emperor *David* sent him a Letter, which may be seen at large in *F. Francis*'s History, *Chap.* 135, and with it his Crown of Gold and Silver, and as an Ambassador a Monk of his call'd *Zagaza Ab*, a Man in great Authority among them, and well read in their Books; by whom he also sent a Letter to Pope *Clement* the VII. earnestly intreating *F. Alvarez* that he would go with his Ambassador to *Rome*. Those Letters are elegantly translated into *Latin* by *Paulus Jovius*, and in them the said Emperor acknowledges the Pope to be CHRIST's Vicar upon Earth, and Supream Head of the Church. The Ambassador was honourably receiv'd at *Rome*, and all this may be seen at large in *James de Couto*, *Dec.* 4. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *John de Barros*, *Dec.* 4 *cap.* 4.

Ethiopian *Embassy.*

and

and in the said *F. Francis Alvarez*'s History of *Ethiopia*. This History of *F. Alvarez*, has been translated into *Spanish* and *Italian*, and may very safely be credited, as *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* observes, in all things he says, he saw, because besides his being a Man of undoubted Reputation, there has been nothing since found in *Ethiopia* to contradict what he affirms. However great Caution is to be us'd as to all those Affairs he took upon hearsay, because the *Abyssines* are very much given to magnifying of all that belongs to them to Strangers, whom they delight to impose upon, as the said *F. Alvarez* found by Experience, in the difficulty they had of obtaining Audiences from the Emperor, whose Treasures, tho' much greater at that time than since, were nothing like what they pretended; and may much more easily be set down in Paper, than found in his Country.

The Ceremonies he tells us were us'd in conducting them leisurely through the Doors, and the stops they made in the Chambers of the Palace, were all Tricks they put upon the *Portugueses*, as being Strangers. The Stage, or Throne, he says, they saw the Emperor on, the first time, was doubtless made only for that occasion, his Throne being no other than a Couch after their Fashion, but now he has one made in *China*, which the *Portugueses* presented him; and this, or those they had before, are generally well adorn'd, as has been already signify'd.

Declaration of the Ethiopian Faith.

Zagaza-Ab, the *Abyssine* Embassador, who came into *Portugal*, with *F. Francis Alvarez*, compos'd a Treatise there, wherein he declares the Faith of the *Ethiopians*, which was translated into *Latin* by *Damian de Goes*, and is to be seen in *Hispania Illustrata*, among the Affairs of *Portugal*; but we are to be very cautious in reading this Book, because that *Abyssine* being in a strange Country, so remote from *Ethiopia*, where no body could contradict him, said many things that were groundless, and spoke not so truly as he ought to have done concerning their Errors, saying there were one among them, whereas we are convinc'd there are very many.

Chap. II.

The great Havock made in Ethiopia *by the* Moor Granhe; *the Emperor* David *craves Aid of the King of* Portugal; David *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Claudius; *Don* Chriſtopher de Gama *comes to his Aſſiſtance with* 400 *Men, and twice defeats the Infidels.*

THE Emperor *David* above mention'd, who at the beginning of his Reign had been extraordinary ſucceſsful againſt his Enemies the *Moors*, ſuffer'd very much in his latter Days, from an Irruption made into his Dominions by *Ahamed*, the *Moor*, who had the bye-Name of *Granhe*, ſignifying, Left-handed, becauſe he was ſo. This Infidel being aſſiſted by the King of *Adel*, in Revenge for the Havock the Emperor *David* had made in his Country, enter'd *Ethiopia* with a mighty Army, over-ran the Kingdom of *Fategar*, deſtroy'd many Towns, burnt Villages, took abundance of People, and had Thoughts of conquering all *Ethiopia*, encourag'd by his firſt ſucceſſes.

Granhe *the* Moor *Invades* Ethiopia.

The Emperor having ſuch an Enemy within his own Dominions, gather'd all his Forces, conſiſting of 3000 Horſe, and a great multitude of Foot, and meeting *Granhe*, who had then but 300 Horſe, and a much ſmaller number of Foot, was overthrown, and abundance of his Men taken. Two Years after, the Emperor led on a greater Army, and tho' he obtain'd a conſiderable Victory over the *Moor*; yet from the Year 1528 till 1540, when *David* dy'd, the *Moors* of *Adel*, commanded by their General *Granhe*, for he was neither King of *Zeila*, nor of *Adel*, nor is *Zeila* any more than a Sea-Port of *Adel*, over-ran the beſt part of the *Abyſſine* Empire, routing all the beſt Commanders that offer'd to oppoſe them, deſtroying all they met with, and plundering the Churches, which were then very rich.

Abyſſines *eaſily renounce their Faith.*

Among the other Priſoners taken by the *Moors*, was one of the Emperor's own Sons, call'd *Minas*, who ſucceeded *Claudius*, his Elder Brother, in the Empire; beſides many great Men of the *Abyſſines* went over and took part with *Granhe*, and what is worſe, immediately

immediately became *Mahometans*; but as *F. Francis Alvarez* obſerves they make no difficulty of changing their Religion; for as ſoon as it goes ill with *Mahomet*, they again turn Chriſtians, and being rebaptiz'd, fanſie they are as Innocent as new born Babes; nor do they afterwards look upon it as any ſhame, that they renounc'd their Faith.

The unfortunate Emperor perceiving the Ruin of his Empire, and that the *Mooriſh* General bore down all before him, like an impetuous Torrent, thought of ſending to *India* to crave Succour of the *Portugueſes*, and at the ſame to *Portugal* to King *John* the 3d, and even to *Rome* to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope again, ſo the more to oblige him. To this purpoſe he pitched upon one Maſter *John*, a *Portugueſe* of the Embaſſador *Don Roderick de Lima*'s Retinue, who had ſtay'd behind, to go as his Envoy to crave Succour, and the more to oblige him, order'd he ſhould be created *Abuna*, or Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, becauſe he was a Catholick, by this good beginning to ſhow his Reſolution of ſubmitting to the See of *Rome*. The *Abuna Marc*, was ſtill living at that time, and enjoy'd that Dignity in *Ethiopia*, being as *F. Francis Alvarez* writes, very well affected towards the Catholick Faith, and readily comply'd with the Emperor's Deſires, naming the ſaid Maſter *John* for his Succeſſor, who from that time forwards was call'd *Don John Bermudes*, and receiv'd Holy Orders there, for he was a Lay-Man before, which Dignity the ſaid *Don John* tells us in his Hiſtory of *Ethiopia* he receiv'd upon Condition that he was to go to *Rome* for the Pope to confirm it.

A Portugueſe *Patriarch.*

Having receiv'd the Emperors Letters, and taken Orders from the *Abuna*, he ſet out by Land, and after many Hardſhips ariv'd at *Rome*, in the Year 1538, *Paul* the 3d being Pope, who receiv'd him with his uſual Courteſie, and having diſpatch'd him with Bulls not only to be Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, but of *Alexandria* he came to *Portugal*, and was as well receiv'd by King *John* the 3d, who honour'd him both as the Emperor's Embaſſador, and Patriarch of *Alexandria*. He diſmiſs'd him with Orders to be furniſh'd with 450 Muſquetiers in *India*, whither he ſail'd in the Year 1539, was honourably treated at *Goa*, by the Viceroy *Don Garcia de Noronha*, who dying before he could put the Kings Orders in Execution, was ſucceeded by *Don Stephen de Gama*, who, as we ſhall ſee, convey'd the aforeſaid ſupply into *Ethiopia*, together with the above mention'd Patriarch *Don John Bermudez*.

Confirm'd at Rome, *and ſent back.*

Whilſt the Succours were preparing in *Portugal* and *India*, the Emperor *David* declin'd daily, and at laſt retir'd to an inacceſſible Mountain, call'd *Damo*, moſt of the others being already ſubdu'd,

Ethiopia *distress'd.*

where he defended himself, with some brave Men that stuck to him, barely supporting the Name, tho' not the Majesty of an Emperor; but in this invincible Fortress he was conquer'd by Death, for there he ended his Days, at 42 Years of Age, whereof he reign'd 33, the first 20 prosperous, the last 13 full of Adversity. His Son *Glaudios*, or *Claudius* succeeded him, at 18 Years of Age, under the Direction of his Mother *Cabelo Oanguel*. The first Action of his Reign was successful, for having gather'd some Forces, he overthrew the *Moor Amirozman*; but was soon after defeated by him, and forc'd to retire to *Xaoa*, with only 60, or 80 Men, with whom he winter'd there. How the Emperor was reliev'd by the *Portugueses* in this Distress, we will now deliver out of *F. Peter Pays* his Account of the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, he having liv'd 19 Years in that Country, and known many of the *Portugueses* themselves, or the Sons of those, who were concern'd in those Actions, which is thus.

400 Portugueses *sent to succour* Ethiopia.

In the Year 1541. *Don Stephen de Gama*, then Governor of *India*, enter'd the Red Sea with a considerable Fleet, and having done much Harm to the Infidels on the Coast of *Arabia*, came to an Anchor at the Island of *Mazua*, whence he sent his Brother *Don Christopher de Gama*, with 400 Men to the Assistance of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. These Men met with extraordinary Difficulties in passing the uncouth Mountains, over which it was almost impossible to draw their Canon, but having overcome them, and being met every where by the Country People, who look'd upon them as their Deliverers, they brought down the Empress *Cabelo Oanguel* from the Mountain *Damo*, to which she was retir'd for Safety, there being no way to get up it, but being hoisted in Baskets. In *December* they departed from *Debaroa*, where they had receiv'd the Empress, and with her march'd to join the Emperor, who was in another Place naturally impregnable. On the first of *February* 1542. they came to a very strong Mountain, which the *Moor Granhe* had made himself Master of by Treachery, and posted on it an Officer with 1500 Men. This Mountain is but Three Days Journey from *Debaroa* the right way, but they spent so much time because they took a great Compass about to reduce other Parts. *Don Christopher* resolv'd to attack the Mountain; because should he leave the *Moors* possess'd of it, all that Country he had recover'd must submit to them again, and they might cut off his Provisions. The Empress would have dissuaded him, representing the Impracticableness of the Attempt, but his Resolution prevail'd.

On

On the Top of the Mountain is a Plain about a League over, with Water enough to ſerve Abundance of People, and tho' there are Three Aſcents, they are ſo ſtrong, that it appear'd impoſſible to force them, had they been guarded but by a very ſmall number. The chief of theſe Aſcents is call'd *Amba Zanet*, which Name is given to all the Mountain. At the Foot of this Aſcent was a ſtrong Stone-Wall, with a Gate in it, whence the way up was very ſtreight and ſteep, and at the top another Gate in the Rock it ſelf. The 2d Aſcent they call *Amba Xembut*, not ſo difficult, tho' bad enough. The 3d is *Amba Gadabut*, ſtronger than both the others, being all hew'd out of the Rock, and may be eaſily kept with Stones from above. They are about a Muſquet-ſhot from one another, and each of them defended by 500 Men with Bows, Arrows, Lances, and Bucklers. *Don Chriſtopher* having obſerv'd all this, order'd three falſe Attacks to be made that the *Moors* might ſpend their Arrows, and having perform'd it, without coming too near, upon a Signal given all his Men drew off, the *Moors* giving great Shouts for Joy. The next Morning, by break of Day, he attack'd the three Paſſes in Earneſt, and forc'd them all, the Infidels flying to the top, where being purſu'd by the *Portugueſes*, they were every Man of them kill'd. Of the *Portugueſes* Eight were Slain, and 40 wounded. The Place was deliver'd up to the *Ethiopians*, who plentifully ſupply'd the *Portugueſes* with Proviſions, during all the Month of *February* they ſtay'd there, admiring that Action, which they had thought Impracticable.

Impregnable Mountain.

Gain'd by the Portugueſe.

Intelligence being brought that Five *Portugueſe* Veſſels were arriv'd at *Mazua*, *Don Chriſtopher* ſent a Captain of his own, with 40 Men to get ſome ſupply of Ammunition, and carry Letters for the Viceroy of *India*, and ſet forward himſelf, with his Forces towards a Country, where a Chriſtian *Abyſſine* had been compell'd to ſubmit to the *Moors*, and now ſent to inform him, that if he would come to him, he would find no oppoſition. He had not gone far before he receiv'd an Expreſs from the Emperor, deſiring he would make haſte to join him, becauſe the *Moor Granhe* was advancing towards them, and each apart would be too weak to withſtand him. Being come to thoſe Lands, whither the *Ethiopian* Commander above mention'd, had invited him, he was met and preſented by him with Eight fine Horſes, and inform'd the Enemy was ſo near, that he could not advance without meeting them. It troubled *Don Chriſtopher* that he could neither join the Emperor, nor ſtay for thoſe Men he had ſent to *Mazua*, however he reſolv'd to Fight, and encouraging his Men, they all approv'd of his Reſolution. The next Day the Enemy being at hand

Their first Victory.

hand he incamp'd on a Rising Ground, where *Granhe* having taken a View of his small Forces, enclos'd him with 15000 Foot, arm'd with Bows, and Arrows, Darts, and Bucklers, besides 1500 Horse, and 200 *Turkish* Musquetiers, thinking to starve him out. *Don Christopher* understanding his Design, after some small Skirmishes drew out all his Men with the Empress in the Center, on the 4th of *April*, 1542. The Canon and Muskets made the Infidels keep off, but the *Turks* advanc'd and did some harm with their Shot, and *Granhe* himself coming on with 500 Horse, the *Portugueses* began to be hard press'd, but that the Canon being well play'd kill'd many of the Horse and made the rest slacken. Many of the *Portugueses* were now wounded, and *Don Christopher* shot through a Leg, yet left not the Battle, but encourag'd his Men. *Granhe* on the other side thinking his Men gave way, came up so close, that he was also shot through the Leg, and his Horse kill'd under him, whereupon his Men struck their Colours, and carry'd him off, the *Portugueses* pursuing them till they were all so spent that it was thought a rashness to go any farther, and therefore they return'd victorious to their Camp, where they found the Empress and her Women, dressing the wounded Men and binding their Hurts with their own Linnen, for want of other. Of the *Portugueses* Eleven were kill'd, among the Infidels slain the *Abyssines* knew four of *Granhe*'s Commanders of Note, and 30 *Turks*, *Don Christopher* sent that very Night, to acquaint the *Portugueses*, who were gone to *Mazua*, with his Success and hasten them back.

Twelve Days after the Defeat of *Granhe*, the *Portugueses*, who had been wounded, being pretty well recover'd, and the Infidels recruited and grown strong by several Parties, that join'd them, *Don Christopher* resolv'd to give Battel again, and marching towards them was receiv'd with great Shouts and Cries of those *Barbarians*, much encourag'd by their fresh Accession of Forces, and particularly that of a famous Commander call'd *Garac Amar*, who had brought them 500 Horse and 3000 Foot. This Man took the van, and charg'd the *Portugueses* with such Fury, that had all his Men been like him, he must doubtless have over-run them, but the damage the Canon did prevailing with them to keep very open, he and Four or Five others, who follow'd him close breaking into the *Portugueses* Battel, were kill'd fighting bravely. *Granhe*, who was carry'd on Mens Shoulders, because of his Wound, order'd all the rest of his Horse to Charge on all sides, which made the Fight very hot. Only Eight *Portugueses* had Horses, and did wonders, but being so few durst not go far from their Foot, who made a great Slaughter of the Enemy.

The second.

In

In the Heat of the Action the Powder of the *Portugueſes* unfortunately took Fire and blew up, killing two of them and hurting ſeveral others; yet had this good Effect, that the noiſe ſo terrify'd the Infidels Horſes that they ran away in ſpight of their Riders, and the *Portugueſes* improving that Advantage, charg'd the Foot ſo vigorouſly that they were put to flight, and purſu'd about half a League, which was the fartheſt the Victors were able to follow for mere wearineſs. The Enemies Tents were all taken ſtanding with much Booty. Of the *Portugueſes* 14 were kill'd, and 60 wounded, whereof 4 dy'd of their Wounds. That ground being unfit to encamp, they march'd thence to a pleaſant River ſide, where they ſaw many *Moors* with their General *Granhe*, who perceiving they were diſcover'd, fled with all ſpeed, for Eight Days together to a ſtrong Mountain, many of them periſhing by the way.

Don Chriſtopher de Gama *blocks up* Granhe.

Don Chriſtopher having lain in that Place two Days to cure the Wounded Men, was there join'd by the *Portugueſes*, who had been ſent to *Mazua*, and by the *Bahar Nagays* with 30 Horſe, and 500 Foot. Being thus reinforc'd, he reſolv'd to purſue *Granhe* immediately, and therefore leaving 14 of his Men, that were moſt Wounded on a ſtrong Mountain, under the Care of the Governor of the Country, who was extraordinary kind to them, he march'd on Ten Days, till he came to the Mountain *Granhe* had fled to, which was very large, and ſtrong. The Winter now beginning with much Rain, *Don Chriſtopher* was perſwaded to take up Quarters during it, at the Foot of another Mountain oppoſite to that where *Granhe* lay, convenient for cutting off his Proviſions. The Country People built the Men Huts, and brought them plenty of Proviſions with great readineſs and good will.

Gain a ſtrong Mountain.

In this Place a *Jew* inform'd *Don Chriſtopher*, that he might eaſily make himſelf Maſter of a ſtrong Mountain, call'd *Oaty*, in the Province of *Cemen*, which was near, and where there were many Horſes; beſides that the Emperor, who had but ſmall Forces, could not come to join him any other way. He ſet out at Mid-Night with 100 *Portugueſes*, and coming to the Mountain went up it the way the *Jew* led, but on the top found 3000 *Mooriſh* Foot and 400 Horſe, whom after a ſharp Diſpute he routed with much Slaughter, and of thoſe that fled many were kill'd by the *Jews*, who inhabited that Mountain. Not one *Portugueſe* was kill'd in this Action, which amaz'd the *Jews* of the Mountain, and particularly him that guided them, who thereupon became a Chriſtian, and having been always Loyal to the Emperor was left Governor of the Mountain, as he had been always before the *Moors* took it. The Booty was very conſiderable,

siderable, and among the rest 300 Mules, and 80 choice Horses, which *Don Christopher* valu'd most, and return'd to the Camp with all speed, for Fear the Infidels knowing of his Absence, should attack it; leaving 30 *Portugueses* to follow with the Horses because the way being very bad, they travell'd slowly.

Granhe *reinforc'd.*

During the time the *Portugueses* winter'd, the *Moor Granhe* labour'd to gather new Forces, and especially to get some *Turks*, and sending a considerable Present to the Bassa of *Zebid*, in *Arabia*, was by him supply'd with 700 Musquetiers, 30 of them Horse, and 10 Field Pieces; besides a number of *Arabs*, to whom a considerable number join'd themselves out of *Ethiopia*. The *Turks* arriv'd the same Night that *Don Christopher* return'd to his Camp, and the next Day *Granhe* came down from the Mountain, covering the Plain with his Men, and encamp'd so near the *Portugueses*, that their Field-Pieces reach'd their Intrenchments. *Don Christopher* seeing what a strong supply *Granhe* had receiv'd, consulted with his Officers, among whom it was resolv'd, that it was impossible to retire, and therefore they must Fight; but would make the best Defence they could in their Camp, till the other *Portugueses* came up with their Horses. They therefore sent to hasten them, and spent the Day in preparing to receive the Enemy, yet could not hold out till the Horses came, as we shall see in the next Chapter.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

The laſt Battel, in which Don Chriſtopher *was defeated; his Death; the* Portugueſes, *who eſcap'd the Slaughter, join the Emperor* Claudius, *and rout ſome of* Granhe's *Commanders; how that Infidel was routed, and kill'd; what happ'ned after this Victory, and how the Emperor ſlighted the* Portugueſes.

THE *Moor Granhe* finding himſelf ſo ſtrong, reſolv'd to loſe no Time, and therefore the next Morning, being the 28th *Auguſt* 1542, by break of Day he advanc'd towards the *Portugueſe* Camp with all his Men, the *Turks* leading the Van, with 10 Pieces of Cannon. *Don Chriſtopher* on the other ſide, aſſign'd his Men their Poſts, with Orders only to make them good, without ſallying upon the Enemy, till the Horſes were come up. When they were within Muſquet-ſhot, both ſides began to play their Cannon and ſmall Arms with great Fury, which laſted ſome Hours, the Infidels ſtill advancing; ſo that *Don Chriſtopher* perceiving his Intrenchments were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe ſuch a Power, ſally'd out with 50 *Portugueſe* Muſquetiers, and falling on 100 *Turks*, and a number of *Moors* drove them for a conſiderable ſpace, with much ſlaughter, but a greater multitude coming upon him, he retir'd again, with the loſs of four of his Men kill'd, and moſt of the reſt wounded, as was he himſelf with a Muſquet-Ball in his Leg. The other *Portugueſe* Commanders, in their turns made Sallies, and drove the Enemy a conſiderable ſpace, but in the Retreat, they ſtill loſt Men, and had many wounded. Thus they held on till Noon, when the Empreſs's Houſe was ſo full of wounded Men, that it could hold no more, and the Enemy drew ſo near, that two of her Women were hurt within it. Captain *Francis de Abreu* ſallying with his Men, and having beat back the *Turks*, in his Retreat was ſhot Dead, and his Brother *Humphrey*, who ſuſtain'd him with another Body, underwent the ſame Fate. *Don Chriſtopher* having loſt ſo many brave Men, and ſeeing the reſt either wounded, or much tir'd, ſally'd out himſelf with

Gama *attack'd.*

with the Royal Standard so furiously, that he drove the Infidels before him with great Slaughter; and it is thought would have certainly got the Day, had the Horses been come up, but there were only Eight with him, which fought all the Day. Yet he pursu'd the *Moors* a considerable way, and then his Men being spent retir'd. The *Turks* then rally'd, firing after the *Portugueses*, some of whom they kill'd, and broke *Don Christopher*'s Right Arm. Captain *Emanuel de Acunha* came in at this time, with his Men, and brought them off, but many wounded, and the rest so spent, that they were not able to make use of their Arms. However they twice repuls'd the *Turks*, who had broke into their Trenches, and the Day being far waned, compell'd *Don Christopher* by main Force to retire towards the Mountain, the Patriarch, and the Empress going before. Many of those who could not keep up, because of their Wounds, were kill'd in the Pursuit; but Night coming on, and the Mountain being very woody, the greatest part escap'd, especially those who follow'd the Patriarch and the Empress. The *Turks* enter'd the Camp, and butcher'd Forty *Portugueses* they found so desperately wounded, that they were not able to stir.

Distress'd.

Routed.

Don Christopher escap'd that Night, with 14 wounded Men; the next Day they were all but one taken by a Party of Infidels, who carry'd them to their General *Granhe*, before whom lay 170 Heads of the *Portuguese* slain, which he had gather'd, giving a Reward for every one. The Barbarian caus'd *Don Christopher* to be cruelly Scourg'd in his Presence, and buffeted, with his Slaves Slippers, and after leading him about the Camp with much Cruelty, he was return'd to *Granhe*, who twisted his Beard with Wax, set Fire to it, pull'd off his Eye-Brows, and Eye-Lashes with Nippers, and after many more Inhumanities struck off his Head, with his own Hand. The *Turks* hearing of his Death, were in a great Rage, for they design'd to have sent him to *Constantinople*, and therefore after upbraiding the *Moor* for presuming to kill him without their Knowledge, they went away, to return to *Zebid*, with *Don Christopher*'s Head, and the *Portugues* Prisoners, yet left him 200 *Turks*, as they had been order'd, in Consideration for the Tribute he paid them. A *Portuguese* who made his Escape from them gave this Account.

Barbarously us'd and beheaded.

The *Portugueses* during that dismal Night after their overthrow wander'd about the Mountain, not knowing whither they went, only those who follow'd the Empress had the better, because there were *Ethiopians* to lead them, who knew the Country. She had sent People every way to conduct such as were astray. The next Day, those who had been left with the Horses join'd her, but

but knew nothing before of the Defeat. Soon after came the *Portugueſe*, who eſcaped, when *Don Chriſtopher* was taken, and then the other that fled from the *Turks*, and having told the manner of his Death, it renew'd their Sorrow. The Empreſs with all the Women lamented him for 8 Days, as if he had been her own Son. On this Mountain they contin u'd ſome Days to reſt themſelves, and cure the wounded, as alſo to pick up thoſe that were ſcatter'd till about 120 came together, and th ey receiv'd Intelligence, that the Captain *Emanuel D. Acunha*, with 50 *Portugueſes* had got ſafe into the Country of the *Bahar Nagays*, without knowing which way they went, and where there very lovingly entertain'd. Some time after, the Empreſs with the *Portugueſes*, and all that follow'd her, went to the *Jews* Mountain, which *Don Chriſtopher* had gain'd, becauſe beſides its being almoſt impregnable, there are large Corn Fields on it, Abundance of Graſs for Cattel, and Plenty of Water, which never fails. They were well receiv'd by the Commander *Don Chriſtopher* left there, who ſupply'd them with all they wanted, or could ask of him.

Scattered Portugueſe aſſemble.

Ten or twenty Days after their coming to this Mountain, the Emperor arriv'd at the Foot of it, with very few and thoſe ſorry Men, whom the *Portugueſes* went down to receive, and he, tho' highly concern'd for their Loſs and the Death of *Don Chriſtopher*, did them much Honour, bidding them not to think they were in a ſtrange Country, ſince it ſhould be as their own, and immediately furniſh'd them all bountifully with Cloaths, Tents, Mules, Servants, and all other Neceſſaries. He ſtay'd on the Mountain ſome Months, till his Forces came together, and he had aſſembled 500 Horſe, and 8000 Foot, when the *Portugueſes*, thinking they were ſtrong enough to fight the *Moors*, begg'd of him, that he would aſſiſt them to revenge *Don Chriſtopher*'s Death. He queſtion'd the doing of it with ſo ſmall a Number; but underſtanding that the *Turks* were gone home, and only 200 of them left, he conſented. He ſent to the 50 *Portugueſes*, that were gon to the Land of *Bahar-Nagays* to come to him with all poſſible Speed, and to bring with them the ſpare Arms *Don Chriſtopher* had left on the Mountain *Damo*, where he found the Empreſs, that being a Place of Safety. When the Emperor's Meſſengers came they found not the *Portugueſes*, who believing that all the Reſt of their Countrymen were cut off, and it was impoſſible for them to come to the Emperor, were gon towards *Mazua*, to expect ſome Veſſels, to carry them back to *India*. The Emperor's, Servants return'd with the Arms, which were of great uſe, becauſe thoſe who had eſcap'd from the Battel were very ill provided.

The Emperor joins them.

The Emperor perceiving it was in vain to expect those *Portugueses*, who were too far off, set out from that Place on the 6th of February 1543, with 120, or 130 *Portugueses*, who refus'd to be commanded by any Man, but the Emperor himself. With these, and his own 500 Horse and 8000 Foot, he mov'd towards the *Moor Granhe*, leaving the Empress his Mother on that Mountain. In the Province of *Ogara* he found a *Mooriſh* Commander, with 300 Horſe, and 2000 Foot, whom he attacted by break of Day, 50 *Portugueſe* Horſe leading the Van and ſlew the Commander, with moſt of his Men, taking ſome Priſoners, who inform'd him that *Granhe* was not far off in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, at a Place call'd *Daraſquea*, near the Lake the *Nile* croſſes, with his Wife and Children, who having been long from him, came thither ſoon after he overthrew *Don Chriſtopher*.

Defeats a Party of Moors.

Granhe underſtanding that the Emperor was advancing towards him, muſter'd his Forces, and found 13000 Horſes and Foot, beſides 200 *Turks*. The Emperor came and incamped in Sight of the Infidels, at a Place call'd *Oinadaga*, where there were ſeveral Skirmiſhes, before they came to a Battel; in one of which 70 *Portugueſe* Horſe charg'd 200 of the Enemy, killing their Commander, with 12 of his Men, and putting the Reſt to flight. The *Abyſſine* General was a notable Soldier, and did the Enemy much Harm, who therefore drew him out treacherouſly, on Pretence of a Conference, and ſhot him dead, which much diſcourag'd his Men, and therefore the Emperor reſolv'd to fight immediatly for Fear they ſhould deſerthim. At Break of Day the Army drew out, the *Portugueſe* leading the Van, with 250 *Ethiopian* Horſe, and 350 Foot. The Emperor brought up the Rear with 250 Horſe more, and 4500 Foot. In this Poſture they advanc'd towards the Enemy, who mov'd in two Lines alſo, *Granhe* leading the firſt, with 200 *Turkiſh* Muſqueters, 600 *Mooriſh* Horſe, and 7000 Foot, the ſecond was commanded by another General, and conſiſted of 600 Horſe, and 6000 Foot. Both Armies charg'd with great Fury, and the *Turks* began to drive the *Ethiopians* before them, which they *Portugueſes* perceiving they turn'd that way and made them retire to the Main Body of the *Moors*, whither they purſu'd them with many of the braveſt *Abiſſines*, and oblig'd them to turn their Backs. *Granhe* perceiving their Diſorder came up in Perſon, but the *Portugueſes* knowing him he was ſoon ſhot through the Body, and dropt upon his Horſes Neck. His Men ſeeing it, Made no longer Reſiſtance but fled immediatly. Only the Commander of the *Turks* would not condeſcend to ſave himſelf by Flight, but attack'd 5 *Abyſſine* Horſemen, wreſted a Spear out of one of their Hands, and houghed his Horſe, cut a *Portugueſe* over the Knee, and laid hold of his Lance

Granhe *defeated and kill'd.*

Lance, but was kill'd by him with his Sword. The Emperor's Men pursu'd the flying *Moors* with great Slaughter, but the *Portugueses* apply'd themselves so entirely to the *Turks*, That of 200 only 14 escap'd, to *Granhe's* Wife, who hearing of the Rout, got away with 350 Horse, that guarded her, and all the Treasure her Husband had scrap'd together; the Conquerors being all busy destroying their Enemies, and taking the Plunder of the Camp, where they found a considerable Number of Captives, to their great Joy, some meeting with their own Children, others their Wives, and others their Brothers, or Sisters. They all acknowledg'd the great Assistance receiv'd from the *Portugueses*, and the Emperor did them extraordinary Honour, and it was very remarkable, that, tho' they fought with such Bravery, not one of them was kill'd.

Thus far *F. Peter Pays*, who had the whole Account, from creditable Persons, who were Eye-witnesses. The Emperor after returning Thanks to God, for so great a Victory, coming down from the high Grounds of *Oinadaga*, incamp'd near the great Lake they call the Sea of *Dambea*, before describ'd. Being still dubious, whether *Granhe*, was dead of his Wounds, an *Ethiopian* Commander brought him that Infidels Head, pretending he had kill'd him; but a *Portugueſe* Soldier producing an Ear he had cut off, when he fell prov'd the Fact was his own. The Head was first shown to the Empress, and afterwards sent to all Parts of the Empire, to be seen by the People, who made great Rejoycings, for being deliver'd from so barbarous an Enemy. The 50 *Portugueses*, who we said went for *Mazu*, after the Defeat of *Don Christopher*, in order to embark for *India*, hearing the News, turn'd back immedtitely, and taking the Empress along with them, came to the Camp, and joint'd the others, that were there before The Emperor continu'd in that Place two Months, during which time the Fame of the Victory spread it self all over *Ethiopia*, confirm'd by the Sight of *Granhes* Head, the *Moors*, who were in several Garrisons flying, and whole Kingdoms and Provinces returning to the Emperors, Obedience, as did most of the great Men, who had rebell'd and join'd the *Moors*, renouncing their Faith, all whom the Emperor admitted to Grace, it being no new Thing with those People to change their Party and their Religion, according to Success. Among these was *Raz Adeguna*, Father to *Isaac* the *Bahar Nagays*, who, tho' a great Offender was pardon'd for the Sake of his Son, that had continu'd Loyal, and brought in the *Portugueses*. Another came and submitted himself, who was said to have been the Cause of *Don Christopher's* Death; whom also the Emperor forgave at the Request of many great Men, which the *Portugueses* remonstrating against, he answer'd, That having given his word, he could not depart

The Emperor recovers his Dominions.

part from it. Hereupon two *Portugueses* went into that *Ethiopian*'s Tent, and stabb'd him in many Places with their Daggers. [*This was certainly a great Piece of Insolence in those Men; tho' it went unpunish'd, in regard of their late Merit, and was doubtless an Incouragement to them to commit other Villanies, for which it is likely they were afterwards so hardly us'd as they complain of.*]

Funeral Obsequies.

The Month of August coming on, towards the End whereof was the Anniversary of *Don Christopher*'s Death, which the Emperor resolv'd to commemorate, after their Manner, he sent to all the Country about, for the Clergy, and Poor to repair to his Camp. The Number of the latter amounted to above 6000, to all whom he gave bountifull Alms, and a noble Entertainment to about 600 Monks, and a great number of Clergy-men; this Treat being the Principal Invitation to the Funeral Obsequies, which they perform their Way, saying over all *David*'s Psalter entire, without any Lessons, Antiphons, or Verses, or any other Distinction, but only Abundance of *Hellalujahs*, so often repeated, that they make sufficient Amends for the want of Lessons, for they are no less free of them upon sorrowfull Occasions, than upon the Joyful.

The *Ethiopians* had promis'd, under their Distress, to submit themselves to the See of *Rome*, as appears by the Embassies above mention'd, the Emperor *David* sent to that City, and to *Portugal*. They also ingag'd to give the *Portugueses* the third Part of their Empire, in Case it was recover'd by their means from the *Moors*; but when deliver'd they perform'd neither. The Partriarch *Don John Bermudez* seeing the success of the *Portuguese* Arms, put the Emperor *Claudius* in Mind of his Father's Promise to submit himself to the See of *Rome*, and requir'd his Performance, to which the Emperor return'd a very haughty Answer; where upon, the Patriarch after several Admonitions, excommunicated the said Emperor, and threatned to do the same by the *Portugueses* if they serv'd him any longer. The Emperor valu'd not the Excommunication, but perceiving the *Portugueses*, of whom he still stood in need design'd to return to *India*, he alter'd his Tone, pretended to repent, honour'd the Patriarch, renounc'd his Errors, and solemnly swore to embrace the Catholick-Faith, commanding all Persons by sound of Kettle-Drums to own the Pope as Head of the Church; but all this was counterfeit, and happen'd before the Death of the *Moor Granhe*. As soon as he saw that Infidels Head he discover'd himself, despising the Patriarch, sending to *Alexandria* for another *Abuna*, and misusing the *Portugueses*. Not so satisfy'd, he commanded his Army to destroy them all, yet they standing together, made their Party good against 20000 *Ethiopians*, killing many, and obliging the Rest to desist.

Ethiopians exasperated by the Portuguese Demands.

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The Emperor thus disappointed of his Aim, the better to bring it about, fell again to his Dissimulation, pretending to repent, that he might with less Danger take them in the Snare; yet could not but show his Deceitfulness; for being inform'd, that the new *Abuna Joseph* was come from *Alexandria*, he went away to receive him at *Debaroa* with great Solemnity. The Patriarch *Don John Bermudez* immediately follow'd and the Emperor hearing of it, order'd him to be secur'd, and put into one of those natural Fortresses we have spoken of call'd *Ambas*. As soon as the *Portugueses* were inform'd of it, they forc'd that Place, and rescu'd him. The Patriarch perceiving how little good he was like to make of that Dignity, resolv'd to withdraw himself into *India*, before the Emperor brought him into some greater Inconveniency. Accordingly he privately retir'd into the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and to *Debaroa*, where he lay conceal'd about two Years, and in the Year 1556 went over to *Goa*, and thence to *Portugal*, where King *Sebastian*, who had succeeded King *John* the 3d, allow'd him an Honourable Maintenance.

The Portugueſe *Patriarch with draws.*

Chap. IV.

How the Portugueses *liv'd in* Ethiopia, *after what has been said above; King* John *the 3d is for sending a Patriarch thither, some* Jesuits *set out for that Mission; an Embassy sent into* Ethiopia *proves unsuccess full.*

OF *Don Christopher de Gama*'s Men, about 170 remain'd, to whom the Emperor *Claudius* gave considerable Lands, on which they liv'd plentifully, after the Country Fashion, most of them having Horses, Mules and Servants to attend them both in Peace, and War, as all the Fathers who were in *Ethiopia* about that Time do testify. But under the succeeding Emperor *Adamas Segued*, they suffer'd very much; and in the Reign of his Son *Malac Segued*, who rul'd 34 Years, tho' they were not altogether so hardly us'd yet they found not the Kindness they deserv'd; for the *Abissines* never truly affected them. I do not deny, but that they gave them some

Portugueſe *well rewarded.*

some Occasion at first, as undervaluing the *Ethiopians*, and taking too great Liberty, as is us'd among Soldiers, in strange Countries. [*We see here, as was observ'd before, that the* Abyssines *were not altogether to blame, being much provok'd by the Pride, and intolerable Crimes of those, who pretended to defend them, so that perhaps they knew not whether the* Moors *were worse Enemies, than these Auxiliaries.*]

It is usual in *Ethiopia* for the Emperors to take away, and change the Lands of their Officers and Soldiers; which they after practis'd upon the *Portugueses*, always allotting them such as were on the Frontiers, where they must be continually upon their Guard, and obtain'd signal Victories, under their Commander *George Nogueyra*, who was succeeded by *Francis Jacome*; and the Lands they gave them being the worst and most expos'd, which they took away when improv'd, and better secur'd, the Soldiers suffer'd much Want, especially the old Men, Widows, and Children, who had no Allowance, and therefore the others Charitably shar'd what they had with them, whether little or much. The *Portugueses* labouring under these Difficulties, wrote often to the Kings of *Portugal*, and Viceroys of *India*, begging Relief, some of which Letters I have seen, writ on Pieces of Parchment, and Slips of Paper, by their Captain *Francis Jacome*, and *Gaspar de Mezquita* and others whose Names are not now legible. However they were never brought away, but that they might not seem to be wholly neglected, it was order'd, that they should have every Year 1200 *Pardaos* of *Mamudes*, being so many Pieces of Eight, return'd them, out of the Custom-House at *Diu*, which has been accordingly practis'd, but is a very small Support, considering the Number of those descended from the *Portuguese*. The Kings of *Portugal* also ordain'd, that *Jesuits* should be sent into *Ethiopia* to confirm the *Portugueses* in the Faith, and convert the *Abyssines*; and as long as those Fathers had any Interest with the Emperors, they always favour'd the *Portugueses*; especially, when the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was there, in the Reign of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, who assign'd many Lands for the Residences of the Fathers, and the Maintenance of the *Portugueses*. Besides *Ras Sela Christos*, that Emperor's Brother, call'd many of them to his Army, and gave them good Lands, so that no *Ethiopians* made a better show at Court, or in the Camp, yet afterwards when Things alter'd, as shall be shown they came to want Necessaries, and endur'd great Hardships, having only the Comfort of wishing, or hoping to be carry'd away into *Portugal*; but there they still remain in Servitude, wholly forsaken, and abandon'd.

Vicissitudes in their Fortune.

This was the Posture of Affairs in *Ethiopia*, when at *Lisbon* they imagin'd it was wholly reduc'd to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*,

and that for perfecting its Converſion there only wanted the King of *Portugal*'s ſending a Patriarch, and Miſſioners, which the King preſently reſolved to do after having ſent the 400 Soldiers, above mention'd. If any rightly remark that the Patriarch *Don John Bermudez* being ſtill living, it looks unlikely that another ſhould be ſent, without taking notice of him, we ſhall ſatisfy them by declaring that the Pope conſecratd him Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and *Don John Nunez Barreto*, was now ſent as Patriarch of *Ethiopia*. King *John* the 3d of *Portugal* having propos'd his Deſign to Pope *Julius*, the 3d, and to *S. Ignacius*, they pitch'd upon *F. Nunez Barreto* to be Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *F. Andrew de Oviedo* for Biſhop of *Hierapolis* and *F. Melchior Carneyro* of *Nice*.

A Patriarch and Biſhops choſen for Ethiopia.

Whilſt all Things were diſpoſing for their Conſecration, and Departure, 12 Religious Men were immediately ſent for *Ethiopia* by the Founder of the Society, and theſe were *F. Antony de Quadros*, *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, *Micer John a Fleming*, *Michael Calatayud*, a *Catalonian*, and *Jerome de Cuenca*, with the Brothers *John Gonzalves*, *Bartholomew Carrilo*, *Francis Lopez*, *Gonzalo Cordero*, *Antony Fernandez*, and *John de Buſtamante*; beſides three other Religious Men of the Province of *Caſtile*, call'd *F. Andrew Gonzales*, born at *Medina del Campo*; *F. Paſcual*, a *Catalonian*, and Brother *Alfonſo Lopez*. Theſe ſail'd from *Lisbon* aboard the *India* Ships, on the firſt of April 1555, but one of the Ships, in which were the 3 laſt Fathers above mention'd was caſt away 500 Leagues from *Goa*, on the Flats call'd of *Pero dos Banhos*. The others arriv'd ſafe in *India*. At *Lisbon* the Patriarch and Biſhops were ſoon after conſecrated, and the King generouſly furniſh'd them with Veſtments, Plate for the Service of the Altar, Books, and all other Neceſſaries. It is to be obſerv'd, that the two Biſhops were appointed Coadjutors to the Patriarch, and to ſucceed him, one after another in the ſaid Dignity, with full Power to Conſecrate other Biſhops, ordain Prieſts, and uſe all Patriarchal, and Epiſcopal Juriſdiction.

12 Jeſuits ſent.

Conſidering the great Diſtance betwixt *Portugal*, and *Ethiopia*, and the Inſtability of human Affairs, King *John* had order'd *Don Peter Maſcarnehas*, the new Viceroy of *India* to ſound the Minds of the *Ethiopians* touching their receiving the new Patriarch, for Fear of any Change in them. The Viceroy accordingly made Choice of one *James Diaz*, a Prieſt, to go in the Quality of Envoy, or Embaſſador, into *Ethiopia*, and with him ſent a very able and religious Father of the Society, call'd *Gonzalo Rodriguez*, with the Lay-Brother *Fulgenocio Freyre*, who had ſerv'd the King well in *India*, and afterwards led a very pious Life in the Society. Theſe had the King of *Portugal*'s, and the Viceroys, Credentials,

F. Gonzalo Rodriguez *in* Ethiopia.

and sail'd from *Goa* with a good Convoy of Men of War and other Vessels on the 7th of February 1555, and in 30 Days came to an Anchor at *Arquico*, a Port then belonging to the *Abissine* Emperor. Having rested a few Days, they continu'd their Journey by Land, and being come to the Place where the *Bahar Nagays*, or Governour of the maritime Provinces, was, were by him favourably receiv'd, with Expressions of Affection. Thence they proceeded to the Place where the Emperor was. We will now deliver the Account of their Journey and Proceedings from a Letter writ by the aforesaid Father *Gonzalo Rodriguez* out of *Ethiopia* to the Fathers of the Society in *Portugal*, and dated the 13th of September 1556, where we shall find many Particulars concerning that Empire of unquestionable Truth, and well worth our Knowledge. He writes to this Effect.

His Acount of Affairs there.

'On the 17th of *May* we arriv'd where the Emperor of *Ethiopia* 'was, whom we found incamp'd, with Abundance of Tents a-'bout him; he order'd us to be receiv'd, and the next Day we 'had Audieance of him. He sate on a Couch, with Curtains about 'it, and all the Tent adorn'd with Silk Hangings, and Carpets. '*James Diaz* deliver'd him his Letters, which he order'd to be 'read, in the presence of all the *Portugueses*. In them our King 'inform'd him, that, the next year, he would send one of his own 'Household, with a Number of religious Men of holy Lives, and 'singular Learning. He look'd much out of Countenance, and 'was so disorder'd, that when we spoke to him, he answer'd no-'thing to the Purpose, and so we took our Leave, and 2, or 3 'Days after he went away to visit a Grand-mother of his, 8, or 10 'Days Journey off, leaving us in an open Field wholly unprovid-'ed, without any Body so much as to compliment us in his 'Name. An honest *Portuguese* made amends, carrying us to his 'House, which was 2, or 3 Leagues off, where we were entertain-'ed, and he return'd to the Emperor. Here we continu'd about a 'Month, the Emperor spent in his Journey, and I compos'd a 'Treatise of the *Ethiopian* Errors, and the Infallibility of our holy 'Faith, to present it to the Emperor; and was at the same time 'inform'd by a *Portuguese*, who was much in his Favour, that 'he said, he had no Occasion for the Fathers, and would not sub-'mit to the See of *Rome*; and others assur'd me, that several great 'Men declar'd, they would rather be subject to the *Moors*, the 'leave their ancient Customs for ours. This confirm'd me in 'the Resolution of giving him all in Writing, that I might have 'spoken by word of Mouth, had I known the Language, that by 'his Answers, I might fully know his Designs, which he had so

long

'long Disguis'd. I therefore desir'd the Emperor would assign 'me two learned Monks to translate what I had writ, and also 'let me see a Book, which they call, the *Adultery of the Francs*, 'compos'd by the Schismaticks of *Alexandria*, from whom they 'receive their *Abuna*, and therefore Pay Tribute to the *Turks*; 'and the said Book rejects the Councill of *Chalcedon*, pretending 'that it made four Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and charging us 'with many more Errors.

'He refus'd the Book, and was very angry that we knew the 'Contents of it; but appointed the Monks, yet they would not 'put their Hand to translating, either for Fear of the Emperor, or 'because he had so order'd. However with the Assistance of the 'Captain of the *Portugueses* I got it done, an honest *Portuguese*, 'who understood the Language well, being my Interpreter. Then 'having ask'd a Monk to write it out fair, the Emperor after ap- *Controversy about Religion.* 'pointing one, sent us Word, we might show it him as it was, or 'else talk no more of that Business. That he might have no Ex- 'cuse we did so, on the Day he appointed'd, being the 20th of Au- 'gust, when we went to him, attended by the Captain of the *Por-* 'tugueses, and 7, or 8 others. Being come into his Presence, I 'began to make a short Speech, declaring what I came about, but 'he cut me off short, and talk'd of something else, as being pre- 'par'd against all I design'd to say. He look'd upon the Treatise 'I gave him, defended his Opinions, and made Slight of all I 'could say, till I asking him positivly, whether he would submit 'himself to the See of *Rome*, and receive those learned Men the 'King of *Portugal* was sending. He said he had learned Men e- 'nough of his own, and would never obey any but the Patriarch 'of *Alexandria*, as he had always done. Finding him positive, I 'withdrew, and then he commended me very much to the Captain 'of the *Portugueses*, read the Treatise I left him very often, and 'show'd it to his Mother, Brothers, and great Men, whereupon 'the *Abuna* excommunicated any that should read it, and the Emperor 'asking his Leave so to do he deny'd him, for which Reason the 'said Emperor call'd him *Moor* and Heretick, who would read the 'Alcoran, and forbid the reading of so excellent a Christian 'Writing; and therefore since he was Prelate and *Abuna* bid him 'answer, what a plain Clergyman propos'd.

'This affair being now the only Talk at Court, and Parties di- 'vided about it, the Emperor resolv'd to consult certain Monks, 'look'd upon as holy Men concerning it, and order'd my Treatise 'to be fair copy'd, tho' I fear'd he might cause some Passages of it 'to be left out. When the Emperor was to give me his positive An- 'swer, he put me off with Delays, whereupon I went to take my

'Leave of him, in Order to return into *India*, when he desir'd I 'would give him a Month longer. A few Days after he decamp'd, 'and remov'd two Days Journey from that Place. We follow'd 'him, and in this new Camp came to me three Monks, one of them 'a learned Man who had a mind to discourse me upon Matters of 'Faith. He told me he approv'd of all our Doctrine, except only, 'not keeping the Saturday, and eating Swines Flesh, and Hare; 'but proceeding discover'd many of their Errors; *viz.* That the 'Souls of Men, departing this Life, could not immediately see the 'Face of God, but went to the Terrestrial Paradise; that the Holy 'Ghost did not proceed from the Son, but only from the Father; 'that the Son, as Man, was equal to the Father; that only the '*Moors* and Infidels were to be in Hell for ever. I satisfy'd 'him so well, as to all these Points, that whispering me in 'the Ear, lest the other Monks, who were ignorant, might hear, he 'said, that was the Truth, and he would preserve it in his Heart.

'The Time appointed being come, I took leave of the Emperor, 'who gave me free Liberty, and said he had sent a Man to receive 'the Fathers the King of *Portugal* was to send him, and design'd to 'hear them. In my way I administer'd the Sacraments to the *Por-* 'tugueses and Marry'd several of them, who liv'd with *Abyssine* Wo- 'men. At one of their Mansions I receiv'd a Compliment from 'the Suprerior of the greatest Monastery of Monks, and another of 'Nuns call'd *Debra Libanos*, and therefore went to visit him, ac- 'company'd by all the *Portugueses*. We found not the Superior 'at home; but saw the Monasteries, which are not like ours in '*Europe*, for every Monk lives in a House by himself, and works, 'for himself, so that the Monastery is like a Village of thatch'd 'Houses, the Monks on the one Side, and the Nuns on the other, 'and they say, they get many Children among them. These are 'not *Franciscans*, nor *Augustinians*, but of *Tecla Haimanot*, which 'in their Language signifies, Plant of the Faith, and he was of 'the Order of *S. Anthony*. This Man the *Abyssines* reckon a great 'Saint, and say, the notablest Miracle he wrought was the killing 'of a great Serpent, ador'd as a God by the Heathens, whom he 'converted to the Faith they now hold in *Ethiopia*.

F. Rodrigues *returns to* India.

Thus far *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*'s Letter, who resolv'd to get away into *India*, before the Emperor chang'd his Mind and stop'd him, some Persons having perswaded him, that the King of *Portugal* intended to make himself Sovereign of *Ethiopia*, and him Tributary, as he had done by several Kings in *India*; adding, that the King of *Portugal* already stil'd himself Lord of the Conquest, and Commerce of *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, and therefore since so few *Portugueses* as came with *Don Christopher de Gama* had done such great

Politick Fear of the Abissines.

great Feats, what must they expect if a greater Number should come and joyn those who were there and knew the Country; for which Reason they might justly suspect, that the Father, and the rest that came with him were no better than Spies, under pretence of Religion. These Considerations render'd the Emperor averse to the *Portugueses*, and therefore *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez* went away to *Baroa*, there to expect Shipping, where he found *Don John Bermudez*, who, as has been said, was also withdrawn out of *Ethiopia*. *John Peixoto* coming to *Mazua* with two small Vessels, the Patriarch and his Fathers went aboard him, and arriv'd safe at *Goa*.

Chap. V.

Don John Nunez Barreto, *the new Patriarch, arrives at* Goa, *and the Bishop* Don Andrew de Oviedo *goes into* Ethiopia; *how he was receiv'd by the Emperor* Claudius; *the Death of that Monarch*; Adamas Segued *succeeds, his Tyrannical Government, and Overthow.*

THEY little thought in *Portugal*, that the Affairs of *Ethiopia* were in the Posture we have here represented, and therefore for the more Grandeur the King appointed *Ferdinand de Sousa de Castello Branco* to go along with the Patriarch as his Embassador to the *Abyssine* Emperor. They sail'd from *Lisbon*, with the Bishop *Don Andrew de Oviedo*, *F. Gonzalo de Sylveira*, and others, on the 15*th* of *March* 1556, and arriv'd at *Goa* on the 13*th* of *September* that same Year, where they found *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*, newly return'd from *Ethiopia*, who gave them a far different Account of that Country than they expected. However, the Patriarch and his Companions consulting together, resolv'd to proceed; but the Governor of *India*, *Francis Barreto* and his Council were of another Opinion, not thinking it fit to expose the Patriarch and the Embassador to any Affront, and therefore only sent the Bishop *Don Andrew de Oviedo*, with some Companions, in Four small Vessels, who landed at *Arquico* about the latter end of E

Portuguese *Embassador and Bishop.*

The Bishop in thiopia.

of *March* 1557, and thence travell'd by Land to *Debaroa*, where the *Bahar Nagays*, or Governor of the Coast resided. The second Days Journey they met Four of the *Portugueses* who liv'd in *Ethiopia*, and came to the Coast to see whether any Supply was sent them, according to what has been mention'd before. They were all overjoy'd to meet, and travell'd together to *Debaroa*, where that *Isaac* was still *Bahar Nagays*, who brought *Don Christopher de Gama*, and the *Portugueses* into *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1541. He receiv'd the Bishop and his Company very courteously, and from thence the said Bishop immediately sent a Letter to the Emperor, acquainting him with his Arrival at *Debaroa*, the Patriarchs being ready in *India* to come over, and his own Design to repair to his Court. What happen'd to the said Bishop in this Place, on the way and at Court, shall be briefly deliver'd out of of a Letter written by *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, Superior of that Mission, to *F. James Laynez*, General of the Society, in the Year 1562; for there was no possibility of writing sooner, by reason of the *Turks* coming to conquer that Coast of *Tigre*; so that no Letter could be sent to *India*, much less into *Europe*, for Six Years. The aforesaid *F.* Superior's Account abstracted in short is as follows.

His Reception at Debaroa.

'We came to *Debaroa* on the 25*th* of *March* 1557, where the 'Bishop was honourably receiv'd by the *Bahar Nagays*, and the 'People all kiss'd his Hand with extraordinary Respect, which 'we look'd upon as a good Omen. There we stay'd 20 Days, 'performing the Office of the Holy Week the best we could, and 'the People resorted to our Church with great Devotion, the Bi'shop administring the Sacraments to the *Portugueses*, and re'ceiving Visits from the *Bahar Nagays*, and other great Men. 'Winter coming on, and the *Turks* advancing up the Country, 'we set out for the Emperor's Camp, and came in 50 Days to 'him, as shall be said. Having mention'd the coming of the '*Turks*, I must inform your Reverence, that when we came to '*Mazua*, an Island on the Coast of *Ethoipia*, and the anchoring 'Place of all Ships trading hither from *India* and *Arabia*, we there 'found a *Turkish Bassa*, with 500 or more Men, design'd to con'quer *Ethiopia*, and expected the Arrival of our Ships; when see'ing those that came could do him no harm, he landed, and that 'oblig'd us to depart hastily from *Debaroa*, and tho we have been 'here above 5 Years, we do not know that any Letter of ours is 'past into *India*, notwithstanding we have try'd so many ways, 'that we fear three Men sent by us are kill'd. These *Turks* I 'speak of, tho' they have done much harm in the Country, and

'taken

'taken abundance of Captives, have fail'd in their Enterprize, 'loſing moſt of their Men and much Treaſure, being beaten out, 'and could never have return'd, were it not for what ſhall be 'mention'd hereafter.

'In our way to the Court, we adminiſtred the Sacraments to 'many *Portugueſes*, which took us up ſeveral Days. About 8 'Days Journey ſhort of the Emperor's Camp, he ſent a Nobleman 'to Compliment the Biſhop, who brought many Mules to carry 'us and our Baggage. At the laſt Days Journey, he ſent us an 'Order to ſtop till we heard from him. Two Days after he ſent 'to call us, and when we were within a Musket-ſhot, another 'Meſſenger came with Orders for us to pitch our Tents, which 'now made a good Show, we being joyn'd by many *Portugueſes*. 'There we continu'd that Night, and the next Day at Noon 'many of the Emperor's Kindred, and principal Officers well 'mounted and accouter'd, came to the Biſhop's Tent, and two 'of the greateſt going in, deliver'd their Meſſage, that the Empe- 'ror ſent for him. We went immediately, where he with his 'Mother and Brothers was looking out from a high Place, and 'tho' it was not uſual, would have all Ride into the firſt Court, 'he ſeeing all from another within. After ſtaying there a while, 'he commanded us to alight and go into the ſecond Court, in 'which the Tent he liv'd in ſtood, and made us ſtand there a 'while again, whilſt he look'd at us through Silk Hangings. *At the Emperor's Court.*

'On both ſides the Entrance of his Tent ſtood a great number 'of Old Men and Perſons of Quality, with Truncheons in their 'Hands, very orderly. As we all ſtood thus ſilent, two of his 'Servants came out of the Tent, one whereof was the *Bahar Na-* 'gays, and making Obeyſance to the Biſhop, conducted us in to 'the Emperor, who receiv'd us very courteouſly and lovingly; 'and after ſome ſhort Diſcourſe, the Biſhop deliver'd him the 'Letters from the Governor of *India*, our Patriarch, and others, 'which having receiv'd, he preſently began to look diſpleas'd, 'being far from any Thoughts of a Reconciliation with the Church 'of *Rome*; yet being Noble, Diſcreet, and a Lover of the *Portu-* 'gueſes, he endeavour'd to conceal it, tho' not ſo much but that 'double Dealing might be perceiv'd. *His Attendance.*

'However, he always behav'd himſelf civilly towards the Bi- 'ſhop, and whilſt he liv'd none durſt ſhow him Diſreſpect; be- 'ſides that he furniſh'd us plentifully, becauſe he was naturally 'Generous, eſpecially where the King of *Portugal* was concern'd, 'as owing an Obligation to him. He was ſo good natur'd, and ſo 'much concern'd for the Sufferings he apprehended the Biſhop 'might be expos'd to, that going to engage the *Moors*, by whom *His Good Qualities.*

'he

'he was kill'd, he said, *Alas, poor Bishop! What will become of 'him if I die?* This Emperor *Claudius* was so well quality'd, bating his Obstinacy in Religion, that I am positively of Opinion 'there was not a wiser Man in the Empire, or so fit to Govern. 'He was very well instructed in the *Portugueſe* Manners and 'Customs, and us'd so much Courtesy towards the Bishop, that 'in the Height of his Obduracy, we still hop'd for some good 'of him.

Thus far the Fathers Letter, the remaining Part we shall insert below, after mentioning some Things that happen'd to make it more plain. After the first Interview, the Bishop began to Discourse the Emperor about the main Point of forsaking his Errors, and submitting to the Pope, who answer'd, That his Forefathers had always own'd the Chair of S. *Mark* at *Alexandria*, and he could see no Occasion to disquiet the People, who were peaceable, and satisfy'd with their *Abuna*; yet since he came so far to *Ethiopia*, whither never any Person of such Quality came on the like Embassy, he would advise with his Council and learned Men, in order to give him a final Answer. The Bishop perceiv'd this was only to delay Time, and excuse himself on the Opinions of others, who he knew were harden'd in their Errors, and therefore sent him a long Letter in their learned Language, to endeavour to move him to some better Disposition. At the Bishop's Request there were several Meetings of the learned Men, all whom the said Bishop easily confounded, and then the Emperor would take up the Argument, and manage it so dexterously, that he sometimes set the Bishop hard: and tho he still ran them all down, yet they gave out, that they had got the better; so that all came to nothing. This put the Bishop upon Writing against all their Errors, and delivering it to the Emperor, who return'd an Answer in the same manner, resolving never to submit to the See of *Rome*. These Things happen'd about the latter end of *December* 1558. when the Bishop thought fit to withdraw himself from Court, as he did about the beginning of *February*, and publish'd a Circular Letter advising the *Portugueſes*, and some other Catholicks there, to be cautious in conversing with the Schismaticks, and exhorting the *Abyssines* to forsake their Errors; and at the same time condemning them as refractory, and obstinate against the Church.

Religious Controverſies.

Too hotly pursu'd.

Let us now see what became of the Emperor. After the Death of the *Moor Granhe*, another Infidel call'd *Nur*, Chief Governor of the Kingdom of *Adel*, burning with the Desire of revenging his Father's Death, who had been kill'd with *Granhe* at *Ogara*, watch'd

watch'd all Opportunities, and sent Spies into *Ethiopia* to give him an Account of the Posture of Affairs there; by whom he was inform'd, that tho' the Emperor *Claudius*'s Forces were numerous, yet they were undisciplin'd and unfit for Service. Upon this Intelligence he gather'd a great Army of Foot, and 1700 Horse, with which he enter'd *Abyssinia*, destroying all before him, and marching directly towards the Emperor, who boldly set forward to meet him, as they did in a spacious Plain, fit for their purpose. Both Parties being bent upon engaging, they presently fell on; but the *Abyssines* wanting Discipline, as soon as they felt the Fury of the Enemies Onset, threw away their Arms and turn'd their Backs, forsaking their Sovereign, who behav'd himself with the utmost Bravery, in the midst of the Infidels, killing several of them with his own Hand, assisted only by 18 *Portugueses*, who tho' they did all that Men could do, yet being encompass'd by a multitude of *Moors* were overpower'd, and fell all of them with the Emperor. The Victors pursuing their Advantage, slew many, took abundance of Prisoners, and made themselves Masters of the Camp, where they found a considerable Booty. The *Moor Nur* returning home Victorious, enter'd the City riding on a little Ass in humble manner, amidst the Acclamations of the People, giving for his Reason, That God alone had given the Victory, and therefore all the Glory ought to be his, since he fought and conquer'd for him. A wonderful Example of Moderation in an Infidel, fit to confound Christians, who are puff'd up with Vanity upon every little Success. Thus ended the unfortunate Emperor *Claudius*, or according to the *Abyssines Glaudios*, which was his Christian Name, tho' often call'd *Asnaf Segued*, being the Name he took at his Accession to the Crown.

The Emperor routed and kill'd.

After the Death of *Claudius*, his Brother *Minas*, which signifies Faithful, succeeded him in the Throne, and at his Inauguration took the Name of *Adamas Segued*. He was of a perverse and cruel Disposition, whereof he had given some Instances in his Infancy; and having been Prisoner, and bred up among *Moors* and *Turks*, he had their Native Insolence instill'd into him, with their Falshood and Fierceness. In short, he behav'd himself so Tyrannically, not only towards the *Portugueses*, but his own People, that they had all Reason to lament the loss of his Brother *Claudius*. *F. Emanuel Fernandez* gives us an Account of his Barbarity towards the Bishop and other Catholicks, in the same Letter we gave part of above, and he being an Eye-witness of undoubted Reputation, we will here abridge the rest of it.

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T *Claudius*

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Minas *succeeds* Claudius.

'*Claudius* dying without Issue, *says this Father*, was succeeded
'by a Brother, who at the Time when the *Portugueses* deliver'd
Persecutes the Catholicks. 'those Kingdoms from the Oppression of the *Moors*, was Prisoner
'in *Arabia*; but when *Claudius* at the Expence of the Blood of
'our Men had recover'd his Dominions, he ransom'd him; so
'that he might be said to have been bought with the Blood of the
'*Portugueses*, rather than Gold: Yet all the Gratitude he show'd,
'was, that being come to the Crown, he seem'd to aim at no-
'thing more than the utter Destruction of those few Catholicks
'that remain'd in his Kingdom. The Emperor *Claudius* had gi-
'ven free leave to all *Ethiopian* Women that marry'd *Portu-*
'*gueses*, to embrace, if they thought fit, the Doctrine of *Rome*,
'and the same to all their Slaves and Families: But the first
'Thing *Adamas Segned* did, was forbidding all Native *Ethiopians*
'whatsoever, repairing to the *Portuguese* Churches, upon severe
'Penalties, alledging, that his Brother came to that untimely
'End, for permitting the Exercise of the Catholick Religion in
'his Dominions. This was so vigorously executed, that a Wo-
'man was publickly whipp'd only for being a Catholick, two
'Wives of *Portugueses* were imprison'd on the same Account, and
'many of their Children taken from them, which made several
'renounce their Religion, for fear of his Threats. Nor did he
'stop there, but because two *Armenians* had been converted, he
'banish'd the one and beheaded the other; besides that, he con-
'tinually took from the *Portugueses* those Lands they had receiv'd
'from his Brother *Claudius*, as a Reward for their Faithful Ser-
'vices. He kept the Bishop Prisoner six Months, and threatned
'to burn the other Fathers; besides many other Wrongs too tedi-
'ous to relate. But God making use of him only to chastise the
'Insolencies some *Portugueses* committed in *Ethiopia*, he went
His Subjects Rebel, 'not himself unpunish'd; for he being inhuman towards his
'own Subjects, about the latter end of the Year 1560, most of
'the Nobility of *Ethiopia* rebell'd against him, and gave the
'Crown to a Youth call'd *Habitacum Tascaro*, Bastard Son to an
'Elder Brother of his, deceased. This Prince was joyn'd not
'only by the Prime Men of the Kingdom, but by the Captain of
'the *Portugueses* with 30 of his Men, the rest being at that time
'too far off. The Emperor hearing of this Conspiracy, march'd
'first against the *Bahar Nagays Isaac*, a Man noted for Martial
'Affairs, and who had deliver'd the Empire from great Misfor-
'tunes. He was then towards the Sea Coast, executing some
'Orders he had receiv'd from *Tascaro*. At the first Encounter
'*Isaac* had the better, but in the second was forc'd to fly. This
'done, *Adamas* turn'd back against *Tascaro*, and on the 2d of

July

'*July* 1561. routed and took him Prisoner. In the mean while, 'the *Bahar Nagays*, who had escap'd out of the Battel, and 'waited about the Sea, in hopes of some *Portugueſe* Supplies that 'were expected from *India*; failing of them, and fearing to be 'surpriz'd by the Emperor, concluded a League with the *Turks* 'above spoken of, and being joyn'd by them, proclaim'd another 'Brother of that *Tascaro*, who had been put to Death. The Emperor '*Adamas* march'd against *Isaac* and the *Turks* to *Tigre* with nume-'rous Forces, and on the 20th of *April* 1562, was routed with-'out fighting; for both he and his Men being terrify'd with the *And rout* 'Cannon fled, and left their Camp to the Enemy. All this while *him.* 'we had been in the Emperor's Camp, so hardly us'd, that we 'durst not pitch our Tents without his Directions.

'Upon this Defeat we were made Prisoners by *Turks* and '*Abyssines*, who fought against the Emperor, and God sav'd 'our Lives by means of the *Portugueſes* that were there. We 'had been before robb'd four times, and were now reduc'd to 'Extremity, only the *Bahar Nagays* gave us our Chalice and some 'small Things, the rest we ransom'd the best we could. Your 'Reverence may guess what a miserable Condition we are in, 'being Forty in Family, and forc'd to relieve, when we are able, 'the *Portugueſe* Widows and Orphans, and no body to ask an 'Alms of; for the *Portugueſes* have more occasion to beg than 'give, and the Natives are more inclin'd to take and steal than 'to part with any thing. For our Table, we have scarce a Belly 'full of parch'd Barley. The Bishop is not fit to be seen. We 'beg your Blessing, and the Prayers of all the Society, and ha-'ving no way left to write, your Reverence may take this, if 'it comes to your Hands, for the last. *Ethiopia*, *July* the 29*th*, '1562.

Emanuel Fernandez, *Francis Lopez*,
Antony Fernandez, *Gonzalo Cardozo*.

Chap. VI.

Persecution under the Emperor Adamas Segued; *Brother* Fulgentius Freyre *sent from* India, *taken by the* Turks; F. Andrew Gualdames *attempting to go to Ethiopia kill'd by those Infidels; the Death and Character of the Patriarch and his Companions.*

F. *Emanuel Fernandez* was very brief in relating the Sufferings of the Catholicks in *Ethiopia*, under the cruel Emperor *Adamas Segued*, their mortal Enemy, whereof a particular Information was afterwards taken in *Ethiopia* from the Depositions of Eye-witnesses. Among the rest of his Extravagancies, he once sent for the Bishop, and bidding him never more to presume to teach his Doctrine in that Empire: That Prelate answer'd, he could never forbear Preaching the Word of God. At this the Emperor was so enrag'd, that he drew his Sword, and ran at him; but the Sword droping out of his Hand, he fell upon him with his Hands, striking and tearing his Cloaths, and laying hold of the Sword again, like a raving Mad-man, would have kill'd him, had not the Empress and several Noblemen interpos'd. After this he banish'd the Bishop, and his Companion *F. Francis Lopez* to a barren Mountain, where they suffer'd very much, this being the 3d time he had been banish'd.

He insults the Bishop.

It was no small Addition to the rest of their Afflictions, that they could receive no News from *India* or *Portugal*, for in the Year 1557, the *Turks* possessing themselves of all the Sea Ports, cut off all Communication betwixt *India* and *Ethiopia*. This very much perplex'd the Patriarch *Don John Nunez Barreto* at *Goa*, who never gave over importuning the Vice-Roys of *India*, either to set him ashore on the Coast of *Abyssinia*, or to send some Ships that might bring him News of the Bishop, and how Affairs stood in that Country. At length, in the Year 1560, the Vice-Roy *Don Constantine de Braganza* fitted out three Ships, in which the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, at the Request of the Patriarch, sent Brother *Fulgentius Freyre*, who had before been in *Ethiopia*, and return'd thence with *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*, as has been said. These Ships

Br. Freyre *sent to* Ethiopia.

Ships set sail in February 1560, but the *Turks* being Masters of *Mazua*, the Commander would not suffer Brother *Fulgentius* to be set a shore; yet he found Means to give Letters to a *Moor*, who going away to the Port of *Arquico* deliver'd them to the Servants of the *Portugueses*, that were come thither to hear News from *India*, and they carry'd them to the Bishop.

As the Commander was making off he was pursu'd by four *Turkish* Gallies, well mann'd, which falling upon his Vessels, took it, whilst the two others that attended him fled, and made their Escape to *Goa*. Brother *Fulgentius Freyre* was taken on Board this Vessel, very much wounded, and sent to *Gran Cairo*, where he continu'd in Slavery two Years, under very great Hardships. The Brother was there till Pope *Paul* the 4th sent two Fathers, of the Society to, *Egypt*, to reduce the *Coptis* into the Bosom, of the Church, who finding him there writ over immediately to *Rome*; by Order from whence, he was ransom'd and sent thither, thence to *Portugal* and venturing back again to *India*, in his old Age, dy'd at Sea. *Taken by the Turks. and ansome'd.*

The Bishop, and Fathers in *Ethiopia* were no less desirous to hear News from *India*, than the Patriarch, and others there to know how matters stood with them. Besides that they would fain perswade King *John* to send 5, or 600 *Portugueses*, who might easily make themselves Masters of the Sea Ports, rescue the other *Portugueses*, and compel the *Ethiopians* to submit to the See of *Reme*, as they had promis'd. To this Purpose it was thought absolutely necessary that one of the Fathers should attempt to get over into *Ethiopia* and *F. Andrew Gualdames* was pitch'd upon. He being come in Sight of *Mazua*, with a *Portugueſe* that offer'd to bear him Company, and understanding there was a Ship of *Banaens* there bound for *India*, for want of a better Messenger, entrusted a *Moor*, upon Promise of Reward to go to the Captain of the *Banean* Ship, and agree with him to take them in privately, for a considerable Sum to be paid in *India*. The Perfidious Infidel, instead of treating with the *Banean*, betray'd them to the Bassa of *Mazua* by whom they were taken that Night, and immediately cut in Pieces. This good Father was a *Spaniard*, born in the Town of *Xeres de la Frontera*, and is said, to have learnt the *Abissine* Tongue in six Months. *Another* Jesuit *taken, and murder'd.*

Don John Nunez Barreto, the Patriarch, having been six Years at *Goa*, without any News from *Ethiopia*, or possibility of going thither in Person, dyed there on the 20th of December 1562. By his death the Bishop *Don Andrew de Oviedo* came to succeed in the Patriarchship, as had been appointed by the Pope. We said before how the Emperor *Adamas Segued* was routed by the *Bahar Nagays Isaac*, and the *Turks*, but his early Flight avail'd him not, for he was kill'd in the Pursuit, and in his Stead, his Son *Sorsa Danguil* Malac Segu'd *Emperor.*

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was set upon the Throne, and took the Name of *Melchi*, or *Malac Segued*, whose Life was continually aim'd at by treacherous Contrivances, and he obtain'd many Victories. He was crown'd and anointed at *Auxum*, with great Solemnity, according to the ancient Custom, which had been quite out of Use, for many Years, by Reason of the Wars. This Emperor was generally fortunate in in his Wars, for he drove the *Turks* out of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and attack'd their Fortress at *Arquico*; he was zealous for Christianity in his way, and neither encourag'd, nor persecuted the Fathers, nor the Catholicks, being wholly taken up with his Wars, without ever admitting any Discourse of leaving his Errors. He reign'd almost 33 Years, and tho' he seem'd to respect the Father's looking upon them as holy Men, yet he made no Account of their Doctrine.

All this Emperor's Reign being infested with Wars, and he not caring to hearken to religious Matters, the Fathers stay'd in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, with *Isaac* the *Bahar Nagays*, with whom also kept most of the *Portugueses*, and settled on a Mountain they call *Maegoga*, at a Town nam'd *Frerona*, often mention'd by us. Some Knowledge they had in *India*, in *Portugal*, and at *Rome* of the Difficulties the Patriarch, and his Companions labour'd under in *Ethiopia*, how little good they were able to do, and how far the Emperor *Claudius* had been from performing what he promis'd. Nor were they Ignorant that the Emperor *Adamas Segued* had persecuted the Fathers, and oppress'd the *Portugueses*, who deliver'd him from the Captivity of the *Moors*. These Things mov'd Prince *Henry*, who govern'd *Portugal* during the Minority of King *Sebastian* to ask leave of Pope *Pius* the 5th for the Patriarch to leave *Ethiopia*, which his Holiness readily granted, by his Bull, sign'd the 1st of *February* 1566, and directed to the said Patriarch. He receiv'd a Copy of this Bull in the Year 1567, and after declaring his Readiness to comply with it, and depart for *Japan*, or *China*, acquainted the Pope, that there might be still Hopes of converting *Ethiopia*, were the Preachers supported by 5, or 600 *Portugueses*, alledging the good disposition of many of the People to embrace the Catholick Religion, who were withheld from it by Fear of Punishment. Besides he added, there were Multitudes of Infidels easy to be brought into the Church, being well meaning People, and, not much addicted to Idolatry. He further alledg'd, he was informed there were many of those in some Parts of the Empire, who had desir'd of the Emperor to be made Christians, which he had refus'd for Worldly Interest, because they made many of them Slaves, which they thought they might not do with Christians. The People who made this Request, inhabit the Kingdom of *Damut*, which is

Preaching propos'd with Force of Arms.

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a very large Country. **The** Gentiles of another Country call'd *Sinaxi*, where there is much Gold, about three Years since intreated a Kinsman of the Emperor's, who made War on them, to desist and they would pay him Tribute, and become Christians, which he would not grant them. Of these Pagans, especially those of *Damut*, the *Mooriſh* Merchants, whereof there are great Numbers among the Christians, buy Multitudes, whom they carry down to the Sea, and sell them to the *Turks*, and *Moors*, and I am of Opinion there are above 100000 of them thus sold to those Infidels. Who afterwards become *Mahometans*, and good Soldiers, doing much harm to the Christians, &c.

Note of Irregular Proceeding.

It cannot but be obſerv'd here, that the Inſolencies of the Portugueſes *above hinted at, and now theſe demands of Men to convert* Ethiopia *by Force, together with the Demand of one third Part of the* Abiſſine *Empire for the Aſſiſtance given againſt the* Moors; *theſe Things, with many other Circumſtances of the ſame Nature muſt of Neceſſity give the* Ethiopians *an Averſion to the* Portugueſes, *and a diſlike to all they propos'd; as concluding that under the Colour of Religion they came to ſubdue them, and to take that Crown from the Infidels for themſelves; eſpecially ſince as the* Ethiopians *obſerv'd, the King of* Portugal *already took upon him the Title of Lord of the Commerce of* Ethiopia *and* Arabia. *Thoſe Religious Men who endur'd ſo many Hardſhips, may be allow'd to have acted out of a true Religious Zeal, but perhaps they had done more good, had all thoſe diſſolute* Portugueſe *Soldiers been carry'd away, and only they left to preach, and Teach, which yet ought to be done with much Mildneſs, and Patience without expecting to compel all the Nation at once to a Compliance, of which we ſhall ſee more hereafter, and therefore thus much may ſuffice in this Place.*

Turks entering Ethiopia

There is another Letter of *Emanuel Fernandez*, wherein he gives a particular Account of all that befel him, and his Companions, but being more full of Religious than other Matters, I ſhall only pick out of it ſome few Remarks worth knowing. He ſays. The *Turks* enter'd *Ethiopia* in the Year 1572, which was the 4th Time, after the Fathers were there. They took many Captives, and went as far as a Town where the *Portugueſes* reſided, who made their eſcape but the Town was burnt, whence they return'd to *Debaroa* nearer the Sea, built a Fort, and continu'd making Excurſions. This oblig'd the Catholicks to abandon thoſe Places, and withdraw into the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and other Parts. Only the Patriarch, and ſome few with him, continu'd amidſt thoſe Dangers to endeavour to ſend Advice over to *India*, and in Hopes of Succours from thence. With the Catholicks that went away, the Patriarch ſent *F. Gonzalo Cardazo*; and *F. Francis Lopez*, the firſt of which was murder'd on the way by Robbers, and the latter wounded in the Arm,

Arm, yet went on with his Company, and settled with them in *Dambea*. In the rest *F. Fernandez* declares the good Disposition there is among many of the Natives, and especially the Gentiles, to embrace the Catholick Religion, could they be protected in it, and says, several Persons of Note were privately converted, but kept it to themselves for fear of suffering Persecution. In another Letter dated December the 20th, 1557, the same Father complains that the 5, or 600 Men so often desir'd, are not sent, bewailing the Loss of so many Souls, for want of them, and alledging, to justify the making Use of that Force, that even in Christian Countries the Prelates would have no Authority were they not supported by the Lay-Magistrates. He urges, that God punishes the Obduracy of the *Ethiopians*, as he did the Egyptians, with Flies, for such he calls the Barbarous *Galas*, as being a naked unarm'd People; and yet the *Abyssines* well arm'd and mounted, are not able to withstand them which indeed looks more like a Judgment, than any thing natural.

The Patriarch's Life.

The Patriarch continu'd several Years at *Fremona*, without ever receiving any Succours from *Portugal*, or *India*, or any Fleet coming to carry him off. All this while his Life was so holy, and exemplar, that one of the greatest Men in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, tho' himself a Schismatick, was wont to say; That none of the ancient Saints in the Desert attain'd to more Perfections than the said Patriarch did in *Fremona*. His Palace was a thatch'd Cottage, his Diet a thin Cake of *Tef*, a Grain before mention'd, his other Dainties were Cabbage, or Linseed, without any other seasoning, but Salt and Water; and even these he was to sow, and bring up himself. His Poverty was such, that he was reduc'd to tear the first white Page out of his Breviary to write a Letter on. Another he afterwards writ to the Pope, and wanting even such a Leaf, he cut off the Margents of the Breviary, and sow'd them to gether, to write it on. In the midst of his Sufferings he spar'd no Labour, attending the Poor of all Sorts, which was the Occasion of converting many Schismaticks. At length it pleas'd God to take him out of this World, in the Year 1577, when he had been above 20 in *Ethiopia*, and was not only Lamented by the *Portugueses*, but by all that knew him, and the Viceroy of *Tigre*, when he receiv'd this News beat his Face with both Hands, as is usual among those People in extraordinary Afflictions, often crying in a dismal Tone, *The Patriarch is Dead, the Patriarch is Dead, we are all undone.* This great Man was a *Spaniard*, born at *Illescas*, a Town between *Madrid* and *Toledo* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, his Sanctity of Life wonderful, and to pass by many other prodigious Passages well attested, all *Ethiopia* still own that the Town of *Fremona* was particularly protected by Heaven for his Sake, against all Enemies, for tho' the Barbarous *Gallas* ravag'd all the Country about it, yet they never

never did the least Harm in that Place, notwithstanding many of them came into it, and it had no human Defence.

Five other Fathers came into *Ethiopia* with the Patriarch, two whereof we have already declar'd dy'd by the Sword; the first *F. Andrew Gualdames*, kill'd by the *Turks*, near *Arquico*; the other *Gonzalo Cardezo*, by the Robbers, on the way to *Dambea*. There remain'd three, the first of these that dy'd was *F. Emanuel Fernandez* Superor of the Mission, who after enduring infinite Hardships for his Flock, at length departed this Life, spent with overmuch Labour. *F. Antony Fernandez*, born at *Braga* living till the Year 1593, labouring indefatigably for the good of Souls, and travelling in his old Age an hundred Leagues, only to assist one wounded *Portuguese* at his Death, had scarce Strength enough left him to return to *Fremona*, where he soon after departed this World. Only *F. Francis Lopes* remain'd to take Care of all the Catholicks, which was an immense Labour, and he quite spent with Age and Fatigues. He foretold he should dye within 15 Days, that within a Year another Father would come from *India*, and others after him; all which hapened as he had said. He dy'd at 80 Years of Age. The Bodies of the Patriarch, and his Companions, were all bury'd in the thatch'd Church at *Fremona*, and afterwards translated to *Goa* by Order of the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*. Thus ended that Mission of *Ethiopia* which had lasted 40 Years, *viz.* from 1557 till 1597, when *F. Francis Lopez* dy'd.

Death of the other Jesuits

Chap. VII.

The Fathers Antony de Monserrate, *and* Peter Pays *appointed at* Goa *to go into* Ethiopia; *they are taken at* Dhofar *and sent Prisoners to the King of* Xael *then to the* Bassa *of* Yemen, *in* Arabia *Felix. An Account of what they saw in that Country, and their Captivity.*

Revolutions in Portugal.

WHILST those Things we have spoken of in the last Chapter happened in *Ethiopia*, King *John* the 3d of *Portugal*, who encourag'd that Mission, dy'd, in the Year 1557, King *Sebastian*, his Successor, being wholly bent upon the unfortunate Expedition into *Africk*, little regarded the Affairs of *Abyssinia*, and the Cardinal *Henry*, who reign'd after him liv'd not long enough to effect the good Intentions he had that Way. *Philip*, the 2d of *Spain* ascending the Throne after him, charg'd *Don Duarte de Menezes*, Earl of *Tarouca*, and Viceroy of *India*, to spare no Labour, or Cost, for the Promoting of the Conversion of *Ethiopia*. This Order came to *Goa* when that Viceroy was Dead, and the Goverment devolv'd upon *Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho*, who no sooner receiv'd it, but he acquainted the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, by whom he was offer'd as many Fathers as he should think fit. The Governour thought two sufficient for the present, and *F. Antony de Monserrate*, a *Catalonian*, and *F. Peter Pays*, a *Castilian*, were pitch'd upon, this being in the Year 1587. *Lewis de Mendoza*, who liv'd at *Diu*, undertook to send them in some Ship of *Indian Baneans*, that traded to *Mazua*. The two Fathers embark'd for *Diu* in *February* 1588. and being forc'd by a Storm into the Bay of *Babaos*, sent thence to acquaint *Lewis de Mendoza*, who brought them into the City by Night, clad like *Armenians*, for Fear lest any *Mooriſh* Sailers, belonging to the Red Sea should know, and betray them to the *Turks*.

F. Monserrate *and F.* Pays, *design'd for Ethiopia.*

They stay'd long at *Diu*, whilst *Lewis de Mendoza* endeavour'd to prevail with any *Banean*, or *Mooriſh* Merchants, to take them aboard, which none of them would venture, fearing their Ships and Goods might be seiz'd, for carrying white Men they could give no Account of. Being thus disapointed, the Fathers themselves never gave over, till they found an *Armenian* belonging to *Alep-*

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po, who undertook to carry them by the way of *Bazora*, to his own Country, and send them thence to *Grand Cairo*, where they would find Caravans, to carry them safe into *Ethiopia*. This was a tedious way about, yet their Earnestness made it appear easy, and therefore they imbark'd on board the *Armenian*'s Ship, putting into *Mascate* for Water, where *Belchior Calaza*, a Man well affected to the Society commanded, he shew'd them the way they went was not likely, and undertook to send them aboard a *Moor*, who was his Friend to some Port of *Abyssinia*. Whilst the *Moor* made ready, they went over to *Ormuz*, were they were charitably entertain'd in the Monastery of the *Augustin* Friars, and forc'd to continue till the 26th of *December*, the aforesaid Year 1588, when the *Moor* took them aboard, designing they should land at *Zeyla*; but a violent Storm having much shatter'd the Ship, and broke off the Rudder, he was oblig'd to put into one of the Islands of *Curia Muria*, call'd *Suadie*, near to another they name *Asquiè*, on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*.

They came to the Islands of Curia Muria.

All these Islands are small, and inhabited by a poor miserable People, covering their Houses with the Weeds the Sea casts upon the Shore, and feeding on Fish, whereof they have Plenty, but want Wood to dress it, and therefore eat it raw, only dry'd in the Wind. The Sea casts up much Amber Greese there, for they offer'd the Fathers some at a very small Price, which they valu'd as little. Here they continu'd 7 or 8 Days, fitting out a small Vessel the *Moor* hir'd, because his Ship was disabled. After much struggling with contrary Winds they were spy'd from the Shore, tho' they endeavour'd to avoid it, and taken by two light Vessels well arm'd, which came out in Quest of them. The Reason of their being so watchfull upon the Coast, was because the *Moor*, who carry'd the Fathers, had intrusted another *Moor* with the Secret, that he was to carry *Portugueses* to *Zeyla*, and this other Infidel gave Advice at *Dhofar*, where they were provided to take that Vessel.

Description of those Islands.

After a strict Examination, the Fathers being look'd upon as Spies, tho' telling the downright Truth of their being bound for *Ethiopia*, were stripp'd almost naked, and shut up in an old House of Mud Walls, where they had little to eat by Day, and abundance of Vermin to break their rest at Night. At last the Commander of *Dhofar* resolv'd to send them to his Master, the King of *Xael* in *Arabia Felix*. They were put aboard a small Vessel, which carried them 5 Days along the Coast, till they landed on an open Shore, and began to travel by Land, with much trouble afoot, being ill shod, but the *Moors* at length set them on their Camels, for the more Expedition. The third Days Journey they enter'd upon such a Sandy Desert, that there was no Track, but

The Jesuits *taken by* Moors.

Sent to Xael.

Large Desert. they travell'd by the Sun in the Day and by the Stars at Night. The Heat was excessive, the allowance of Bread to the Fathers very small, and that of Water less, because they had none but what the Camels carried. Ten Days they travell'd over that Desert, at the end whereof they reach'd *Tarim*, a large City, where the News was soon spread abroad, that there were *Portuguese* Prisoners, whom the People flock'd to see, at first gazing as if they were amaz'd. Then asking those who conducted them, whether they believ'd in *Mahomet*, and being told they did not, call'd them *Cafares*, and after many Reproachful Words, spit on their Faces, and had they not been put into a House, would have ston'd them to Death. The next Morning they were conducted out of the City before Day, for fear of the Rabble, and travelling through a Country well inhabited, came the third Day to a Town where a Brother of the Kings call'd *Xafer* then was, who receiv'd them courteously, ask'd many Questions, and gave them *Cahoa* to Drink. [*This I suppose is Coffee, which they were not acquainted with.*] Being dismiss'd by him, they travell'd all the Night, and by break of Day were near *Heynan*, the King of *Xael*'s Court. They were carried to the Fort, where the King resided, which was lofty and strong, tho' of Clay, as are all the Buildings in that Country. There they put them into a small *Gueritte*, or Centinels Box on the Wall, where they had trouble enough from the many People that came to see them, and could never be satisfy'd with gazing.

Tarim *City.*

Heynan *City.*

King of Xael *described.* Two Days after their Arrival, King *Humar*, for so he was call'd, order'd their Cloaths should be given them, they being in no Condition otherwise to be seen at Court. After Dinner they were brought before him, where he was in State on the Top of the Fortress, sitting upon a boarded Elevation rais'd a Yard from the Ground, and cover'd with rich Brocard. He was clad in very fine Green Cloth, and on his Head a Turbant Embroider'd with Gold. As to his Person it was comely, and he seem'd to be about 40 Years of Age. He receiv'd the Fathers courteously, made them sit down, and would not let the *Syrian* Boy that came with them serve for an Interpreter, but sent for a Renegado Woman that belong'd to the Queen, and knew the Language of the Country, and enough of the *Portuguese*. The King spoke to her in *Arabick*, and she, turning to the Fathers, said, *The King bids you not be troubled, because God has brought you hither; but I say your Sins have brought you hither, among such wicked People.* He ask'd, who they were, and whither they went. They answer'd, they were Fathers, and going to *Ethiopia* to live with the *Portugueses* that went thither formerly. Many more Questions he ask'd, and

and ſpent the Afternoon in Diſcourſe; and to conclude, they begg'd he would order them their Books to pray by, out of their Baggage. He anſwer'd, *Oſſha Alal, Oſſha Alla*, which is their way of granting what is ask'd, and ſignifies, *It will pleaſe God, it will pleaſe God*; and ſo it prov'd, for the next Day they had their Breviaries, which was no ſmall Comfort.

Some Time the Fathers continu'd there, without knowing what would become of them, till the Woman above mention'd coming to Viſit them, ſaid, The King was very willing to Ranſom them, but afraid of the *Turks*, whoſe Tributary he was, and therefore ſhe believ'd they would ſtay long there. They ask'd her, how ſhe came into that Country? She anſwer'd, That going from *Chaul* to *Ormuz* in a very ſmall Veſſel, which had only 8 Men; they were drove by ſtreſs of Weather to *Xael*, where the *Moors* invited them aſhore, pretending Friendſhip, and the *Portugueſes* believing them, were taken, as was their Veſſel, and ſhe in it. They were all ſent to that City, where *Sultan Humar*'s Father then reign'd, who us'd all means to pervert them, but could never prevail, and they all dy'd, conſum'd with Hardſhips. She added, that one of theſe Men, whoſe Surname was *Preto*, having contracted Friendſhip with a *Moor* that traded to *Melinde*, deſir'd that he would carry a Letter for him; which the Infidel promis'd, but as ſoon as receiv'd, deliver'd it to the King, who having found one to interpret it, underſtood it gave Advice for a Veſſel to come upon the Coaſt of *Xael*, where they might eaſily take ſome *Moors* to exchange for him, and other Chriſtian Captives. The King in a Rage order'd *Preto* to be brought before him, and ask'd him, Whether that was his Letter. He anſwer'd, it was. Then ſaid the King, you ſhall immediately turn *Mahometan*, or Dye. *Preto* gallantly reply'd, *I am no ſuch Man to turn Mahometan*: Adding much more, with ſuch Chriſtian Fortitude, that the King caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off in his Preſence, and the Body to be thrown out at the Window. Thus he ended his Days gloriouſly in Defence of the Faith, and tho' his Chriſtian Name be loſt to us, we may with good Reaſon believe it is written in the Book of Life. The Fathers extoll'd the Bravery of that *Portugueſe*, and blam'd the Old Woman, who was of the Kingdom of *Pegu*, for renouncing her Faith, encouraging her to return to it, and make a good End. She anſwer'd, ſhe only honour'd CHRIST in her Heart, but had not Courage to confeſs him openly. Indain *Woman Captive.*

The Fathers continu'd four Months in Priſon, where they ſuffer'd very much; for tho' that part of *Arabia* is call'd *The Happy*, it is to be ſuppos'd the Ancients gave it the Name by the Rule of Arabia *Felix.*

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Contraries, or else through a mistake, for it has no other Happiness, but many Miseries, which consume poor Captives, and from which the Natives are not exempt. That Province of it is call'd *Hadarmot*, or *Hadramut*; the least part of it is till'd, and even that yields no great Crop. The Product is Wheat, Barley, and Millet, and this last is the main Sustenance of the People; but the quantity of every sort is so small, that there are frequent Famines. They have a few Palm-trees, whose Dates somewhat sweeten their Hunger. The Natives are of a Tawny Complexion, and the Cloaths they wear answerable to their Poverty and short Diet; yet they are careful to Dress their Hair, because it is of their own Growth, and costs no Money. They let it grow very long, and then curl it up with hot Irons, for they have learnt this piece of Vanity; but then instead of costly Essences, they grease it well with Butter that it may shine, which is a Decoration fit for those who use it, for the Dust sticking to the Hair, it cannot chuse but look as comely as it is sweet scented.

Hadramut *Province.*

When the Women go abroad, they cover their Heads with white Cloths, and their Faces with black Veils like Nuns. They have some *Jewish* Customs among them, and particularly that of lamenting their Dead. One of the King's Daughters happening to Dye whilst the Fathers were there, abundance of Women, with their Hair very full of Dust, and shrieking most unmercifully, conducted the Queen to a House that was near the Fort, where they continu'd a whole Month weeping and wailing. They went out twice every Day upon the flat Roof of the House, where placing themselves in two Ranks they beat their Breasts, and now and then threw their Arms about one another's Necks, with many doleful Expressions and dismal Cries, expressing Sorrow.

Women there.

The Kingdom of *Yemen*, or *Yamen*, begins at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and runs along the Coast of *Moqua*, or *Moqha*, or *Mocca*, *Camarane* and *Obida*, Sea Port Towns belonging to the said Kingdom, and many other Lands and Cities up the Inland, bordering on the Kingdom of *Xael*, whose King pays Tribute to the *Bassa* of *Yemen*, who as soon as he heard that the Fathers were taken, sent immediately to King *Humar* to have them convey'd to him; because all *Portuguese* Captives belong'd to the Great *Turk*, according to Articles agreed on betwixt them. The King readily comply'd, and sent 4 Horses with them as a Gift to the *Bassa*, not out of Love but Fear, being us'd to make him great Presents, to save greater Extortions. He also furnish'd the Fathers with Camels for the Journey, and order'd those that conducted them to use them

Yemen *Kingdom.*

them well, and see they wanted for nothing, because these Fathers, said he, ask nothing for themselves.

On the 27*th* of *June* they came to the last strong Place in the Kingdom of *Xael*, where they took Provision of Water for the Desert, upon which they then enter'd, being all Sand, without any Road, steering by the Sun and Stars, and for fear these Guides should be hid from them by Clouds, they travell'd four Days and Nights without resting, but at Noon and Nightfall, whilst the Camels fed, who never Drank all that while. The 5*th* Day they found a Spring, by which they rested till the Evening, and at Nightfall set forward again, to get out of the Desert, and escape the Robbers those Solitudes are never without. *Great Desert*

The next Day they came to a small Town call'd *Melquis*, where they saw the Ruins of stately Structures, and Stones with ancient Inscriptions, which the Natives themselves could not read; but said there was formerly a very large City, and that the Queen of *Sheba* had there mighty Flocks of Cattel, which, if true, verifies what I said before, that the Queen of *Sheba* was not only Sovereign of *Ethiopia*, but of a great part of *Arabia*. From *Melquis* they travell'd 12 Days, through a well Peopled Country, till they came to *Canaan*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Xiomen*, and Residence of the *Bassa*, where they were receiv'd by the *Subashi*, that is, the Governor, with abundance of Foot, and some Horse, who ordering the Kettle Drums to beat, made the Fathers walk afoot before his Horse, leading them as it were in Triumph, thro' the principal Streets of the City, to the Fortress and *Bassa*'s Palace, as the *Romans* drove their Captives before them to the Capitol. When they were at the Palace, down came the *Teftardar*, who is the Steward, and ask'd them several Questions, for they were carry'd as Spies, to all which they answer'd the downright Truth. After much Examination they were carry'd to Prison, and put into the common Side, besides which *F. Pays* had Irons, but *F. Monserrate* they exempted, because he was very Old. Melquis *Town.* Canaan, *Capital of* Xiomen.

The *Teftardar* carry'd the *Syrian* Youth to his House, and being taken with his Behaviour made him his Caterer, and he often bringing him the overplus of his Money, the Master would sometimes give it him, which he carry'd to the Fathers, and was a great Relief to them. Soon after meeting a *Turk* of Note, who was his Countryman, and acquainting him with his Condition, he procur'd Liberty of the *Bassa* for him to return to his own Country. He took leave of the Fathers, promising to return to *India*, and to do them all the Service he could, which he faithfully perform'd; for within a few Months he made his way to *Ormuz*, *Charitable* Syrian *Youth.*

Ormuz, and thence to *Goa*, where he gave an Account of what had befallen the Fathers, and the Condition they were in.

Portuguese *Captives at Variance.*

The Fathers found in the Prison 26 *Portugueses* and 5 *Indian* Christians, taken on the Coast of *Melinde*, who besides their Captivity, were at such variance among themselves, that they were ready to Murther one another. The Fathers by their good Instructions and Example, made them Friends, and wrought such a Change, that the very *Turks* were astonish'd at it. For their Comfort God order'd it, that the *Bassa*, who had been one of the Great *Turk*'s Gardiners, and still lov'd that Art, employ'd them all to work in his Garden; and the Goaler took them from the common Side below, and gave them such an Appartment above, that the Fathers had a large Room to themselves, and they were all easie, making a sort of Chappel there, and endeavouring to serve God the best they could.

Chap. VIII.

The remaining part of the Captivity of the Fathers, till they were ransom'd; some further Account of Arabia Felix; F. Abraham de Georgijs *sent to* Ethiopia, *put to Death by the* Turks; F. Belchior da Sylva *sets safe into* Abyssinia; *a College of* Jesuits *founded for that Mission at* Diu.

Turkish *reputed Saint.*

WHEN the Fathers had been two Years in Captivity, the *Bassa*'s Wife prevail'd with him to order their Liberty; but a *Banean* Informing, that he might get 2000 Crowns for their Ransome, he recall'd his Word, and us'd them worse than before, demanding 10000 Crowns of them. An *Algierine Turks*, reputed a Saint, coming thither was a great Help to them in their want, for he would often send for, discourse with, and treat them very splendidly, commending them for good and learned Men. Another Man of Note, being a *Spanish* Renegado, us'd all his Endeavours to get them discharg'd, but all in Vain; for both these Friends at last departed the City, and left the Fathers to their Wants, and Sufferings, with only this Comfort, that they were usefull to the

the other Christian Captives, some of whom they got ransom'd, and perswaded 5 Renegadoes to make their Escape to *India* as they did, and were reconcil'd to the Church.

Six Years they continu'd in Captivity in the City of *Canaan*, most barbarously us'd, to extort from them the Sum of 2500 Crowns. This City had been formerly very great, as being the Capital of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, encompass'd with strong Walls, and mighty Bulwarks of Earth. When the Fathers were there it contain'd about 2000 Families, 500 of them *Jews*. The Country is pleasant, and full of Gardens, and Orchards, producing almost all the Sorts of Fruit we have in *Europe*, and is 60 Leagues from *Moca*. Thither the Fathers were sent, to see whether the *Indian* Merchants would purchase them. *F. Pays* went on a Camel, but *F. Monserrate* having had a Fall off one desir'd to ride an Ass, which being jostled by a Camel gave him such another Fall, that he could not stir, without being supported by *F. Pays*, and a *Brachman* who was Captive with them. Thus they came to *Tais*, a small City, but has a strong wall, then to *Mouza*, which is smaller, and lastly to *Moca*, where they were shut up in a Ground Room full of Spice, which with the Heat of the Day and want of Air had like to have stifled them, had not an *Abyssine* Youth, who was over 'em cooling his Master with water, told him, they must needs perish there with the Heat, who thereupon gave him Leave to remove them to a cooler Place.

Canaan *City and Country.*

Miserable Captivity.

After many Threats to extort a Ransom from them, they were put into a Galley, where they had a very small allowance of bitter Millet in Grain. When they had endur'd these Hardships three Months, the *Turk*, who we said had befriended them at *Canaan*, happened to come to *Moca*, and got them from aboard the Galley to his House, where he entertain'd them very plentifully for 20 Days. Being then oblig'd to depart, he recommended them to the Captain of the Galley, desiring he would not put them to the Oar, but 5 Days after he was gone, the Captain, contrary to his Promise, return'd them to all their former Miseries. *F. Monserrate*, who was very old, falling sick, the Captain order'd him ashore, and *F. Pays* to look after him, but gave them no Allowance. In this Distress, a *Banean* furnish'd them with some Rice, and Butter, and a Crown in Money, with which and *F. Pays* his Care *F. Monserrate* recover'd.

Charitable Turk.

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The Jesuits *ransom'd.*

nue. The *Banean* pursuant to his Orders, tho the Fathers oppos'd it, alledging, that Mony might ransom many more, bought them for 500 Crowns. Besides this they were forc'd to give 50 Crowns to the Captain of the Galley, who exacted it, for the Time he had suffer'd them to be ashore. At length they embark'd for *Diu*, and arriv'd safe, after 29 Days Sail. There the Reverend Father Guardian of the *Capucines* carry'd them to his Monastery, where they had all the Entertainment that poor Order could afford; the *Jesuits* having no House at *Diu* as yet. Thence the *Dominicans* took, and entertain'd them many Days in their Monastery. Next they sail'd to *Chaul*, where the Brotherhood call'd *a Misericordia*, or of Mercy, not only treated them, but order'd the Mony they said was requisite for redeeming of the other Captives at *Canaan*. In fine, they return'd at last to their own Monastery at *Goa*, after 7 Years Captivity. *F. Monserrate* dy'd there in the Year 1600, he was a *Catalonian*, as has been said, and besides all his other Labours, had been two Years a Missioner in the Great *Mogol's* Country. Of *F. Pays* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when he again attempted to get into *Ethiopia*, where he liv'd many Years, as we shall see.

When the Superiors at *Goa* receiv'd the News of the aforesaid Father's Captivity in *Arabia*, they had also Intelligence, that only *F. Francis Lopez* remain'd alive in *Ethiopia*, and therefore resolv'd to hazard two other Fathers for the good of the Christians in that Country. To this purpose they pitch'd upon *F. Abraham de Georgijs*, a *Maronite* by Birth, very learned, and Master of the *Arabick*, *Chaldaick Hebrew*, and *Syriack*, who had enter'd himself into the Society at *Rome*, being there in the College of his Nation where many zealous Men are bred, who go over to instruct their Countrymen.

Maronites.

The *Maronites* are the Inhabitants of Mount *Libanus*, and the Country about it, who tho' subject to the *Turk*, profess the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and some of them come over to be educated in the foresaid Seminary at *Rome*, founded by Pope *Paul* the 3d. They have a Catholick Patriarch, and 8, or 9 Bishops under him. *F. Abraham* being well vers'd in the *Chaldaick* was at this Time, on the Mountains of *Malabar*, instructing the Christians of *S. Thomas*, whose Priests, and learn'd Men have the Holy Scripture in *Chaldaick*, these People had been formerly *Nestorians*, who us'd to receive their Archbishop from *Babylon*.

F. Abraham *design'd for* Ethiopia.

Upon the first call he repair'd to *Goa*, where being acquainted with what he was design'd for, he kept up close for a whole Year, letting his Beard grow, and keeping quite out of Sight, to the end that when he set out, he might not be known and discover'd by the *Moors*. When the Year was up he cloath'd himself

ſelf in the habit of a *Turkiſh* Merchant, and tho' a Companion had been appointed him, it was thought better he ſhould go alone, only attended by one *Abyſſine* Youth.

Arrives at Mazua.

On the 6th of *January* 1595, he ſet out for *Diu*, where he imbark'd in a Ship of *Baneans*, bound for *Mazua*, arriv'd at that Place and was well receiv'd by *Xafar*, the *Turkiſh* Commander, believing him to be a *Turk*. He had his Leave to go over to the Continent, and being half Way on the Channel, that parts it from the Iſland, the *Banean*, Captain of the Ship that brought him thither, ſaid to the *Baſſa*, who was at a Window looking that way, Do you let that Man go ſo, Sir? I muſt tell you I know not whether he is a Chriſtian, or a *Mahometan*. The *Turk* immediately ſent a Boat after, and brought him back where upon Examination, he readily own'd himſelf a Chriſtian. The *Baſſa* told him he muſt either turn *Mahometan*, or dye; to which he anſwer'd, He might do as he pleas'd, for he was not a Perſon that would renounce his Faith. The *Abyſſine* Youth that attended him, being alſo taken, diſcover'd all the Secret, and turned *Turk*. The Baſſa us'd all poſſible Means to perſwade the Father to follow the Youths Example, but finding him not to be mov'd, caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off.

Put to death for the Faith.

The News of his Death being brought to *Goa* in the Year 1595. and that of *Francis Lopez*, the laſt remaining in *Ethiopia* of the Miſſioners, in 1597 the Fathers were in great Concern for the diſtreſſed Catholicks of that Country. Thoſe People in the Letter wherein they gave an Account of the Deceaſe of the Fathers, adviſ'd, that ſince it was impoſſible for any *European* to paſs into *Ethiopia* by way of the Red Sea, by Reaſon the *Turks* kept ſuch ſtrict Guard, they might ſend them ſome Prieſt, that was a Native of *India*, who being like the *Baneans* in Colour, and ſpeaking their Language, and thoſe People freely trading up the Red Sea, would be in leſs Danger. The Project was approv'd of, and *F. Belchior da Sylva*, a Secular Prieſt, pitch'd upon, being a *Brachman* by Deſcent, then Vicar of the Church of *S. Anne*, one of the richeſt in *Goa*, and a Man of Learning, and Piety. The good Prieſt imbark'd for *Diu*, and went thence to *Mazua*, in the Habit of a Seaman, in *March* 1596, where he found a Catholick of *Fremona*, come to look for Letters from *India*. By him he ſent Word to the *Portugueſes*, and ſetting out himſelf, for fear of the *Turks*, arriv'd in four Days at *Debaroa*, where he was receiv'd by ſeveral *Portugueſes*, and Catholicks of *Fremona*, who conducted him thither with great Joy.

F. Belchior da Sylva *arrives in* Ethiopia.

F. Belchior da Sylva continu'd ſix years in *Ethiopia*, five before the coming of *F. Peter Pays*, who went to relieve him, and

one with him, expecting Shipping for *India*, all which Time he behav'd himſelf like an excellent Paſtor, ſparing no Pains to adminiſter the Sacraments to the *Portugueſes*, who were much diſpers'd up the Country. He had Inſtructions, when he came from *India*, to endeavour to diſcover ſome way for the Fathers to get into *Ethiopia*. In the Year 1602 having conſulted with the Principal *Portugueſes* in the Kingdom of *Tygre*, they all came to this Reſolution, that there was no Port like *Bailur*, which is juſt within the Mouth of the Red Sea, on the left Hand, oppoſite to *Moca*, 12 Leagues up the *Abyſſine* Channel, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Dancali*; which tho' ſubject to a *Moor*, yet he ſo much depends upon the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, that by Virtue of a Letter from him, he would ſuffer them to paſs. This Opinion all the *Portugueſes* and *F. Belchior da Sylva* gave under their Hands, which has been here ſet down, tho' for the preſent the Fathers found a way through *Mazua*, yet becauſe it may be of uſe another Time, and the Patriarch *Don Alfonſo Mendez* paſs'd that way, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Another way into Ethiopia *contrived.*

Whatſoever way was found into *Ethiopia*, the Fathers perceiv'd it would be very neceſſary to have a Houſe at *Diu*, that being the principal Port for the Trade of the Red Sea, becauſe being there they could contract Friendſhip with the *Moors* and Gentiles ſailing thither; for they might favour them with the Governour, and Cuſtom-Houſe, and thoſe Traders, in Return, would carry them in their Ships, and procure them a ſafe Paſſage. The *Baneans* endeavour'd all they could to obſtruct it, believing the Fathers would endeavour to convert the *Moors*, and Gentiles that came to trade thither, which would be a Hindrance to their Dealings, and leſſen the Income of the Cuſtoms. However the Viceroy and King *Philip* the 2d poſitively reſolving to favour the *Jeſuits*, this Obſtacle was remov'd, and thoſe very *Baneans* perceiving what Kindneſs they receiv'd from the Fathers, grew ſo well affected towards them, that for ſeveral Years they gave them bountifull Alms, till their Church, and College were built.

Houſe of the Jeſuits *at* Diu *to that purpoſe.*

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

F. Peter Pays *finds Means to get into* Ethiopia. *What Emperors ſucceeded in that Empire, after* Malac Segued; *the Emperor* Za Danguil's *Victories.*

WE have already given an Account of the 7 Years Captivity of *F. Peter Pays*, who being well recover'd of the Hardſhips he endur'd in that time, ſet his Heart again upon attempting to get into *Ethiopia*, and in order to it went a way to *Diu*. King *Philip* the 2d had order'd ſix ſmall Veſſels to be fitted out to carry ſome Fathers into that Country, yet the Viceroy would provide but 2, and thoſe meeting with a Storm, between *Goa*, and *Diu*, the one of them was forc'd into *Damam*, and the other reach'd its intended Port, much ſhatter'd and unmaſted. *F. Pays* impatient of this Diſappointment, ſet himſelf upon finding another way, and meeting ſome Servants of the Baſſa of *Suaqhem*, who came thither to trade and were returning home, he contracted Friendſhip with them, and particularly with their Chief, call'd *Razuam Aga*. The Father ſpoke *Arabick* perfectly well, having learn'd it, during his 7 Years Captivity, and in Familiar Diſcourſe with the *Turk*, who took him for an *Armenian*, pretended ſome Deſire to Return into his own Country, but that the Fear of falling again into the Hands of the *Turks* reſtrain'd him. The *Aga* readily promis'd to carry him ſafe to *Suaqhem*, and thence to *Grand Cairo*, whence he might go with the Caravan to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo into his own Country. *Father Pays* return'd him Thanks, and ask'd, whether, when they came to *Mazua*, he might not with Safety go up a little way into the Country, to ſeek after ſome Goods belonging to certain Fathers who dy'd there. The *Turk* told him, it would be very eaſy, and offer'd to bear all his Charges. In fine their Friendſhip was ſo cloſely knit, and the *Turk* ſhow'd ſo much Sincerity, that the the Father embark'd with him, and they ſail'd from *Diu*, on the 22d of *March* 1603. The *Aga* treated the Father all the way, with extraordinary Kindneſs, and

A Turk *conveys* F. Pays *into* Ethiopia.

and they arriv'd at *Mazua*, on the 26th of *April*. The *Bassa* being then absent, one *Mustadem*, a great Friend to *Raznam Aga* commanded in that Place, who was very civil to the Father for his Friends Sake, and gave him leave to go into *Ethiopia*, when he pleas'd to seek for those Goods he had told the *Aga* of.

He comes to Fremona.

The same Day *F. Pays* arriv'd there, he met with a Christian come from *Fremona*, by whom he sent *F. Belchior da Sylva* the News of his being in that Place. Some Days he was oblig'd to stay at *Mazua* for Company, there being no travelling alone, because of the many Robbers. At length meeting with 6 Christians, who came from *Fremona*, to enquire for News from *India*, he took leave of his Friend *Raznam*, who promis'd to stay there for him two Months, and on the 5*th* of *May* 1603, began his Journey with the aforesaid 6 Christians, the *Shabander*, or Captain of the *Baneans*, attending him over to the Continent, and sending two *Mooriſh* Servants to wait on him some Days Journey farther. He travell'd all the way to *Debaroa*, which is 5 or 6 Days Journey, over very high and craggy Mountains, clad in an old *Mooriſh* loose Coat, with a Piece of Dimety instead of a Cloak, for fear of the Thieves. On the 10*th* of *May* they came safe to *Debaroa*, whither the next Day came the *Portugueſe* Captain *John Gabriel*, a Man of Worth, with several *Portugueſes* from *Fremona*, to receive the Father. They set out from thence, and on the 15*th* of *May* got to *Fremona*, where they were receiv'd with extraordinary Joy, by the *Portugueſes* and other Catholicks, and they all repair'd to the Church to return Thanks to God. A few Days after *F. Belchior da Sylva* came to *Fremona*, having been 6 Months abroad administring the Sacraments to the *Portugueſes*, who were dispers'd about the Empire, and was now overjoy'd to see *F. Pays*, which set him at Liberty to return to *India*. The *Portugueſe* Captain, *John Gabriel*, was sent to Court, to acquaint the Emperor *Jacob*, then reigning, with the Arrival of the Father, which News that Monarch receiv'd with satisfaction, and order'd that as soon as the Winter was over he should repair to him. But now whilst *F. Pays* repoſes himself, after his Fatigues by Sea and Land, let us take a view of the Affairs of *Ethiopia*.

Affairs of Ethiopia.

It has been declar'd above, that at the time when the Patriarch Don *Andrew de Oviedo* dy'd, the Emperor reigning in *Ethiopia* was call'd *Malac Segued*. He by his Empress *Mariam Cuel* had several Daughters, but never a Son; by others he had two Bastard Sons, the one nam'd *Za Mariam*, the other *Jacob*. This having no lawful Issue Male, *Malac Segued* design'd a long time for his Successor, a Nephew call'd *Za Danguil*, Son to his Brother *Leſſena Chriſtos*, and in order to it bred him up at Court, that the

Great

Great Men might respect and affect him. However, a little before his Death, his Son *Jacob*, whom he had never seen, because bred far off, being brought to Court, and Fatherly Affection prevailing, he chang'd his Mind, and resolv'd to leave the Empire to that Bastard. The Great Men perceiving his Inclination, soon comply'd with it, and as Flatterers are want to do in all their Discourses, promoted his Design. Death put a Stop to all these Practices, for the Emperor returning from his Wars with the *Galas* of *Bavilo* fell Sick, and perceiving his last Hour approach, that being a time of impartial Justice, he thought himself oblig'd to leave the Crown to his Nephew, and accordingly made it known to all the Great Men, charging them to enthrone *Za Danguil*, as his Nephew and lawful Heir, the other being but a Bastard.

Malac Segued *leaves the Crown to* Za Danguil.

The Emperor was just dying when he gave these Commands, yet his Flattering Courtiers persisted, alledging, they would have no other Monarch but his Son. The true Reason of it was, because *Za Danguil* was then a Man grown, and *Jacob* the Bastard but a Child, under whose Name they thought they should have the whole Power in their own Hands, without any Regard to Justice. Having fix'd this Resolution among themselves, before they made known the Father's Death, or the Son's Election, they sent some Troops of arm'd Men to secure the Nephew *Za Danguil*, and others to do the same by *Socinios*, Great Grandson to the Emperor *David*, who they much fear'd might call them to Account, as being a very brave and hopeful Youth. Accordingly *Za Danguil* was seiz'd, and carry'd to a Lake call'd *Dek*, in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, where he was kept Prisoner a long time, and afterwards on several strong Mountains. *Socinios* getting Intelligence that they design'd to lay him up, had the good Fortune to make his escape to the Frontiers of the Empire, where he kept up in Arms, till God rais'd him to the Throne, as we shall see hereafter.

The Great imprison him

Being rid of these powerful Competitors, they proclaim'd *Jacob* Emperor, at 7 Years of Age, and kept the Government in their own Hands, with the Empress *Mariam Sina*, who sided with the Confederates, she taking for her Associates two of her Sons in Law, call'd *Ras Athanateus* and *Castuade*, Viceroy of *Tigre*, the two Prime Contrivers of these Practices, the young Emperor *Jacob* having nothing but the specious Title of Emperor. This Triumvirate held above 7 Years, till *Jacob* being about 14 Years of Age, began to show he would have a Share in the Government himself. Many Months were not past since the young Emperor began to act of himself, before those Three who had set him

And set up Jacob, *a Bastard.*

him up, *viz.* the Empress and her two Sons in Law, *Athanatem* and *Casluade*, at the Instigation of *Za Sebasse*, a turbulent Person, we shall soon speak of, agreed to depose him, pretending a Scruple of Conscience, for having wrong'd *Za Danguil*, whose Right it was. This was the Colour they took to palliate their wicked Ambition, believing since they had lost the Favour of *Jacob*, they should have the Power over *Za Danguil*, whom they preferr'd to the Empire. They sent to him to the uncouth Mountains, where he was Prisoner, little thinking of such Fortune, and being brought into the Camp, he was instantly declar'd and honour'd as Emperor, and, what is most remarkable, the other Emperor *Jacob* was still in the same Camp.

Forsake him and set up Za Danguil.

Jacob had barely time to escape by the Swiftness of his Horse, thinking it enough to save his Life, and as is usual for all Men to forsake the Unfortunate, only 8 Servants follow'd him. He took the way to *Cemen*, a strong Mountain Country, where many of his Mother's Kindred were, and had he got thither safe, it would have been impossible to take him. But there wanted not a Traitor among those few Friends, who, whilst the Poor Youth took a little Rest, being come near *Cemen*, went away to a Neighbouring Town, and inform'd the People, that *Za Danguil* was proclaim'd Emperor in the Camp, and *Jacob* was come thither flying, and therefore charg'd them to secure him, under Pain of the new Emperor's Displeasure. They all hasted out in a Body, and surprizing the unhappy Youth, carry'd him Prisoner to *Za Danguil*. He, tho' well pleased to have his Competitor in Custody, was much displeased with the Baseness of the Treacherous Servant. The Council sitting, some were of Opinion, that *Jacob*'s Nose and Ears should be cut off, so to render him incapable of governing; but *Za Danguil* being of a generous Temper, was satisfy'd with sending him to the Kingdom of *Narea*, the farthest of the Empire towards the South East, charging the *Xumo*, or Governor, to keep a strict Guard over him. There we will leave him for the present, and shall after a while see this same *Jacob* made Emperor again, and *Za Danguil* kill'd, and soon after *Jacob* Slain by *Socinio*, who took the Name of *Sultan Segued*. Let us now see how *Za Danguil* behav'd himself towards *F. Peter Pays*, and in the Government.

Jacob *flies.*

Is taken, and committed to Prison.

When *F. Pays* came to *Fremona*, the Emperor *Jacob* was on the Throne, but soon remov'd to make Place for *Za Danguil*, as we have seen. During that Time, the Father had the Catechism compos'd by Doctor *Mark George* of the Society, translated into the *Ethiopick* by such as were best acquainted with the Language, and made abundance of Children learn it by Heart. The *Ethiopians* wer

Children taught their Catechise.

were ſo highly pleas'd to hear thoſe Children diſcourſe, by way of Dialogue, of all the Myſteries of Religion, that many reſorted from all Parts to partake of it, and others ſent for them to their Houſes. The Fame of it at laſt reach'd the Court, and the Scholars were ſo highly commended, that their Maſter could not but partake of thoſe Praiſes.

The Emperor *Za Danguil* being very affable and curious, and naturally inclin'd to hear any Thing that was new to him, eſpecially in what related to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and being alſo inform'd, that the Father at *Fremona* was very Learned, a great Traveller, and could give a notable Account of what he had ſeen, and of the *Roman* Faith, he was very deſirous to ſee and converſe with him, and to hear ſome of thoſe young Lads he had inſtructed. He therefore ſent for the Father, and writ him a Letter, which the ſaid Father has left us, in the Treaſe of the Affairs of *Ethiopia* till his Death, which we will here inſert, to give the Reader ſome Idea of the Stile of that Country, nd is as follows.

The Emperor ſends for F. Pays.

A Letter from the Emperor *Za Danguil*, otherwiſe call'd *Aſnaf Segued*, to *F. Peter Pays.*

MAY the Letter of the Emperor Aſnaf Segued *come to the Hands of the Worthy Father, who is Maſter of the* Portugueſes. *How your Health? Hear theſe Things, and the good News of what our Lord God has done for us. We were Seven Years in Priſon, and endur'd innumerable Hardſhips; but our Lord God taking Compaſſion on our Miſery, brought us out of Priſon, and gave us the Empire, and has made us Head of all, even as* David *ſays*, The Stone which the uilders refus'd, is become the Head Stone of the Corner. *Now e ſame Lord end that well which he has began. Hear farther; We re very deſirous, that you come hither ſpeedily, and that you bring e Books of the Juſtice of the Kings of* Portugal, *if you have them, r we ſhall be glad to ſee them.* Thus far the Emperor's Let; r.

The next Day he diſpatch'd an Expreſs, with Orders for the ather to come with the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who was ready to pair to Court. The Father was immediately ready, but the iceroy ſtay'd, becauſe he receiv'd News, that the Emperor had camp'd, to go and oppoſe the *Galas*, who underſtanding the iſorders that were in the Empire, had broke into the Country,

Irruption of the Galas.

with a design to make themselves Masters of it. These Barbarians being very numerous, had form'd 3 Armies, to the end that making so many several Incursions, they might oblige the *Ethiopians* also to separate, and so attack them the better dispers'd. The greatest Body enter'd the Kingdom of *Gojam*, whither the Emperor march'd, ordering the Viceroy of that Country to keep himself whole, without giving the Enemy Battel till he came: But Martial Rules being little observ'd in *Ethiopia*, the Viceroy seeing the Enemy at Hand, and thinking it a Discredit to lose Time, fought and was routed.

Bravery of Za Danguil.

The Emperor was concern'd at this loss, but not discourag'd, and therefore advanc'd speedily to meet the Enemy, who at first sight offer'd him Battel, divided into three Bodies. The Imperialists being tir'd with their march, would have defer'd fighting; yet seeing it was unavoidable, both sides fell on, the *Galas* attacking the *Abissines* with such Fury, that the Emperor's Right and Left Wings both betook themselves to Flight, and only the main Battel stood, supported by his Valour. The Prime Officers told him it was time to retire, before the *Galas* enclos'd him. The undaunted Youth, instead of clapping Spurs to his Horse to fly, alighted to fight, and taking his Buckler upon one Arm and his Sword in the other Hand, cry'd out, *I am resolv'd to dye here, you may fly from the* Galas, *but can never escape the Infamy, if you this Day abandon the Emperor you proclaim'd but yesterday.*

Great is the Power of Example in a resolute Commander; they all stuck close together, and rush'd upon the *Galas* like so many ravenous Lyons. The Barbarians amaz'd at this fresh Vigour, turn'd their Backs, and fled full speed. The *Abyssines* of the two Wings who had fled, were now upon a Neighbouring Hill looking on, and as soon as they saw the *Galas* run, fell into the Pursuit, and never gave over killing till Night oblig'd them to desist. The next Morning the Fields appear'd strew'd with Thousands of dead *Galas*. The Emperor lost no Time, but march'd his Victorious Army as it was embrue'd in Blood, over high and craggy Mountains, to find out the second Body of the *Galas*, and being flush'd with one Victory, his Men charg'd so successfully, that they also overthrew them with the Slaughter of the greater part. Only the third remain'd, who thought it better to fly in Time than to stand the bloody Weapons of the *Abyssines*. The Emperor understanding that 400 of them remain'd on an excessive high Mountain, to guard some Booty they had taken he attack'd them, and his Men climbing or flying up those Rocks

He routs the Galas *twice.*

the *Galas* were all cut in Pieces, tho' they made a good Defence. Thus the Victorious Emperor return'd to his Station, fear'd by Strangers, and honour'd by his own People.

Chap. X.

F. Peter Pays *goes to the Emperor's Court, where he is receiv'd with great Honour, ſays Maſs and Preaches before the Emperor; that Monarch writes to the Pope and King of* Spain, *and reſolves to embrace the Catholick Faith.*

AS ſoon as the Viceroy of *Tigre* underſtood that the Emperor was return'd Victorious over the *Galas*, he acquainted Father *Pays*, that it was Time to go to Court, and they ſet out together in *April* 1604.

The Emperors Court.

The Emperor was then at *Ondegere*, near the famous Lake of *Dambea* and the River *Nile*, where it falls into that Lake. There he had pitch'd his Camp, which is all the Court of *Ethiopia*, there being no other Royal City, as has been ſaid. There were two ſpacious Encloſures of dry Stone, with high Hedges, and within them ſeveral Appartments, all on the Ground Floor, of Stone and Clay, thatch'd, wherein conſiſted all thoſe Magnificent Structures ſome Authors have feign'd in *Ethiopia*, being more like Cottages than a Palace. The Emperor had here a large Room, to which there was a ſort of rais'd Balcony, which many of the *Abyſſines* look'd upon as a noble Building.

The Fathers Reception there.

When they came to the Camp, the Viceroy waited at the Gate of the firſt Encloſure, as is uſual for Great Men that come from Abroad, till the Emperor being advertiz'd, ſent him Orders to come in, by one of the principal Men of his Court, who ſeeing the Father, ſaluted him courteouſly, and ſaid, he would inſtantly acquaint the Emperor that he might come in.

Deſcription of the Emperor.

The Father went up to kiſs the Emperor's Hand, whom he found on his Throne, which is his Couch, well adorn'd with rich Quilts, Coverlets of Brocard, and Silk Curtins. He ſeem'd to be about 26 Years of Age, tall, well ſhaped, and Manly. His

Eyes large and bewtiful, his Noſe ſharp. His Lips thin, but his Complexion was ſomewhat tawny; and were it not for that Colour, which in *Europe* is reckned unbecoming, he would not have been inferior to the fineſt Men among us. In ſhort, his Perſon was worthy of the Empire he held, and the Majeſty he repreſented. The Father was withdrawing, after kiſſing his Hand, but the Emperor commanded, and oblig'd him, to ſit Down on the rais'd Step his Couch ſtood on, where he diſcours'd him for a conſiderable Time, without regarding the Reſt. After ſome Time, the Emperor made a Sign for the Father to withdraw, and order'd he ſhould be handſomly entertain'd.

F. Pays *gains Friends,*

The next Day he ſent for him again, and there was a long Diſputation about the *Roman* and the *Ethiopian* Faith, in the Preſence of many Perſons of Note, and ſeveral Monks: The Children alſo come in for a part, the Viceroy of *Tygre* deſiring the Emperor to hear the Schollars, as well as the Maſter, with which the Emperor was ſo well pleas'd, that he ask'd the Father, whether he had all they ſaid written in a Book, and being told, he had, order'd it to be ſent him, and the next Sunday heard *F. Pays* ſay Maſs and Preach.

The Emperor ſoon after by Proclamation forbid the keeping of the Saturday, and went on ſo faſt in other Particulars, that the Father was oblig'd to adviſe him to proceed more gently. But the Emperor, *then gave him the Letters he had already writ to the Pope, and the King of Portugal*; which the Father receiv'd, and caus'd to be tranſlated.

It is here to be obſerv'd, that in theſe Letters, the Emperor calls himſelf *Aſnaf Segned*, which was the Name he took at his Coronation, as the Popes do at their Exaltation, tho' his Chriſtian Name was *Za Danguil*, as has been obſerv'd before. It is alſo to be noted, that he charg'd the Father, to write in a Letter of his own, That he then actually ſubmitted himſelf to the Pope, and deſir'd he would ſend him a Patriarch; and to acquaint him farther, that the Forces he ask'd, were to guard his own Perſon, againſt ſuch as ſhould oppoſe his ſettling the Faith in *Ethiopia*; for tho' he pretended they were to ſerve againſt the *Galas*, thoſe People were entirely defeated, and would ſcarce return into his Dominions. But he took that Colour as not daring to truſt his Secretary, nor ſo much as to write plain with his own Hand, for fear the Letter ſhould be intercepted, and they might murder him. The Emperor's Letter to his Holineſs, dated the 26 of *June* 1604, was as follows.

May

The LETTER.

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

MAY the Letter sent by the Emperor of Ethiopia Asnaf Segued, *come safe to the Honoured Father, the Humble, Victorous, and Holy Pastor* Clement, *Pope of the Noble City of* Rome. *Peace be unto your Holiness. The Peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who partook of Poverty with the Poor, and Honour with the Honourable, preserve your Holiness's Person, and Life, like the Apple of the Eye. Amen. How does your Holiness? Hear, Sir, what we write. We being in our Empire, there came hither a Father, on whose Neck is the yoke of the Law of Christ, by Name* Peter Pays *of the House of Jesus, and brought us particular News, of your Holinesses Labouring to take away Sin, even to the Effusion of your Blood. The Eternal God, who is the Head, carry it on to the End. And having heard these News, that your Holiness always walks in the way of Truth, we rejoyc'd, and were well pleas'd Prais'd be God, who has given us a good Shepard to keep the Flocks with Holiness, and judge the Poor in Truth. He also told us, that you assisted Christians in all that is necessary, giving them Strength, and fulfiling their Desires, following that of* S. Paul *in his Epistle to the* Galatians, As we have therefore Opportunity, let us do good unto all Men, especialy unto them, who are of the Houshold of Faith. *And therefore your Holiness chiefly assists Christian Kings in all Things. Therefore since God has given us the Empire of our Forefathers, we desire to entertain Amity with your Holiness, and with our Brother,* Don Phillip, *King of* Spain; *and to the End it may be the more lasting, we desire him to send us his Daughter, to be marry'd to our Son, and with her some Forces, to assist us, because we have in our Country certain Heathen Enemies, call'd* Galas. *If we march against these, we can not find them, for they fly, and when we return, they fall in where we are not, like Robbers; and therefore to destroy them, we desire him to send us Forces, and all Sorts of Officers, and Fathers to instruct us, that we may be all one Hart, and one Body, and establish the Faith of Christ which was lost among the* Gentiles; *so that Peace, and Love may remain among us.*

My Forefathers desir'd this before, but it did not please God; they could not compass it, because the Turks *were in the way, with Power. Now the Island, where they are, may be easily taken; we therefore intreat your Holiness to press our Brother to perform what we ask of him; and that immediately, without any Delay. We write this briefly to your Holiness, as knowing you will fulfil our Desires. Moreover let the Fathers that come be Virtuous, and Learned, that they may teach us what is requisite for our Souls. Few Words to the Wise.*

This

This Letter has been inſerted entire, as it is exactly tranſlated, to ſhow the Stile of that Nation. The other Letter to King *Phillip* the 2d of *Spain*, was of the ſame Form, and the Purport of it was to ask Men, and his Daughter to Marry this Emperor's Son. The Father having receiv'd theſe Letters, withdrew immediately to find out a proper Perſon to ſend them by. Among the many Favours the Emperor did the Father, he order'd him 300 Ounces of Gold, which he abſolutely refus'd to accept of, and only deſir'd Land to build a Church, which the Emperor granted.

CHAP. XI.

The great Men conſpire againſt the Emperor Za Danguil, *what Method he took; fights the Rebels, and is kill'd; four other Fathers arrive in* Ethiopia, Socinios *proclaim'd Emperor; takes the Name of* Sultan Sugued; *the Behaviour of the Traitor* Za Selaſſe.

Za Selaſſe a Traitor.

THERE was one *Za Selaſſe*, a miſchievous Villian, who had been baniſh'd to *Narea*, the remoteſt Kingdom of *Ethiopia*, by the late Emperor *Jacob*, for conſpiring, and taking up Arms againſt him; but Fortune changing, *Jacob* was baniſh'd to *Narea*, and *Za Selaſſe*, through the Interceſſion of Friends brought to Court, by the Emperor *Za Danguil*, who made him *Xumo*, or Governour of the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and Parts adjacent, For all which Favours he prov'd ſo ungrateful, that within a few Months he rebell'd againſt that Soveregin, who had ſo highly favour'd him. This baſe Wretch, took Occaſion to rebel, becauſe he ſaw others in greater Favour with the Emperor than himſelf, as alſo on account of his favouring the *Portugueſes*, and the Catholick Religion. He therefore reſolv'd to reſtore the Crown to the Emperor *Jacob*, finding thoſe very People, who had before rejected, now well affected towards him, only through their own natural Levity and Inconſtancy. He imparted his Deſign to *Ras Athanateus*, then the greateſt Man in *Ethiopia*, next the Emperor, who had before taken the Crown of *Za Danguil*, to give it to *Jacob*, and then from *Jacob*, to reſtore it to *Za Danguil*, only for his own private Intereſt, as was ſaid above. This *Athanateus* was envious of

Conſp'ers with others.

of the Favour the Emperor ſhow'd to *Laca Mariam*, and therefore approv'd of *Selaſſe*'s, Project. The Conſpiracy having two ſuch Heads, one the wickedeſt, and the other the richeſt Man in *Ethiopia*, was ſoon eſpous'd by many others, offended at the Emperors favouring the Catholick Religion, and *Selaſſe* taking that for a Pretence to his Villany. *againſt the Emperor.*

Theſe Practcies could not be long unknown to the Emperor, who tho' he fear'd *Raz Athantaus* durſt not proceed to Extremities without fuller Proofs, and therefore diſſembled till he found that *Za Selaſſe* was the Prime Incendiary, who had already fir'd ſeveral great Men, and therefore it was neceſſary to apply ſpeedy Remedy. To this Purpoſe he call'd together his Troops, and the firſt among them the *Portugueſes*, being then about 200 Men, able to bear Arms, with their Captain *John Gabriel*; giving out that he would march againſt the *Galas*. The Danger preſſing, he mov'd his Camp, and march'd towards *Nanina*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, thinking in that ſtrong Country he might ſecure the Traitors that were about him, unleſs they ſtay'd behind, knowing it was better to have open Enemies, than Traitors in his Boſom. They underſtood his Deſign, and therefore the 2d Day as the Emperor paſs'd a great River, *Raz Athanateus* ſtay'd behind, with 300 Soldiers of his uſual Retinue. *Jonael*, another notable Perſon, and great Commander did the ſame, and the Infection had ſo far prevail'd, that every Days Journey ſome great Men forſook him, and then their Followers, for very few worſhip the ſetting Sun. *Who is forſaken by many.*

The Emperor having receiv'd a Reinforcement of about 200 Men from the Neibouring Country, and being a Man of undaunted Courage, haſted back, in Hopes of taking *Raz Athanateus* before he paſs'd the *Nile*; but he having ſtill Friends in the Army, they gave him timely Notice, and he eſcap'd. The Emperor continu'd about the *Nile* till he had gather'd 10000 Men, and reſolv'd with that Force to go meet the Enemy, who had a much greater Army; notwithſtanding *John Gabriel*, the Captain of the *Portugueſes*, a brave, and experienc'd Man, labour'd all he could to perſwade him to delay Time, ſince his Forces daily increas'd. *The Traitor* Athanateus *eſcapes.*

Za Selaſſe at this Time rang'd about like a Fury, ſtiring up the People to Rebellion, telling them *Jacob* was at Hand, with a powerfull Army, and had the Right to the Empire, ſince he held it 7 Years, and that *Za Danguil* did not deſerve it, for having forſaken the Faith of his Forefathers, and ought therefore to be ſhun'd as an excommunicated Perſon, and to be kill'd as a *Moor*. To crown the Work, he went to the *Abuna Peter*, and perſwaded him to abſolve them from their Oath of Allegiance to *Za Danguil*, which *The* Abuna *encourages Rebellion.*

which he did, and then they all thought themselvs sufficiently authoriz'd to wage War on their Sovereign.

The Emperor defeated and kill'd.

The Emperor in a few Days march came to *Varcha*, a large Plain, almost in the midst of the Kingdom of *Dambea*, near which the Rebels lay encamp'd, and presently the Noise of Kettle Drums and Shouts of the Soldiers were heard; the Traitor *Za Selasse* being sensible, that the best way was to fight immediately, as fearing that many of his Men would go over to the Emperor by Night. The Captain of the *Portugueses* for the same Reason advis'd to put off the Battel; but *Za Danguil* could not endure to be brav'd by the Rebels, and confided in the Justice of his Cause. In fine, he rang'd his Army, placing the *Portugueses* on the Right, with some of his own Men, because there were but 200 of them, and stay'd himself on the Left. It was the 13*th* of *October* 1604, when these two Armies engag'd, and the *Portugueses* falling on with the utmost Fury, the *Ethiopians* not able to stand the Shock fled, whom they pursu'd, killing great Numbers, till observing they were too far advanc'd they drew back. The Emperor was not so Fortunate on his Wing, tho' he behav'd himself like a Lyon, bearing down all before him; but 60 of his Horse deserting to the Enemy, others follow'd their Example, and many more quite daunted at that Treachery, withdrew themselves to see the Event of the Battel. Only some brave Men of Note, and faithful Servants stuck close by their Sovereign, and his Favourite *Laca Mariam* was slain by his Side. The Traitor *Za Selasse* seeing one of his Wings routed by the *Portugueses*, and fearing to be totally overthrown if they should return, charg'd the Imperialists with such Vigour, that he oblig'd those few who stood to retire. In this Confusion one *Humardin*, of a *Moorish* Race, who serv'd among the Rebels, coming up with the Emperor, gave him such a stroke with his Launce on the Neck, that he fell down desperately wounded. He started up, and defended himself bravely with his Sword, and kept them all off that surrounded him, till the Villain *Za Selasse* came up with his Launce couch'd, and wounded him on the Face, and then all the rest falling on kill'd him. His Death put an end to the Strife, which was maintain'd only for his sake.

His Burial and Translation.

The Dead Body was stripp'd by the Soldiers, and some Persons out of Respect having cover'd it with a Cloth, the Miscreant *Za Selasse* order'd it to be taken away. Thus ended that brave Emperor *Za Danguil*, whose Body even his Enemies attested cast forth a sweet Odour three Days after it was Dead, when it was carry'd to be bury'd in a little Church close by. Ten Years after the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, his Cousin, translated it with great

Pomp

Pomp to a Monastery call'd *Duga*, in the Lake of *Dambea*, the Burial Place of many Emperors; and even then it is attested by Witnesses above Reproach, that the Body was as perfect and entire as when first kill'd, without any Art us'd to it, or Embalming. His Death was universally lamented, for he was entirely belov'd, and the *Ethiopians* in their Histories call him *The Chosen, and sent by God Za Danguil.*

Let us now give an Account of the two new Comers, *F. Antony Fernandez*, a *Portuguese*, and *F. Francis Antony de Angelis*, a *Neapolitan*, and how they came into *Ethiopia*. These two were at first design'd to have come with *F. Pays*, but he having found the way we have mention'd above, they stay'd behind at *Diu* till another Opportunity. All things fell out as was desir'd; for they receiv'd Letters from *F. Peter Pays* after his Arrival in *Ethiopia*, and *Mahomet Aga*, another Servant of the *Bassa* of *Mazua*, come to *Diu*, encourag'd by the Favour *Raznam Aga* had found there before. The Fathers got acquainted with this *Aga*, and did him so many Courtesies with the Governor and Custom-house Officers, that he promis'd to carry them both safe into *Ethiopia*. They imbark'd with him aboard a Ship bound directly for *Suaqhem*, on the 24*th* of *March* 1604, and arriv'd at the aforesaid Port, where they were kindly receiv'd by the *Bassa*, upon Information of the Favours done to his Servant on their Account. He gave each of them a Brocard Vest, which is the greatest Honour they can do any Man. Next he fitted out a *Gelva*, being a small Vessel us'd in the *Red Sea*, and sent his Steward with them, giving him Orders to conduct them to *Mazua*, and furnish Horses and a Guard for their Passage to some Place of safety in *Ethiopia*. A Storm having disabled their Vessel, and forc'd them back to *Suaqhem*, the *Bassa* fitted out another, which carry'd them to *Mazua*, where they were well entertain'd by the *Quequea*, or Commander of that Island and *Arquico*, and furnish'd with a Guard till they were met by the *Portugueses* of *Fremona*, to whom notice had been sent of their coming. They came to that Place on the 24*th* of *July* 1604, where the *Portugueses* and other Catholicks receiv'd them with singular Joy and Affection.

How 2 more Jesuits got into Ethiopia.

The following Winter, whilst the 3 Fathers were still at *Fremona*, two others arriv'd there from *Diu*. They came from that Place with another Servant of the same *Bassa* of *Suaqhem*, but were in great Danger when they arriv'd at that Place, the said *Bassa* being Dead, and his Successor a most bloody covetous Villain. However, they appeas'd him for the present with rich Gifts, so that he caus'd them to be conducted into *Ethiopia*, as the others had been. Yet soon repenting, sent after to stop them, and seize

Two others escape narrowly.

all they had, but it pleas'd God his Messenger came too late. The Captain of the Ship that brought them was not so Fortunate, for the Inhuman *Bassa* laid some forg'd Crime to his Charge, for which he cut off his Head, and seiz'd the Ship and Cargo. Not so satisfy'd, he privately murther'd two *Venetians* that came in the same Ship, and took possession of all their Effects.

Socinios *his Descent.*

It will be proper here to give an Account how the Emperor *Socinios* came to the Crown. The Emperor *Onag Segued*, whom we commonly call *David*, had three Sons, the first *Glaudios* or *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the Empire, as we have mention'd above: The second was Prince *Jacob*, who dy'd before his Brother, leaving two Sons, the one call'd *Tascaro*, and the other *Faciladas*. *David*'s third Son was *Minas*, who succeeded his Brother *Glaudios*, and was call'd *Adamas Segued*, of whom we have spoken, and he had Four Sons, *Serza Danguil*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and was call'd *Malac Segued*, *Aquieter*, *Athale*, and *Lesana Christos*, and *Za Danguil* last spoken of was Son to the last of them. *Tascaro*, Son to Prince *Jacob*, revolted against his Uncle *Minas*, or *Adamas Segued*, and being routed and taken, was cast headlong from a high Rock. *Faciladas* liv'd many Years possess'd of considerable Lands in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and was at last kill'd fighting against the *Galas*. *Socinios* we now speak of was Son to this *Faciladas*, and had spent his first Youthful Years in great Adversity, yet always with a Resolution above his Fortune.

Aspires to the Throne.

He had been some time up in Arms, without aspiring to the Empire, to oblige those in Command to give him his Fathers Lands, which they possess'd; but when he found the Throne Vacant by the Death of his Kinsman *Za Danguil*, and that *Jacob* before rejected, as being a Bastard to *Malac Segued*, was very remote in the Kingdom of *Narea*, he began to entertain Thoughts of obtaining the Empire, which Fortune now offer'd him. Besides, he was very well attended by many brave Men, who had follow'd him in all his Wars, and encouraged him to lay hold of this favourable Opportunity, since he had the best Title to the Crown, and they would Sacrifice their Lives to set it on his Head. *Socinios* approving of their Advice, and resolving to lose no Time, sent immediately a Man of Quality call'd *Bella Christos*, from the Kingdom of *Amara*, where he then was, to *Ras Athanateus*, the Viceroy of *Gojam*, desiring he would assist him with his Forces. He stay'd not for an Answer, but passing the *Nile*, enter'd that Kingdom of *Gojam*, and sent again to *Athanateus* to come and meet him. He not knowing which way to avoid it, or what Party to take, came and joyn'd him with all his Troops,

by

by whom, and thoſe he had before *Socinios*, was ſaluted Emperor, by the Name of *Sultan Segued*.

He ſent next to *Za Selaſſe*, as the Prime Contriver of all the Rebellion, to come to meet him, ſince he was admitted to the Throne of his Fore-fathers; who after conſulting with his Aſſociates, return'd for Anſwer, that they thought the Crown belong'd to *Jacob*, as having been once poſſeſs'd of it, yet if he came not by *June* they would admit him. *Socinios* not liking this Anſwer, ſent again a Nobleman and a Monk, with a Letter, importing, That ſince he had been once proclaim'd, he would never reſign the Empire to *Jacob*, nor to his own Father, if he ſhould come to Life again. *Za Selaſſe* ſecur'd the Meſſengers, and march'd with his whole Army to *Gojam*, to deliver his Anſwer with Sword in Hand; but *Socinios* retir'd into the Kingdom of *Amara*, being then Sick, as alſo to gain Time, hoping many would come over to him, and he might end the Quarrel without Bloodſhed. The Summer of 1605 was now almoſt ſpent, and *Jacob* came not from *Narea*, nor any News of him, whereupon the Great Men perſwaded *Za Selaſſe* not to loſe Time, but rather to own *Socinios*. He, fearing to be forſaken by them, comply'd, and ſent to invite and acknowledge him as Emperor. *Socinios* ſent a Monk to adminiſter to them the Oath of Fidelity, and excommunicate ſuch as ſhould refuſe to take it, which is the greateſt Tye among them. They all ſwore, and proclaim'd *Socinios*, Ten of them ſetting out immediately, and meeting him in *Begameder*, whither he was already advanc'd, congratulating his Acceſſion to the Crown, and proteſting to ſtand by him againſt all Pretenders, and even *Jacob* himſelf by Name, ſhould he then come from *Narea*. How well they kept their Promiſe we ſhall ſee in the next Chapter.

The Traitor Za Selaſſe ſubmits to him.

Chap. XII.

Socinios *forſaken by the* Abyſſines, *and* Jacob *enthron'd; he moves to fight* Socinios, *and is deſerted by the Traitor* Za Selaſſe; Jacob *is kill'd, Socinios Emperor, his Character; the end of* Za Selaſſe, *and* Ras Athanateus; *the Emperor's Affection to the Fathers.*

Revolts again to Jacob.

WHILST thoſe Great Men above mention'd were in the Kingdom of *Begameder*, doing Homage to *Socinios*, in the behalf of *Za Selaſſe*, News was brought him that *Jacob* was near *Dambea*, with Orders to go meet him. The Traitor believing there was more to be got by *Jacob* than by *Socinios*, without any Regard to the Oath he had juſt taken, went immediately to meet and own the former, being follow'd by all the Army, and others he had bred to his Beck. At the ſame time he writ privately to thoſe he had ſent to *Socinios*, bidding them get away as faſt as they could, becauſe his Mind was alter'd; which they did ſo ſlily, that *Socinios* could only take two of them, who paid for all the Reſt. That Emperor finding himſelf too weak to call *Za Selaſſe* to an Account for his Perjury, and *Jacob* for his Uſurpation, retired again into the Kingdom of *Amara*, till a more favourable Conjuncture.

Socinios *withdraws.*

Jacob *proclaim'd Emperor.*

Great was the Joy with which the new Emperor *Jacob* was receiv'd by the Army, and all other People, as if they had only deſir'd to ſee ſuch Changes every Day. *Za Selaſſe* was made Governor General, and as it were the Emperor's General. *Ras Athanateus* hearing what had happen'd, came in with his Forces: *Jacob* however conſidering the Inſtability of human Felicities, would have compounded with *Socinios*, offering him the Kingdoms of *Amara*, *Oleac* and *Xaoa*, with all the Lands his Father enjoy'd, provided he would quit his Claim to the Empire. *Socinios* anſwer'd, That God had plac'd him on the Throne, and therefore he would have all or none. *Jacob* hearing this reſolute Anſwer, and finding himſelf very ſtrong, march'd immediately towards *Socinios*, or *Sultan Segued*, for by this Name we muſt call him, and encamp'd cloſe by him. He obſerving what a Multi-

Jacob *offers to compound with* Socinios.

tude.

tude follow'd his Competitor, thought it beſt to draw back for the preſent, till a better Opportunity.

When *Jacob* march'd againſt *Sultan Segued*, the Traitor *Za Selaſſe* was not with him, for that tricking haughty Knave could not endure to ſee any Man above himſelf, and was willing to try which ſide was like to have the better, before he would eſpouſe either; but all his wicked Policy avail'd him not, for he fell into a Snare he little imagin'd, which was thus: *Sultan Segued* being inform'd by his Spies, that *Za Selaſſe* was marching ſecurely at a diſtance from *Jacob*, lay in Ambuſh for him in a Bottom by which he was to paſs, call'd *Monta Defer*, where he attack'd him ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch Bravery, that he entirely routed his Forces, killing a great Number and taking many Priſoners; ſo that *Za Selaſſe* himſelf narrowly eſcap'd with very few Attendants, and leaving behind all his Army and Treaſure. Thus he came much dejected to the Emperor *Jacob*'s Camp, who receiv'd him with an uneaſy Countenance, either becauſe he knew why he had ſtay'd behind, or that he was troubled for the loſs of ſo many Men, and look'd upon it as an ill Omen of his future Succeſs. *Za Selaſſe*, who could not brook being ſlighted by any Man, being a falſe Villain, preſently forgot to what a Pitch *Jacob* had rais'd him, and without further delay writ privately to *Sultan Segued*, that he would come over to him, and follow'd the Letter himſelf, meeting him in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, of which *Jacob* had made him Viceroy.

Socinios *routs* Za Selaſſe.

Who revolts to him from Jacob.

The Emperor *Jacob* was much troubled at the Loſs of ſo great a Man, and fearing that others might follow him, reſolv'd to give Battel, as ſoon as poſſible. To this end he March'd up and incamped in Sight of his Enemy, but the Ground being Marſhy, he decamp'd, and mov'd ſtill in Sight of him to *Debra Zeyte*, whence after halting awhile he advanc'd to a Valley near the Banks of *Lebert*. *Sultan Segued*, like another *Fabius Maximus*, kept along the Mountains, and high Grounds, watching all Opportunities. At length on Saturday Morning, being the 10th of March 1607 *Sultan Segued's* Army moving from the Place, where they had lain that Night, the Enemy, who were reckoned Thirty to one, believing they had fled, purſu'd them with great Shouts. *Sultan Segued* had no Thoughts of fighting that Day, but obſerving how his Adverſaries came on, he encourag'd his Troops with Promiſe of Rewards, and of ſharing with them in the Danger, and then led them on. His Men were ſo animated with his Words, and Example, that coming down the Hills, like an Impetuous Torrent, they gave *Jacob's* Army ſuch a Charge, that the *Ethiopian* Hiſtorian *Tino*, ſays the Enemies fell down before his Face, as the withe'r'd

Jacob *routed and kill'd.*

wither'd Leaves do in Autumn before the Wind. *Jacob* himself was born down in the Hurly Burly, no Man being able to boast that he had kill'd him. There also dy'd their *Abuna Peter*, who had taken that Side, the Person that slew him, alledging for his Excuse, that he thought he had kill'd a *Turk*. Thus ended the unfortunate *Jacob*, twice rais'd to the Throne, the first Time to be sent to Banishment, and the 2d to quit it with his Life.

Many kill'd falling from Precipces.

Sultan Segued being inform'd of his Death, immediatly order'd the Pursuit to cease, to spare the Multitude; yet Fear had so possess'd the routed Army, that there was no stopping their Flight, which they continu'd in the Night, many of them in the dark falling headlong from the Rocks. The next Day 600 Horse were found dash'd in Pieces, at the Foot of a Rock an hundred yards high, and more dy'd this Way, than by the Sword. *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* affirms, that one *Emanuel Gonzalves*, a *Portuguese*, who was living in his Days, told him, That he flying among the Rest, his Horse took a leap off one of those Rocks, and he seeing the desperate fall, let go his Bridle, and took fast hold of the Branch of a Tree, by which he hung, whilst the Horse falling, was dash'd in Pieces. He spent the Night on the Tree, and the next Morning having view'd the Dang'r he escap'd, came down safe. *Ras Athanateus*, who as has been said, had joyn'd *Jacob*, got off, and took Sanctuary in the Monastery of *Dima*, and was afterwards pardon'd, the Emperors Brother *Ras Sela Christos*, and others interceding for him. All the rest that escap'd were forgiven, and restor'd their Employments to them. Only one *Mahardin*, of *Mooriſh* Race, pay'd for all, his Head being struck off, because he was the first that wounded the late Emperor *Za Danguil* with his Lance, in the Battle where he was kill'd. Of the Victors only three were kill'd. Some *Portuguese*'s were also slain, who had sided with *Jacob*, and gave him great Assurance of Succes.

Socinios, *or* Sultan Segued *restor'd.*

Sultan Segued gain'd more Reputation by his Clemency after the Victory, than he had done by his Valour in the Battel; and that purchas'd him the Affection of all his Enemies, who came in to submit themselves to him. He was 33 Years of Age, very genteel, and well shap'd, long visag'd but proportionable, his Head spread, his Eyes of a Hazle Colour, sparkling, and very amiable, so that he seem'd to oblige all Men with his Looks, his Nose sharp, his Lips thin, his Beard black, and broad, his Stature above the Middle Size, well set, and brawny, and only his Tawny Complexion show'd him not to be an *European*. He was an excellent Horse-Man, brave, resolute, sharp witted, well read in the *Ethiopian* Books, discreet, Courteous, Bountifull, Martial, enur'd to Hardship, as having been above ten Years continually in

in Arms, without one Days Intermission. He rested three Days after his Victory in the Field of Battel, rejoicing, dividing the Booty with wonderfull Generosity, rewarding the Soldiers who had signaliz'd themselves, and endeavouring to please all Men. This done he set forward for *Coga*, a Place betwixt *Dambea*, and *Begameder*, where *Jacob* us'd to keep his Court.

Za Selasse *his many Villanies.*

The Mischievous Traitor *Za Selasse*, was meanly born, and had serv'd some Men of Quality, by whom for his ready Wit, and Vivacity he was preferr'd to the Emperor *Malac Segued*. His Son and Successor *Jacob* held him in great Esteem on Account of his Readiness in Dispatch of Business, giving him many Lands and preferring him in the Army, till he came to be General. Yet the ungrateful Wretch rebell'd against his Benefactor, as has been said, and was by him therefore banish'd to *Narea*. The Emperor *Za Danguil* recall'd, and rais'd him again, and he again rose up in Arms, and was the Death of that Prince, restoring *Jacob*, who in Requital made him Viceroy of *Gojam*, with the Title of *Behet Oaded*, which is as much as the Emperors Vicar, or Lieutenant, throughout all his Dominions, to requite all which Favours, he again betray'd *Jacob*, going over to *Sultan Segued*. This Monster had more Mischief in his Head against the last mention'd Emperor, but his Reward was now at Hand, for, contrary to his Natural Sagacity, he let slip some Words, which were his Ruin, saying, Some wise Men had foretold, that he was to kill three Kings, and he had destroy'd two already. These Words were persently carry'd to *Sultan Segued*, who, tho' not credulous of Prophecies, was unwilling that *Za Selasse* should continue to verify them, being so likely a Man to carry on any wicked Design. For this reason he kept Spies upon him continually, and he observing it, contriv'd to get away from the Court, which the Emperor hearing, he caus'd him to be secur'd, and sent to the strong Mountain call'd *Guzman* in the Kingdom of *Gojam*. After a Years Imprisonment he made his Escape to the Province of *Oleca*, where gathering some Men, he became a famous Ringleader of Robbers, like the *Banditti* in *Italy*. After some Time, he made an Incursion into the Kingdome of *Gojam*, where he had been Viceroy; there the People lying in Ambush surpriz'd, and kill'd him, sending his Head, stuck upon a Spear, to the Emperor, who caus'd it to be set up before his Palace, for all Men to see the End of that common Disturber.

His deserved End.

Ras Athanateus, who had also been sufficiently embroil'd in Rebellion, went not unrewarded, for the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, remembering his Ambitious Practices took a Dislike to him, and gave away many of his Lands to others of the Royal Family. To forward his Ruin, his Wife, the Daughter of the Emperor *Malac Segued*

And of Athanateus.

Segued, ſhook him off, as is uſual in *Ethiopia*, and being thus forſaken by all People, and even his Wife, he ended his Life in a very mean Condition, tho' he had been the greateſt Man in the Empire, next the Emperor.

Lands given the Jeſuits *for ever.*

The new Emperor *Socinios*, granted that the Lands given to the *Jeſuits* ſhould be ſettled upon them for ever, which in that Country, is done after this Manner. An *Azage*, or an *Umbar*, who is a ſort of Judge, goes in the Emperor's Name, quite round the ſaid Lands, upon the Borders of them, with the Imperial Waights playing, to call together the People from the Neighbouring Parts, who never fail upon this Signal, and theſe are to be Witneſſes to the Landmarks then plac'd. For the more Surety there are Goats kill'd in ſeveral Places, and their Heads bury'd, which ſerve alſo as Landmarks, and they are ſeverely puniſh'd, who preſume to remove any of theſe Boundaries. The Lands thus given in *Ethiopia* enjoy great Immunities, and are perpetual; but in ſuch Nature as may be expected in a Country ſo ſubject to Changes, and Revolutions, as may be ſeen in this Work.

CHAP. XIII.

The Fathers going to Court are treated by the Emperor at Dinner; the Deſcription of his Table; he writes to the Pope, and King of Spain; *an Impoſtor pretends himſelf to be the Emperor* Jacob, *and raiſes a Rebellion; he is ſeveral Times routed; the Ceremony of the Emperor's Coronation.*

THE *Jeſuits* had been gone from Court but little above a Month before the Emperor, miſſing their Company, ſent to call them to Court, with Orders, becauſe it was then Winter, and bad travelling by Land, that they ſhould come by the Lake of *Dambea*. They imbark'd in *Tancoas*, which are very little Boats made of *Tabua* being very large Ruſhes, before ſpoken of, as well as the Boats themſelves. In theſe they coaſted along, not dearing to venture out, becauſe the leaſt Motion of the Water overſets them,

as

as do the River Horses to devour those that are in them; and in striking over a small Creek they were in great Danger from one of those Monsters making at them, but escap'd almost miraculously to the other Shore, where that Creature left them for want of Water. They arriv'd safe at *Coga*, where the Emperor came to receive them at the Door of his Apartment and invited them to dine with him the next Day. *River Horses*

We will here give an Account of the Meanness of that Princes, Table, to compare it with the Grandeur of the Ancient *Romans*. Two Tables were plac'd in the Antichamber, a small one for the Emperor, and a larger for the Fathers, both of them without any curious Damask Cloth, or Napkins, or gilt Plate. When Dinner Time came, a Curtin was drawn betwixt the Emperor's Table, and that for the Fathers, an inviolable Custom in *Ethiopia*, where no Man sees the Emperor at Dinner, but only two or three Servants that Wait. Then came in ten Women, bringing the Dinner, they in the same Dress as those who serve great Ladies, being a Sort of Gown of course Cotton Cloth, very long and wide, girt about with a great Sash, over which the Gown being drawn up hangs in large Folds. These Women bring two or three *Macobos*, which are like large Table baskets, and very lofty, because cover'd with high Lids, like Caps, the whole made of Straw, or Rushes of several Colours. In these *Macobos*, or Baskets, were 20, or 30 *Apas*, that is thin Cakes, like our frying Oat Cakes, made of Wheat, Pease, and their Grain call'd *Tef*. These *Apas* are very large, and thin, at least half a yard Diameter, and some three Quarters. After these Women follow'd others, bringing several Sorts of Pottage, or Broth, in black Earthen Porringers, cover'd with Things like Hats, made of fine Straw, the Body of those Hats being very tall, and slender, but the Brims broad, to cover the Porringers, which are also very wide, but not deep. *The Emperor's Entertainment.*

The Table is a round Board, an Ell, or yard and half Diameter, plac'd on Carpets on the Ground, which they cover all over with the *Apas*, without any other Cloth, or Napkins, and on those *Apas* they place the Porringers. And this is all the State of the *Ethiopian* Tables, for they have neither Knife, Fork, nor Spoon, Salt, Pepper Caster or any other Utensil. And it is to be observ'd, that those very *Apas* which serve instead of Napkins, and Dishes, are also part of the Food. When the *Barindo*, which is the raw Beef, being the greatest Dainty at the Table, is brought in, they lay it on the *Apas*, and the Emperor of *Ethiopia* himself takes out a little Knife he carries about him, and cuts the Beef, or has it cut by his Pages, who only wait at Table, without any Steward, Controler, Carvers, Cupbearers, or any other Officers. *Homely Service.*

Great Men fed by others. The same Pages put the Morsels into his Mouth, which Custom is observ'd, not only by the Emperors, but by all the Great Men of *Ethiopia*, who look upon it as too much Trouble to feed themselves. Nor is this the worst, for these Morsels are generally of the soft of the Bread, or of the *Apas* crumbled in the Hand, wetted in several Liquors and so Moulded over, as if they were kneeding it, and sometimes these Morsels are so big, that they can scarce be put into the Mouth, and yet they thrust them in, much as we cram Chickens.

Drinking after the Meal. Thus much as to the Emperor's Table, and indeed those Emperors are much in the right, in not suffering any Body to see such a disagreable way of feeding. Nothing has been hitherto said of their Wine, because they never drink, whilst they are eating; but when all is taken away, they bring in the Pitchers, and then discourse, as long as the Liquor lasts; for as soon as the Liquor is out, they all slip away, without taking the least Notice of one another.

An Impostor represents the Emp. Jacob. All Countries can produce Instances of Impostors, who have taken upon them to represent others, in order to raise themselves, and *Ethiopia* at this Time afforded one very remarkable. The Emperor *Sultan Segued* repairing to his Court at *Coga* in the beginning of the Winter 1608, sent his Brother *Cella Christos*, Viceroy into *Tygre*, and *Asa Christos* his Brother by the Mother's Side into *Begameder*. At the same Time a poor rascally Youth durst presume to feign he was the Emperor *Jacob*, kill'd the Year before, as has been related. He being a crafty contriving Knave, chose the properest Place for his Purpose, which was the Monastery of *Bisan*, not far from the Port of *Mazua*, on the Mountains, which look upon the Red Sea, the Monks being of the Reform'd Order of Abba *Eustateus*, and very numerous, as spreading all about the Country, and the only Curates, in those Parts. The pretended *Jacob* declar'd himself to these Men, and they, hoping to be favour'd by him, gave out that it had pleas'd God to send them the true Emperor *Jacob*, which the credulous People of *Tygre* believing, they flock'd thither to own and support him, without examining any farther.

His Disguise and Arts. This Impostor being nothing like the true *Jacob* in Countenance, wore a Scarfe on his Head, which coming down under his Chin, he spread part of it over his Mouth covering the greatest Part of his Face, alledging, he did it, because in the Battel he had receiv'd a Stroke of a Spear, which beat out his Teeth, and had left a great Deformity. Many, without farther examining, pity'd his Misfortune, others brought him in Mules, and Horses, and others Arms, hoping to be generously rewarded, which he

was

was not ſhort in promiſing, as venturing nothing of his own. And the beſt was, that whenſoever he wanted any thing, he ſhow'd that Piece of a Face, and immediately all that beheld it, rais'd a Diſmal Cry of Lamentation out of Pity, and gave him all they had. Thus the *Ethiopians* being fond of Novelty flock'd to him daily in Throngs, and particularly all ſuch as liv'd by robbing found in him Protection.

Being now follow'd by a great Multitude, he came down from the Mountains of *Biſan*, towards *Debaroa*, and having taken a little Gold from a Caravan of Natives, beat it out into Plates, which he put about his Hat, all the Crown of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, being only a Hat lin'd with Silk, and plated with Gold, and Silver. The Viceroy of *Tygre Cella Chriſtos* hearing of the Impoſtor's progreſs, march'd againſt him, with what Forces he could gather, and tho' much inferior in Number, his Men being diſciplin'd, routed him, and he fled to the high Mountains, which were cloſe by. All the Kingdom of *Tygre* was now in Confuſion, and many Bands of Robbers rang'd about; one of which containing 800 Men, and commanded by the Governor of *Auxum* whom they call *Nebret*, deſigning to fall upon *Fremona*, the Viceroy haſted to ſave that Place, whereupon the Robber return'd. The Impoſtor hearing, that the Viceroy was gone, came down again from the Mountains, gathering in a few Days 25000 arm'd Men, and march'd to plunder *Fremona*, whence he was inform'd the Viceroy had withdrawn. The People of the Town fled, and he drew near, but underſtanding that the Viceroy was at Hand, retir'd again into the Mountains. His Men ſeeing how ſmall a Number follow'd the Viceroy came down, and he falling on vigorouſly drove them back again with a mighty Slaughter, which ſo diſcourag'd the Rebel, that he fled again to the Mountains of the *Amacens*, beyond *Debaroa*, upon the Sea Coaſt.

Is twice defeated, and flyes to the Mountains.

The Viceroy perceiving he could not take the Rebel, who as faſt as he loſt any Men, gather'd more, and that all the Kingdom of *Tygre*, the beſt in *Ethiopia*, was in Confuſion, he writ to his Brother the Emperor, acquainting him, that his Preſence was neceſſary, for the rectifying of theſe Diſorders. *Sultan Segued* being upon his March, receiv'd Advice, that the *Gallas*, had broke into the Kingdom of *Begameder*, againſt whom he return'd, overthrew them, and came back to *Cogu*, where he continu'd eight Days. In the mean while a Report was ſpread abroad throughout *Tygre* that the Emperor had been routed and kill'd by the *Gallas*, which put all that Kingdom into an Uproar. The Impoſtor receiv'd the ſame News, with the Addition that the Viceroy was fled, and had left all his Tents behind him. This incourag'd the Rebel to come down into the Plain, where he was ſoon undeceiv-

Routed a 3d Time.

ed, for the Viceroy met, and after a sharp Dispute routed him, with greater Slaughter than before; yet the Counterfeit Emperor got off again to his Mountains.

The Emperor crown'd.

As soon as the Emperor had settled his Affairs at *Coga*, he set forwards for *Tygre*, and pass'd the Mountain *Lamalmon*, which parts that Kingdom from the Inland of *Ethiopia*, incamping near *Aczum*, where he resolv'd to be crown'd, as we have said is the Custom of those Princes, being met by the Viceroy, his Brother, and *F. Peter Pays*, whom he receiv'd very graciously. On Sunday the 23th of March 1609, the Day appointed for the Coronation, the Masters of the Ceremonies came, bringing the *Ritual*, which they read, and expounded to him. Then the Foot drew up being about 25000 Men, who march'd before, and after them the Horse, in Number 1500, all in their best Accoutrements, and lastly came the Emperor, with all the Prime Persons, richly clad, and well mounted with Costly Furniture. He had on a fine Vest of Crimson Damask, and over it a *Turkish* Robe of Brocade, like the ancient *Roman* Gowns, the Sleeves streight, but so long that they hung down to the Ground, as would the Vest, and upper Garment, if let loose, the first of which was girt with a broad Girdle, all of Pieces of Gold curiously wrought, and on his Neck a thick Chain of Gold which went several Times about, hanging down on his Breast, and the Ends of it falling deep behind, all which, he being a handsome Man, became him very well.

Ridiculous Ceremonies.

About two Musket-shots from the Church of *Aczum*, is a large Stone all over carv'd with unknown Characters, near to which they usually perform the Ceremony of cutting the Line or Cord, mention'd in the first Book, which is stretch'd across the way by the Maidens of *Sion*. There the Emperor alighted, with all his Court, the Ground was cover'd with large and rich Carpets, the Great Men drew up on both sides, the Maidens stopp'd the way, crossing it with the Silk Line, up to which the Emperor went three times, and being ask'd by the Maidens, Who he was, the first and second time answer'd, *I am King of* Israel. The Maids reply'd, *Then you are not our King.* Then he drew back smiling, as among others was testify'd by the Captain of the *Portugueses*, who was present, and to whom the Emperor the Night before had said, He thought that Ceremony impertinent and ridiculous. Being ask'd the third Time, Who he was? He answer'd, *I am King of* Sion, and drawing the Sword he wore cut the Line, the Maids then saying, *You are truly our King of* Sion; and then the Air resounded with Acclamations of Joy, Vollies of small Shot, and the Noise of Trumpets, Kettle Drums, Waights, and all other Musical Instruments. Near to the Silk Line waited the

Abuna

Abuna Simon, who came with him for this purpoſe from *Dambea*, with all the Clergy, Monks and *Debteras*, all of them ſinging Pſalms, and other Songs in their Language. Thence they conducted him to the firſt Court before the Church, where the Coronation was perform'd with the uſual Ceremonies. Then the Emperor went into the Church, where he heard Maſs, and communicated, and thence return'd to the Camp with the Crown on his Head. They uſe no Scepter in *Ethiopia*, nor is the Crown any other than a Hat with broad Brims, lin'd with blue Velvet, and cover'd with Gold and Silver Plates, ſhap'd like Flower de Luces, and ſome falſe Jewels; for they have no true Stones, nor can they be perſwaded they ſhould be of ſuch value among us. *The Crown.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Emperor returns out of Tigre; *the Viceroy Defeats the Impoſtor's Forces; he is taken and beheaded*; F. Peter Pays *obtains the Emperor's Pardon for ſeveral Rebels.*

THE Fame of the Solemnity of the Emperor's Coronation being ſpread Abroad, could not but mortify the Impoſtor and his Followers, who had thought him Dead; yet the Emperor was not willing to leave him ſo, for hearing he skulk'd on the Mountains about *Debaroa*, he march'd thither after him. Before he mov'd he ſent his Brother *Ras Cella Chriſtos* to *Dambea*, againſt two other Rebels that were raiſing Troubles there, one of whom he kill'd in the Field, and ſent the other Priſoner to the Emperor, who caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off. In his way he viſited the Fathers Houſe at *Fremona*, and gave them the value of 300 Pieces of Eight, leaving the *Abuna Simon* there to be inſtructed in the Catholick Faith. As ſoon as the Rebel was inform'd of the Emperor's Approach, not being able to withſtand him, he diſmiſs'd what Forces he had, and hid himſelf in the Mountains of *Baroa*, and being perfectly acquainted with them, found there a very private Cave, in which he lay concealed with only 4 Servants, and *Two other Rebels cut off.* *The Impoſtor in a Cave.*

and such was his Precipitation, that he had not leisure to lay in any other Store besides a few Goats, to live upon their Milk. This Contrivance so far avail'd him, that tho' the Emperor ascended the Mountains, and employ'd all his Army in searching every Hole and Corner, he could never find him out. Hereupon, the Winter drawing near, the Emperor set forward for *Dambea*, taking with him his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, who was return'd to him after subduing the Rebels above mention'd, and leaving in his Place as Viceroy of *Tigre*, a Nobleman of singular Wisdom and Valour, call'd *Ansala Christos*, with particular Charge to pursue the Impostor to Death; and this done came himself to *Goga* on the 7*th* of *July* 1609.

Defeat of another Rebel. The new Viceroy *Ansala Christos*, left no Stone unturn'd for finding out of the pretended *Jacob*, but he kept so close that all prov'd in vain. In the mean while he happen'd to fall Sick, and lay encamp'd near *Fremona*, with a very small number of Men, which a Man of Quality of the House of *Sire*, whose Name was *Sabat Ab*, who liv'd like an Outlaw, and sided with the false *Jacob*, understanding, he gather'd 1500 Robbers, thinking to surprize and murther the Viceroy at *Guelguel* where he lay. He march'd in order to it all Night, and had certainly succeeded, but that one of his Men stole away, and taking the shorter Cut, gave the Viceroy timely Intelligence. Those few Men the Viceroy had were drawn out under the Shelter of the Houses, that they might not be seen by the Enemy, who entring the Place without the least Apprehension, were receiv'd with a Volley of Shot, which so terrify'd and daunted them, being altogether unprepar'd for Fight, that most of them fell flat on their Faces at the first Fire, and then starting up fled without fighting one stroke, the Viceroys Men pursuing them with great Slaughter, and returning with 17 Prisoners.

He is taken and executed This Success seem'd to Cure the Viceroy, who presently drew near the Mountains where the Impostor skulk'd, who knowing him to be an active Discreet Man, durst not trust to those Fastnesses, and therefore went away to *Bora*, another Mountainous Part of the Country, where there were two Great Men related to the late Emperor *Jacob*, who whilst they thought him to be the Man he gave out, promis'd to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. He repair'd to them with only 600 Men, and was affectionately receiv'd, believing him to be what he profess'd; but they being perfectly well acquainted with the true *Jacob*, could not be impos'd upon by this Cheat, tho' he show'd them but a small part of his Face. They presently agreed to secure him, and discover his Face; but he suspecting it, fled with his 600 Men

and they ſurrounded the Mountain ſearching every lurking Place, where many of his Followers were kill'd, and at length the Impoſtor himſelf was taken, his Muffler pull'd off, and it appear'd that he had not the leaſt Scar or Hurt in his Face. Thus was he expos'd to all Perſons thereabouts, and then his Head cut off, which thoſe two Noblemen ſent to the Emperor, and he order'd it to be carry'd throughout the Kingdom of *Tygre*, that all Men might ſee by whom they had been deluded.

Thoſe that deliver'd him ſue for Pardon.

This Sight ſoon pacify'd all that Kingdom, the People readily ſubmitting to the true Emperor. who puniſh'd ſome few, but pardon'd many more. *Amada Guerguis*, one of thoſe two Brothers who had kill'd the Impoſtor, came to the Viceroy, intreating him to intercede with the Emperor to Pardon them, for having at firſt ſided with the counterfeit *Jacob*, alledging the Merit of taking him off; for ſtill they were guilty of high Treaſon, becauſe they took Part with him, as long as they thought he was the true *Jacob*, tho' they fell off when they found him to be a Cheat.

The end of the ſecond Book.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF THE JESUITS IN *ETHIOPIA.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The Emperor's Brother Ras Cella Chriſtos *converted; the Emperor contrives to ſend an Embaſſador to* Portugal *and* Rome; *he ſets out with one of the Fathers for* Narea, *their Journey thither; an Account of that Kingdom, and their Reception there.*

The Court removes.

WE begin this Third Book with the Year 1610. It is uſual in *Ethiopia* for the Emperors to remove their Court, leaving nothing behind them but the bare Fields, or Mountains, on which they encamp'd, becauſe, as has been ſaid, all the Houſes, Churches and Palaces there are built with Poles, *Bamboos* Canes and Straw, or at beſt with Stone, Clay or Mud. When they remove, they carry away the Timber and *Bamboos*, which ſerve

serve for Windows, Doors, and Beams, leaving the Straw, which soon rots, the Clay, which returns to the Earth it came from, and the Stones. So it was done this Year 1610, when the Emperor left *Coesa*, and remov'd to *Deghana*, a Place near the Lake of *Dambea*, on the North Side, and close by *Gorgorra*, where the Fathers were settled. There the Court continu'd a Year, and mov'd on Account of Sickness to a Peninsula call'd *New Gorgorra*, near the Old, where the Fathers dwelt. Here the Fathers had frequent Conferences with the Emperor and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*. The Emperor was a judicious Man, and saw into the Truth of the Catholick Doctrine, and therefore contriv'd that his Nobility should be present, when there were any Disputes about Religion, and they were amaz'd to see their *Haymanot Abben*, which is their *Bibliotheca Patrum*, teach the very same the Fathers defended, concerning the two distinct Natures in our Saviour, finding the contrary only in the Writings of some Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, who liv'd after the Heretick *Dioscorus*.

The Emperor's Brother converted.

In the Year 1612, the Emperor going to *Gojam*, made his Brother *Rae Cella Christos* Viceroy of that Kingdom, which was almost the same as making him King, because he enjoy'd all the Revenues of that Country, and was obey'd like the Emperor himself. The new Viceroy was affable, and generous, and a great Favourer of the Fathers, and the *Portugueses*, well read in all the *Ethiopian* Books, and therefore lov'd to hear the Disputes between the Fathers, and the Native learned Men. At length, they being fully convinc'd, he not only embrac'd the Catholick Faith, but publickly own'd it, and constantly persisted in it till his Death. His Reputation, and Interest being so great, the Example he gave was soon follow'd by most of his Officers, who were all reconcil'd to the Church. Next the Viceroy order'd a Church, and a Residence for the Fathers to be built, being that of *Collela*, the first in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and the third the *Jesuits* had in *Ethiopia*; whereof the first was at *Fremona*, in the Kingdom of *Tygre*, and the 2d at *Gorgorra*, in that of *Dambea*. To this purpose he bestow'd good Lands on the said Church, and for the Maintenance of the Widows, and Orphans of many Sons of the *Portugueses*, who were dispers'd about the Empire, and in great Want.

Churches built.

In the Year 1607, when the Emperor *Sultan Segued* began his Reign, *F. Pays* perceiving the good Disposition there was in him towards the Catholick Faith, and how kind he was to the *Portugueses*, sent an Account to his Catholick Majesty, King *Philip* the 2d. That Prince upon the Receipt of this Intelligence writ to the said Emperor, congratulating his Accession to the Throne, and exhorting him to proceed in what he had so well begun. *Sultan Segued*

The Emperor's good Disposition.

gued was highly pleas'd with that Letter, and immediately contriv'd not only to answer it, but how to send an Embassador to *India*, and *Portugal*. Many Letters pass'd between this Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Pope, which are here for Brevity Sake omitted, tho' we could insert them all, the Originals being still preserv'd at *Lisbon*, among the Records, which will verify the Truth of what is here deliver'd, but that the inserting of them would too much enlarge this Volume, and therefore they are pass'd by in this Translation, tho' several of them are in the *Portugueſe* Original; and no Question to be made of their being true Copies, since the Author refers to the Place where they may be seen.

Sends an Embassador to Portugal.

In all his Letters, the Emperor press'd for a Supply of 1000 Men to enable him to declare for the See of *Rome*, as foreseeing the Difficulties that would arise in that Undertaking. Therefore not satisfyed with the Letters that went by the way of *Mazua*, he contriv'd to send an Embassador of his own, through his Kingdom of *Narea*, to the Coast of *Melinde*, that he might there imbark for *India*, and thence sail in the Fleet to *Portugal*. This he thought the safest Method for his Embassador to escape falling into the Hands of the *Turks*, at *Mazua*, and believing the way from *Narea* to *Melinde* to be short, and easy. He acquainted the Fathers with his Design, and the Reasons of it, desiring, for his better Reception, that one of them would go with him. They all offer'd their Service, but the Lot fell upon *F. Antony Fernandez*, and the Emperor appointed for his Embassador *Tacur Egzy*, a Person of great Prudence, and Resolution, and very Zealous for the Catholick Religion, which he had already embrac'd; his Name of *Tecur Egzy* signifying, beloved of the Lord. Both he, and the Father foresaw the Difficulties, and Impracticablness of this Journey, by reason of the length of the unknown Way, among *Moors*, *Turks*, *Cafres*, and other Barbarous Nations, however they prepar'd for it, and the Emperor having deliver'd his Letters, and furnish'd all Necessaries, they set out at the Beginning of *March* 1613 from *Dambea*, to *Gojam*, with 10 *Portugueſes*, 4 of whom offer'd to attend them to *India*, and the other 6 to return from the Kingdom of *Narea*.

His Way to Narea.

The Viceroy entertain'd them with singular Affection, till some *Gallas*, and *Xates* came to him, whom he had sent for, to convoy them safe to *Narea*, because much of the Way is inhabited by those two Nations. These being well rewarded, and promis'd a greater Recompence upon their bringing News of the Fathers being safe in *Narea*, they set out from *Ombrama*, where the Viceroy was incampt'd, on the 15*th* of *April* 1613, taking about 40 Men arm'd

arm'd with Darts, and Targets, along with them. They were soon sensible of the great Difficulties they should meet with in such a tedious, and unfrequentted Journey; for having travell'd two, or three Days Westward, through the Lands of the *Gongas*, they came to *Sinassa*, the Principal Town of the Heathen *Gongas*, and asking there in the Viceroys Name for a Guard to conduct them the rest of the Way, as for as the *Nile*, they were flatly deny'd, which was as good as declaring they would fall upon, rob, and kill them by the Way, and if they found such ill Entertainment in the Emperor's Dominions, what must they expect from the *Moors*, *Turks*, and *Cafres*, through whose Lands they were to pass. They were oblig'd to send back one of the *Portugueses* that attended the Father, who offer'd to go alone, and acquaint the Viceroy with what had happened, as he did, which much troubled the Viceroy, and he sent 3 Commanders with Men to guard the Fathers, and punish the *Gongars*. These *Gongars* understanding, that a Messenger was gone to the Viceroy, presently gave the Guard demanded of them, which in three Days conducted them to the Place where they were to pass the *Nile*, call'd *Mina*, and lies upon the Place where it turns towards the North, almost West from its Source; but is there ground very considerable, and carryes much Water, and was then very boisterous, and difficult to pass over, there being no Bridges, nor Ferries. Every Man must shift the best he can, and they were fain to make a Float of Sticks ty'd together with some *Gourds* or *Calabashes* they had provided to support it; some young Men swam before and drew this Float, and others swimming behind thrust it forward, and this being a very tedious Way, they spent a whole Day in going forward, and backward.

Dangerous crossing the Nile.

Hence they travel'd continually due South, till they came to *Narea*, about 50 Leagues, escaping many Dangers from the *Galas*, and other Robbers. The next Day they came into a Country of *Cafres*, who are subject to the Emperor, but much more to their Avarice. These issuing out of their Dens, like wild Beasts, came with their Weapons in their Hands to rob them; but finding some Oppositions and being charg'd in the Emperor's Name to desist, were satisfy'd with a few Stones of Salt, and some little Muzlin; but the Rain falling made them haste back to their Dens, without calling more of their Neighbours, and the Travellers improving that favourable Opportunity hasted away. The same Day their Guide, who was to lead them through By-ways, to advoid the *Cafres*, carry'd them through a close Wood, very difficult to pass, and then down a steep Descent, to a great River call'd *Maleg*, to which they came about Night, and seeking a Place to ford it the next Day, could find none, which made them suspect least the

Barbarous Cafres.

Guid design'd to betray them, as he had done a great Man before, and therefore the Father order'd him to be strictly guarded but well us'd. However they found a Ford, and travell'd more peaceably on the other side, being remov'd farther from the *Cafres*. Then they soon enter'd *Narea*, and went up a strong Mountain, where the chief Commander of the Kingdom resided, who receiv'd the Father, and the Embassador very honourably, because they had special Recommendations from the Viceroy *Ras Cella Christos*, and better still from a good Present they made him.

Narea *Kingdom describ'd*

This Kingdom of *Narea*, is the most Southern of all the Empire of *Ethiopia*. From *Mazua* to *Narea* they reckon 200 Leagues, most of the Way South West, that is to *Mine*, a Town of *Gojam*, where the *Nile* is cross'd the 2d Time to go to *Narea*, and thence they go due South, and thus the middle of *Dambea* is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, *Mine* in 12, and *Narea* in 8. This Kingdom is not so large as some make it, including in it the Lands of the *Cafres*, which lye round about, and run from thence towards the Coast of *Melinde*, which is to the South East, and those that run towards *Angola* lying West from it. The Trade *Narea* has with these *Cafres*, makes it abound in Gold, which it receives of them in exchange for Cloth, Cows, Salt, and other Commodities. That which is properly call'd *Narea*, and subject to the Emperor, is not above 30, or 40 Leagues in Extent. The Natives seem to be the best People in *Ethiopia*, as is own'd by the *Abyssines* themselves. They are well shap'd, their Countenances nothing like *Cafres*, their Lips thin, their Noses sharp, their Colour not very black; they keep their Word, and are sincere, without any of the Falshood, Lyes, and Inventions of the *Amaras*. The Land yeilds Plenty of Grain, and feeds Abundance of Cattle. Gold is dealt for by Weight, as is us'd throughout all *Ethiopia*; besides they have light Bits of Iron, beat out flat, two Fingers broad, and 3 in Length, which pass for Mony. They were all formerly Heathens; but in the Days of the Emperor *Malac Segued*, about 60 Years before this Time we now speak of, they had embrac'd Christianity, with all the Errors of the *Abyssines*, and till then no Father of the Society had been there. The Men are brave, and defend their own Country very well, for tho' the *Gallas* have possess'd themselves of the greatest Part of *Ethiopia*, and are continually making Incursions upon them, they have never been able to prevail against the bold *Nareas*, and this without any Assistance from the Emperor, to whom nevertheless they pay Tribute, rather out of their own innate Loyalty, than that he can compell them to it; because the Emperors Forces can not come at them, without marching through the Country of the *Gallas*; besides

besides that there being always some in Rebellion nearer the Court, he his oblig'd to observe them.

From *Gonea* the Embassador and Father went to the Court of the *Benero*, so they call the *Xumo*, or Governour of *Narea*. They came to it in 6 Days, the first of them through Lands almost Desert, the *Gallas* having made an Incursion there sometime before. The following Days through a Country well cultivated and peopled The *Benero* receiv'd the Father courteously enough, tho' without any particular Marks of Honour, and Esteem; the reason whereof he soon understood was, because there was a Schismatick Monk, who was the *Abunas* Vicar, and suspected that the Father came to deprive him of his Dignity, and the Profits of it, which were considerable. The Father understanding it, visited the said. Monk, undeceiv'd him, begg'd he would favour him with his Interest in the Viceroy, and with a small Present, wholly appeas'd him. *The Viceroys Behaviour.*

The *Benero* was not so easily reconcil'd, for he endeavour'd to dive deeper into the Occasion of the Embassador's going for *India*, and us'd all means to discover it; and tho' none but the Father, and the Embassador were entrusted with the Secret, yet he suspected it was to bring *Portugueses*, who might came through that Kingdom, and in their Way subdue it, and force them to embrace the Catholick Religion. Hereupon he advis'd with the great Men of his Court, by whom it was agreed that the Father, and Embassador, must not be permitted to go the Way they had design'd which was the best, lest the *Portugueses* should become acquainted with it, and therefore they should put them into another, which was farther about, and very troublesome, through a Country call'd *Balij*. This being determin'd, after much contesting with the Father, he flatly told him, it was in vain to contend, for he should not go that Way. The Father finding no other Remedy, and being earnest to proceed, was fain to submit, and say he would go by *Balij*. *He puts the Embassador out of his Way*

Balij is a Kingdom, that formerly was subject to the Emperor, but now possess'd by the *Galas*, and *Moors*, bordering on that of *Adel*, being East of *Narea*, so that is was going backward, and taking a great Compass to come at the Sea, near Cape *Guardafuy*, and about the midst between it, and Cape *Magadoxa*, which was almost impracticable. Now to deal plainly, the Way the Father propos'd through *Cafa*, was no better than this, because proceeding South from *Narea* there is no coming at the Sea, without travelling many hundred Leagues, to the Cape of Good Hope, as may appear by all Modern Maps, so that the whole Project had nothing of likelihood. So soon as the *Benero* preceiv'd the Father condescended to go by *Balij*, being satisfy'd no Harm could come to him that Way, as being very remote, he gave him free Leave to depart, and with it about 30 Crowns in Gold, to help *Balij Kingdom.*

help bear his Charges, making many Excuses for the smalness of the Gift. Then he sent Orders to one of his Officers to conduct the Father safe, through all his Country; and this Way being through the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, and one Embassador from that King being then at his Court, he dispatch'd him speedily, recommending to him the Father, and the Embassador, and desiring he would take them along with him, and secure them on the Road, which he readily agreed to.

Chap. II.

The Embassador, and the Father depart from Narea, *for the Kingdom of* Gingiro, *and pass the River* Zebee; *their Reception by that King; Description of that Kingdom, and the Barbarous Customs of the People, Manner of their Electing a King; and the Fathers repassing the* Zebee.

THE Embassador, and Father, leaving the Court of *Narea*, travell'd thence to the Eastward, and the first Day came to the Place where the Commander resided, who was to convoy them. He receiv'd them well at first, in hopes of some mighty Present; but finding that did not answer the Expectation of his Avarice, detain'd them 8 Days, and then appointed 80 Soldiers to conduct them to the Frontiers of *Narea*. They travell'd with this Guard 4 Days, through a Desert Country, taking long Journies for fear of the *Gallas*, who make great Inroads that Way, and the 4th Day the *Nareas* departed, leaving the Travellers in much Danger, who sent some still before to discover, with Directions, if they spy'd any *Galas*, to make a Signal, that they might hide themselves in the Woods. Going down a high Mountain at Noon, the *Gingiro* Embassador advis'd them, before they came to the Bottom to sculk in the Wood, till the Evening, and cross the Plain by Night, because the *Gallas* graze their Cattel on it by Day. About four in the Afternoon, they slunck into the Thicket, a Shore of Rain that fell favouring them, for it oblig'd the *Gallas* to retire to their Huts tho' it wetted the weary Travellers, who were doubly fatigu'd at Night, the Wood they were in being intricate by Day,

Progress of the Embassador and Father.

Day, and much more difficult to penetrate in the Dark. At Midnight they halted to rest under some tall Trees, refreshing themselves with a Fire, the Wood affording Fuel; but as for their Supper it consisted of only a little parch'd Barley, sparingly dealt about, which is the chief Provision Travellers take with them in *Ethiopia*. The next Day after Noon they went down a steep craggy Mountain, and came to the River *Zebee*.

This River rouls more Water than the *Nile*, and in this Place, to which they were brought by the *Gingiro* Embassador, it tumbles down such dreadful Precipices of upright Rocks, that the dashing of the Waters makes a most hideous Noise. But that which most terrify'd the Travellers was the Bridge they were to pass, which was nothing but a single Piece of Wood, so long that it reach'd across the River, from one Rock to another, the Breadth whereof was not small, and the Depth so great, that it was frightful to behold; besides that, in going upon it the Plank bow'd and gave way, as if it had been a Green Twig. Yet thus they pass'd over one by one, striving who should go foremost, thinking themselves safe from the *Gallas* on the other side, and the dread of them was more prevalent than the Terror of the Bridge. After all they had not got over the Mules, but left it 10 Men to look to them, believing they might save themselves if the *Gallas* should come, and the next Day Providence brought two Men of the Country that way, who conducted them to a Ford.

Zebee *River.*

Dangerous Bridge.

Being pass'd the River, they proceeded a little farther to a Town, whence they sent to acquaint the King of *Gingiro* with their coming, and desire leave to repair to his Court, and deliver the Emperor of *Ethiopia*'s Letters. He being then very busy about some Superstitious Charms, they were feign to stay there a Week, when having obtain'd leave, they set out and came to Court the same Day. Going in to speak with him, they found him prepar'd for their Reception. He was according to Custom in a sort of rail'd Tower, about six Yards high, little more or less, 7 Yards and a half over, as we shall see anon, and the Stairs up to it in the back Part. All the Courtiers stood below, and he on the top of the Elevation, which was not unlike a Cart Wheel, sitting on a Carpet, and there it is he gives Audience, decides Controverses, and dispatches all Business. He was clad in a white Silk *Indian* Garment, and was himself as black as a Cole, but had not the Features of a *Cafre*.

The King of Gingiro's *Audience.*

The Emperor's Letter being sent to him, he, to show his Breeding, came down from his Throne, or Balcony, receiv'd it standing, enquir'd after the Emperor's Health, and being answer'd, went up again to his Seat. This Respect he pays the Emperor of Courtesy,

Ceremonies of it.

Courtesy, for he is none of his Subject. Being seated, he read the Letter, and continu'd a while, discoursing with the Embassador and the Father, by means of an Interpreter, who every time the King said any thing to him to tell the Father, kiss'd the Tips of his Fingers of both Hands; then falling down, kiss'd the Ground, and went to the Father, who stood at a little distance, to tell him what the King said. Returning with the Answer, he again kiss'd the Tips of his Fingers, before he deliver'd it, and bowing went to the King, with which Ceremonies the Discourse held for a considerable space. At length, the King bid the Father go and repose himself, and as to what the Emperor desir'd of him in his Letter, which was to use them well, and allow them a good Guard thro' his Dominions, he would perform it very readily.

Presents of the King and the Father.

The next Day the Father thought fit to present the King, because those Infidels are altogether bent upon their Interest, and accordingly he carried him some *India* black Stuffs, which he seem'd to make great Account of, as being a Thing seldom seen in his Country. The King to requite him, when he took his leave, sent him a Female Slave, the Daughter of one of the principal Men of that Country. The Father return'd Thanks for the Favour, but said, he did not use to take Women along with him, and the King excusing his mistake, gave him a Man Slave, and a good Mule, which he accepted of, and sent Men to help them cross the River *Zebee* again, to go into the Kingdom of *Cambate*.

Strange way of crossing a River.

The first Days Journey brought them to the River, where they were in an Agony about passing it; for the King's Guides being well acquainted with the manner of it, contriv'd such a Method, as, tho' altogether new to them, seem'd no less dangerous, than the Plank instead of a Bridge, and was thus. They kill'd a Cow, and of the Hide made a great Sack, into which they put the Baggage, and blowing strongly fill'd it full of Wind like a Bladder; and this was to carry the Luggage, and serve for a Boat. Then they took two Poles, like those our Chairs are carry'd on, and ty'd them very fast to the blown Hide, and to these Poles two Men hung on the one side and two on the other, who were to hold very steady, and be of equal weight to Ballance, for the Thing was like a Scale, and therefore, if the weight was not alike, or any one happen'd to move all must plunge, and the Stream being very rapid, they were in imminent Danger of their Lives. This new Machine was guided before by a good Swimmer, pulling a Rope made fast to the Hide, or the ends of the Poles. Two others swam behind, thrusting the Invention forward. Thus they cross'd the River, and landed much lower on the

the oppoſite ſide, than where they took the Water, both becauſe of the violent Current, and in regard there was no landing Place higher. A whole Day was ſpent in paſſing over after this manner, for it coſt much time to poiſe the weight right, and then to croſs the Stream. There let us leave them, to give ſome Account of the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, as deliver'd by *F. Antony Fernandez*, and other credible Eye-witneſſes.

Gingiro Kingdom deſcrib'd.

The River *Zebee* above mention'd, almoſt encompaſſes this Kingdom, making it a ſort of Peninſula, and then runs to empty itſelf towards the Coaſt of *Melinde*. The Kingdom is ſmall, the Natives of the Colour of *Cafres*, but not like them in Features. They are all Heathens, and much addicted to Sorcery, having ſome abominable Cuſtoms among them, worthy to be known for their Strangeneſs. *Gingiro* ſignifies, an Ape, or Monkey, and is the propereſt name for that King; becauſe in the firſt Place he is very black, as has been ſaid, and ſitting alone on that ſort of Turret, where he diſpatches Buſineſs, looks like a Monkey on a Block; beſides his ſtrange Motions, and Geſtures, which much reſemble an Ape. The Name ſutis with him upon another Account, for if he happens to be wounded in War, his Fellows preſently kill him, or if they happen to fail, his Kindred do it, without Remiſſion, tho' he never ſo much intreats for Mercy; and this they ſay they do, that he may not die by his Enemies Hands. The ſame is practis'd among Monkeys, who being once wounded either deſtroy themſelves, or are kill'd by the reſt, for they never give over licking, ſcratching, and clawing the Hurt, till they tear out their Bowels, or otherwiſe occaſion their own Death.

Its King.

His fooliſh State.

Tho' in theſe particulars they all reſemble Monkeys, yet they take much State upon them. When the King is to go abroad, he muſt do it before the Sun riſes; and if the Sun happens to be up firſt, the King is ſhut up all the Day, and diſpatches no Buſineſs; and the Reaſon they give for it is, becauſe, ſay they, two Suns can not ſhine equal in the World, and ſince the King does not gain the Preference of the other, he does not think fit to follow him; therefore the next Day after he has miſs'd he takes Care to be abroad much the ſooneſt.

Ceremonies at his Election.

The Ceremonies us'd at the Election of this King are ſingular. They wrap up the Dead King's Body in coſtly Garments, and killing a Cow, put it into the Hide; then all thoſe who hope to ſucceed him, being his Sons, or others of the Royal Blood, flying from the Honour they covet, abſcond, and hide themſelves in the Woods. This done the Electors, who are all great Sorcerers, agree among themſelves who ſhall be King, and go out to ſeek him, when entring

tring the Woods by means of their Enchantments, they say, a large Bird they call *Liber* as big as an Eagle, comes down with mighty Cries over the Place where he is hid, and they find him encompass'd by Lyons, Tygers, Snakes, and other Creatures gather'd about him by Witchcraft. The Elect, as fierce as those Beasts, rushes out upon those who seek him, wounding, and sometimes killing some of them, to prevent being seiz'd. They take all in good part, defending themselves the best they can, till they have seiz'd him. Thus they carry him away by force, he still struggling, and seeming to refuse taking upon him the Burthen of Government, all which is meer Cheat and Hypocrisy.

His Enthroning.

When the King Elect is conducted home, there is always a Battel by the way, because there is a certain Family, which of Old Custom, Time out of Mind, may force the King from the Electors and enthrone him, by which means they will become the great Favourites: For this reason, they with all their Adherents wait the coming of the Electors and their Party, whom they Charge; the Victors carry off the King, and with great Rejoycing place him on the Throne above-mention'd, and then that Party has all the greatest Places and Honours; but they have enough to Counterbalance, as we shall soon see. The King being brought to the Court, they conduct him into a Tent, and on the 7th Day after the Death of the former King, the Sorcerers bring a Worm, they say comes out of the Dead Man's Nose, which being wrapp'd up in a Piece of Silk, they cause the new King to kill, by squeezing its Head between his Teeth. Next follows the Funeral of the Dead King, whom they carry to his Grave, dragging him along the Ground, and desiring he will give his Blessing to those Lands they draw him over. Being come to the Place of Burial, which is a Thicket or Wood, the ancient Repository of those Kings, they dig a Hole and throw him into it, without covering the Carcass with Earth, but leaving it expos'd to the Air, as if the Earth were unworthy to cover the Body of a King, who vy'd with the Sun, and therefore the Heaven alone must be his *Mausoleum*. On the Funeral Day they kill many Cows close to the Grave, so that their Blood may run in and touch the Dead Body; and from that time forward, till the next King Dies, they kill a Cow there every Day, and make the Blood run in, the Profit whereof belongs to their Priests, or Sorcerers, for they shed the Blood, but eat the Flesh.

Burial of the dead King.

Let us return to the new King, whom we left killing the Worm, which when he has done, they give great Shouts of Joy, proclaim, and enthrone him, on that Loft before describ'd, and thus ends the Solemnity, which is follow'd by Sorrow; for then the

the new King calls all the dead one's Favourites, and tells them, That since they were so much his Friends, whilst living, that they never stirr'd from him, it is but Reason they should bear him Company in Death, and continue his Favourites in the other World. This said, he orders them all to be kill'd, and then chuses others to fill their Places; and so acceptable is the Favour of Kings, that there never want Pretenders to those Employments, who value not hazarding their Lives, so they may obtain their ambitious Ends. This barbarous Custom is palliated with the Love, and Care they ought to take of the Kings Person; to show them who are about him, how sollicitious they are to be for his Safety, since their own depends on it. Then they burn the House the old King liv'd in, with all his Moveables, Goods, and Furniture, not sparing any thing, tho' never so valuable; and even when any private Man dies, they burn, not only his House, but the very Trees and Plants that are about it, and being ask'd, why they do so, They answer, to the End, that the Dead Man, who was us'd to those Places, do not return to them, invited by his former Habitation, and delight in walking among those Trees.

His Favourite kill'd, and House burnt.

Since the old Kings Palace is burnt, let us view the Grandeur of the New ones. Under the Loft which serves him for a Throne stands his House, and by the Outside may be guess'd what is within. The House is round, about 6 Yards, or little better Diameter, the walls are either Wood, or Stone, and Clay, the Roof, and Rafters, which ascend towards the Top, are ill shap'd Poles, the Ends whereof meet and rest on a Thing like a Cart wheel, which is in the Middle, and serves for a Center, and on this Wheel on the Top, the Kings sits, as it were on a Throne, the other Ends of the Rafters about resting on the Wall; so that the stately structure lookes like a Parrot's Cage. To provide a Column for this Palace, they go into the Wood, and find out a strait, but not very thick Tree, and before they fell it, cut a Man's Throat at the Foot of it, who is the first they meet with of a Certain Family they have in the Kingdom, which on this Account is exempt from all other Duties, whereof we shall soon speak. Nor does their barbarous Cruelty end here, for when the House is built, and the King conducted to it, before he sets in his foot, they kill another Man of that same Family, if the House has but one Door, or two Men if there are two Doors, and with the Blood of these Victimes they daub and paint the Threshold, and Posts.

The King's Palace.

He sells and gives his Subjects as Slaves.

This is a costly Duty incumbent on this Family, which exempts it from all others, yet are those so heavy, that they are not inferior to the Murder of two, or three of them; for whensoever the King of *Gingiro* buys any rare Goods, brought him by foreign Merchants, he agrees to give them in Exchange, ten, twenty, or more Slaves, to which Purpose he only sends his Servants, who going into any Houses indifferently take away the Sons, or Daughters of the Inhabitants, and deliver them to the Merchants. The same he does, whensoever he presents a Slave, or Slaves to any Person of Note, ordering then the best and handsomest to be taken, alledging, that what is given must be of the best. Such was the Woman Slave he would have given the Father. From this Duty that Family is exempt, of which we said some are kill'd at the Palace Doors, and so great is the Veneration they pay their King, and this Custom has so far prevail'd, that no Man offers to mutter at it, and unhappy he that should seem to disapprove of these barbarous Actions, for he would suffer Death, without Remission.

Cruel Custom.

There is another Ceremony, before we conclude with this King of *Gingiro*. On the Day he enters upon the Government, the first Thing he does, is to send about his Kingdom, to find out all the Men, and Women, that have scald Heads, who being brought together, and sent over the River *Zebee*, are there slaughter'd. The Reason they give for it is, that other People may not be infected by them, and so the Distemper come to the King, whom we will now leave to follow *F. Antony Fernandez.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Father and Embaſſador enter the Kingdom of Cambate; *the Croſſes they met with there; they proceed to* Alaba; *are there impriſon'd, and at laſt oblig'd to return back into* Ethiopia.

The Embaſſador ſet upon.

THE Father departing the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, and travelling Eaſtward, came to *Sangara*, a Village in that of *Cambate*, then govern'd by *Amelmal*, who ſtill acknowledg'd the Emperor of *Ethiopia* for his Sovereign; and on the left Hand, are a People call'd *Gura Gues*, who are alſo ſubject to the Emperor. The Father ſtay'd two Days at *Sangara*, being told, they ſhould then meet Company, who came to a Fair, but the Truth was, they had no Fair but robbing, for they did it only to give notice to their Neighbours, that they might all together fall upon his Company, and plunder them; for when they ſet out, there met them 5 *Gentiles* of the *Gura Gues* a horſe back, with many others afoot, all arm'd, who all together attack'd the Fathers Retinue, being but 17 that had Weapons, but they fighting for their Lives made the Robbers give Way. Yet a Kinſman of the Embaſſadors, being wounded with a poiſon'd Arrow dy'd a few Days after. The Embaſſador's Family would have reveng'd his Death, but that the Father diſſwaded them, and the *Gura Gues* ſeeing they could get nothing by Force, were glad to take what they would give them.

A Perfidious Ethiopian.

Having eſcap'd this, and other Dangers, they came to the Place where the Governour *Amelmal* was, and gave them a good Reception at firſt, on Account of the Letters of Recommendation they brought from the Emperor. But at the ſame Time, there came thither, one *Manquer*, an *Ethiopian*, on Pretence of receiving the Tribute that Governour paid the Emperor; but in reality, ſent by ſeveral great Men at Court, who were Enemies to the Catholick Religion, to perſwade the Governour, not to ſuffer the *Portugueſes* and Embaſſador to proceed any farther, becauſe they were going without the Emperor's Leave, to bring *Portugueſes* arm'd with Guns, and fire Arms, which kill at a great Diſtance, to oblige them to depart from the Faith of their Forefathers, and

and to embrace that of *Rome*. Nor did the base *Abyssine* think it enough, to inculcate this to *Amelmal*, but us'd means to stir up all the People of the Country to mutiny, and the Neighbouring *Gallas*, and *Moors* with these Jealousies, they being very susceptible of them.

This mov'd *Amelmal* to cause the Father, and his Companions to be examin'd, and finding all that *Manquer* had urg'd to be groundless, he would have dismiss'd them; but that *Manquer* protested so earnestly to the contrary, that he was feign to send to the Emperor to know, whether it was his will that those Men should pass, and the Letters they brought true or false. Three Months after, when they expected an Answer, the Messengers, being one from *Amelmal*, one from *Manquer*, and one from the Father, return'd, saying, they had been taken, and kept Prisoners all that while, in a Town, but three Days Journey from thence. They were feign to send others again, and arm themselves with Patience, against the wicked *Manquer*, who, besides endeavouring to cause their Baggage to be seiz'd, us'd all his Means to have his Servants pick Quarrels with the Embassador's, that so they might be sent back; and one of his Men being highly provok'd by one of *Manquer*'s kill'd him, for which he was imprison'd, but made his Escape.

The Embassador stopp'd.

At length, those who had been sent, with an Account of the Embassador's being detain'd, came to Court, and the Emperor hearing them was highly incens'd against *Amelmal* and *Manquer*, both whom he would certainly have punish'd severely, had not they been so remote, and where he could not reach them, *Cambate* at this time being quite fallen off from him, and belonging to several *Mooriſh* and *Galla* Lords. The Emperor did what lay in his Power, which was to send one *Baharo*, a Man well known in those Parts Express, with a Letter to *Amelmal*, ordering the Father, and the Embassador to be furnish'd with all they wanted, out of his Revenues, and earnestly pressing him to recommend them by all means to the Neighbouring Kings, and Sovereigns; and at the same time he sent *Amelmal*, some rich Vests, and the like to the *Moor Alico*, who govern'd the next Country they were to go into, after they were out of *Amelmal*'s Jurisdiction.

Sends to the Emperor.

This Order of the Emperor's came to *Cambate* in June 1614 which was punctually obey'd by the Goverour, who gave the Embassador seven Horses, believing them to be the best Present he could bestow on the petty Kings, through whose Dominions he was to pass. The Father, and the Embassador prepar'd to depart, having now spent 14 Months since they came from the Emperor's Court, and some of their Followers considering the many

Proceeds to Alaba.

Dangers

Dangers they had run, took Leave, and return'd. As ſoon as *Manquer* perceiv'd that *Amelmal* diſmiſs'd the Father and Embaſſador, who of Neceſſity muſt paſs through the Country of the *Moor Alico*, he preſently ſent Letters thither, which ſet all againſt them, ſo that when he came to *Alaba*, the Reſidence of that Infidel, he ſoon ſhow'd himſelf ill affected; and tho' he receiv'd the Emperor's Letter, and the Veſts brought by *Baharo*, and on that Account diſſembled with them for two Days, yet the third Day the wicked *Manquer* came thither, having made his eſcape from *Amelmal*, who intended to have ſecur'd him till the Father was paſs'd beyond *Alaba*.

As ſoon as that baſe Man came, *Alico* ſecur'd *Baharo* that brought him the Letter, and Veſts, and then the Father, and Embaſſador, keeping them apart, and ſeizing all their Goods, their Mules, and the Horſes they brought to preſent, ſearching them rigorouſly, and yet it pleas'd God, they did not find the Letters, which the Father had ty'd about the Brawn of his Arm, for had they met with them, the Emperor asking for a Supply of *Portugueſes*, would have confirm'd what *Manquer* ſpoke only by gueſs. *Alico* being perſwaded, that if any *Portugueſes* came, they would paſs that way, and poſſeſs themſelves of his Country, he would certainly have murder'd them, which was what *Manquer* adviſ'd. The Father conſidering the Danger of another Search, when he was alone, ask'd for Fire, on Pretence of taking Tabacco, which he had never us'd, tho' it was then much practis'd in that Country; when he had Fire, being left alone, he burnt all the Letters. *Is ſtopp'd there.*

Their Inpriſonment laſted ten Days, during which time ſeveral Councils were held, to debate, whether they ſhould live or die; *Manquer* ſtill preſſing for the latter; but ſeveral great Men repreſented it as a heinous thing to *Alico*, and contrary to the Law of Nations, that he ſhould Impriſon a Meſſenger, by whom he had receiv'd Letters, and Veſts, ſent him by an Emperor, and therefore he order'd him to be immediately ſet at Liberty, and for the reſt, he took the Advice of a Man in great Authority among them, which was not to kill, but oblige them to return back. *Alico* did ſo, but would not let them go through *Amelmal*'s Province, for Fear he ſhould ſuffer them to proceed ſome other way, or make War on him upon the Embaſſador's Complaint. *Manquer* inrag'd that he could not have their Blood, perſwaded *Alico* to keep three of the *Portugueſes*, who were with the Father, alledging, they might ſerve him in his Wars. This was accordingly done, and the Father departed much griev'd, both for the Loſs of his Companions, and the Diſappointment of his Journey. *Forc'd back to* Ethiopia.

The

Narrowly eſcapes being robb'd.

The ſame Day the Father ſet out from *Alaba*, ſome *Moors* who had Notice of their departure, met to gether, to Way-lay, and murder them, ſo to take the little they had left; but a mighty Rain falling, and thoſe Infidels believing they would not travel through it, as they did with all poſſible Speed, they eſcap'd that Danger. Being come to a Town, they ſoon perceiv'd by the Aſſemblies of the *Moors*, that they ſhould not be ſafe that Night. *Baharo* the Emperor's Expreſs meeting a *Galla* there, ask'd him, whether he knew one *Amuma*, a powerfull Man of his own Nation. He anſwer'd, He not only knew him, but was his Servant, and told him he was not far off. They promis'd him a good Reward, if he would go call him, and to give *Amuma* a ſtately Horſe, if he would come. The Servant went, and brought his Maſter, who taking the Father and his Companions under his protection, all the Deſigns of the *Moors* were diſappointment.

Conducted by a Galla.

This *Galla* conducted them two Days Journey from thence, to the Place of his Reſidence, where he treated them with Plenty of Milk, and Beef, and then bore them Company three Days farther. A Parcel of *Gallas* lay in the way to cut them off, but perceiving by whom they were defended, forbore. The ſame *Amuma* deliver'd them from another Parcel of his Nation, who were celebrating ſome Feſtival of their Idols, and would have ſacrific'd them. In fine it pleas'd God to deliver them from many more Dangers, till they came to an *Amba*, or ſtrong Mountain inhabited by Chriſtians, who were ſubject to the Emperor, whence the Father ſent that Monarch an Account of all that had befallen him, offering to try any other way, if his Majeſty ſhould think fit. But the Emperor ſent them Orders to repair to his Court, whence they had ſet out in *February* 1613, and return'd in *September* 1614, having ſpent a Year and 7 Months in their Journey, and they were receiv'd very honourably. Two of the *Portugueſes* left at *Alaba* found means to eſcape, the third dying a natural Death.

Manquer *the Villains death.*

The Villain *Manquer* preſuming to return to Court, relying on his Friends there, and denying all he had done, was therefore upon full Conviction condemn'd to Death, but Father *Antony Fernandez* begg'd his Life of the Emperor. Yet he could not eſcape divine Vengeance, for being conducted to a Mountain, whither he was baniſh'd, he made his Eſcape to the *Gallas*, and returning with them to make an Incurſion, in which they were repuls'd, in the Flight he had his Leg broke, and the *Gallas* to put him out of Pain, kill'd him.

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Controversies about Religion. F. Pays *builds the Emperor a Palace, after the* European *Manner, A Conspiracy to murder that Prince. The Rebels routed.*

WE left the Emperor's Court, to conduct *F. Anthony Fernandez* on his Journey, and having now brought him back, it is Time for us also return to it. The Emperor, and many more being now convinc'd of the Truth of the Catholick Faith, and many great Men publickly professing it.

Proclamation made for Catholick Faith.

Proclamation was made, that for the future, none should presume to maintain there was but one Nature in *Christ*; but that all should own two distinct Natures the Human, and Divine, both united in the divine Person. *Simon*, the *Abuna* was then absent, but hearing what had hapned, hasted to Court, threatning to thunder out Excommunications, and Anathemas, and being favour'd by the Emperors Brother *Ras Emana Christos*, and other great Persons, had the boldness to affix an Excommunication on the Gats of one of the Churches of the Camp, against all those who should embrace the Faith of the *Portugueses*. The Emperor was, much offended at the *Abuna*'s Presumption, and immediately gave order, that Proclamation should be made, to give Leave to all Persons to embrace the Faith the Fathers preach'd, and had been justify'd in the publick Disputations, which was accordingly done.

The Abuna *Excomuniacates those that embrece it.*

Catholicks Persecuted.

At this Time, the Emperor was oblig'd to go chastise the *Agaus* in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, who refus'd to pay their Taxes, and had affronted some of his Officers, and being forc'd to winter there, the *Abuna* laid hold of that Opportunity, of his Absence, to persecute the Catholicks; writting circular Letters to stir up all his Followers to take up Arms, in Defence of the Faith of their Ancestors; and affixing another Excommunication against such as should say, there were two distinct natures in *Christ*. *Elos*, or *Elios*, so they pronounce *Julius*, the Emperor's Son-in-Law, a bold, but haughty ignorant Man, was then Viceroy of *Tygre*; who being very obstinate in his Errors, and an Enemy to *Ras Cella Christos*, as soon as he receiv'd the *Abuna*'s Letter, began to persecute the Fathers, and other Catholicks at *Fremona*, seizing all the Estates of the *Abyssines*, both Men and Women, who had embrac'd that Faith. As soon as the Emperor had notice of these

Proceedings, he writ to the *Abuna* to repair to him, to *Achafe*, where he then was, that all his Scruples might be remov'd. He also order'd *F. Pays* to come to him, which he did, and gave him an Account of what had been done in *Tygre*, whereupon the Emperor sent Express Commands to that Viceroy to restore all the Catholicks.

Obstinacy of Schismaticks. Many great Men, and the Emperor's own Mother now desir'd the Emperor to desist, because they were inform'd, that there was Danger of a mighty Rebellion, the very Monks being in Arms to defend their Opinions; but both he, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* continu'd firm in their Resolution. The *Abuna* came now to the Camp, follow'd by so many of their Monks, and Nuns, that they far outnumber'd the Army, protesting they would all dye for the Faith of their Ancestors, stand by their Master *Dioscorus*, and begging of the Emperor, that he would make no Innovation, He rejected them, and they grew so inrag'd, that many of them conspir'd to murder him, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*.

F. Pays *builds a Palace.* The Emperor having subdu'd the *Agaus*, return'd in *May* 1614 to *Gorgorra*, where he had kept his Winter Camp, which is his Court, for two Years. This Camp was curiously seated, being in a Peninsula almost enclos'd by the Waters of the great Lake, which they call the Sea of *Dambea*. There *F. Pays* resolv'd to build him a Palace after the *European* Manner, to oblige him, and show the *Ethiopians* that what they reported of the Palaces, and Monasteries in *Europe*, was not impossible, as they believ'd. He was encourag'd to it by finding in that Place a Quarry of very good white Stone, and therefore presently gave Directions for making Hammers, Mallets, Chizzels and all other Necessary Tools, handling them himself, and teaching the new Workmen, to dig, hew, and square the Stones for the Fabrick; and the same he did as to all the Joyners, and Carpenters Part. Still he wanted Lime, and found no Stone proper to make it, and therefore made use of a binding Sort of Clay. He rais'd large, and strong Walls, fac'd both within, and without with square Stones, well wrought, and joyn'd, so that the building being finish'd, might have serv'd any Prince in *Europe* for a Country House. Among the Rest, there was one fair Room about 50 Foot long, and 15 in Breath, and on the same Floor, a square Bedchamber, with a spacious Stair Case in the Middle, from the lower to the upper Floor, and from that another which ascended to the flat Roof of the House, about which was a handsome Parapet. At the Top of the Stairs was a little Room, like a Closet, which the Emperor was much pleas'd with, because from it he had the distant View of all that

that great Lake, and the adjacient Country, and saw at hand all that came in, and out, without being himself discover'd by any Body. The Father put a sort of Spring Lock upon the Door, of the Stairs that went out upon the Top of the House, which the Emperor said, would be better alter'd, that he might not always stand in need of the Key to open it, but Father *Pays* answer'd, *Your Majesty may have occasion for it as it is*, and how true this prov'd we shall see hereafter. This Building amaz'd all the *Abyssines*, who came from the remotest Parts to behold it, and what most surpriz'd them was to see an upper Floor, and having no Name to express it by, they call'd it *Babet Laybet*, that is, *a House upon a House*. This Work gain'd the Fathers much Reputation, convincing the People, that what they told them of the mighty Structures in *Europe* was true.

Conspiracy against the Emperor.

Elios Viceroy of *Tygre*, and the Emperor's Son in Law, *Amana Christos* the Emperor's Brother, and the Eunuch *Caslo*, who was High Steward, being enrag'd because many were converted, conspir'd together to destroy the Emperor, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*. To this Purpose they contriv'd that the *Abuna* should raise a Mutiny, by fixing an Excommunication against all that maintain'd two distinct Natures in *Christ*, and forbidding all to converse with them, even Children with their Parents, and Servants with their Masters. The Emperor perceiving what the wicked *Abuna* drove at, sent to let him know, that if he did not immediately take off his Excommunication, his Head should answer for it; and he fearing his Life, as readily obey'd. This Project failing, the three Traitors agreed to murder the Emperor themselves, the Eunuch *Caslo* having the Liberty to go in at all Times, on Account of his Employment. Accordingly knowing the Emperor was above alone, the said *Caslo* and *Elios* left the other Servants below, and went up to murder him. *Ite Amata*, the Emperor's Kinswoman, knowing their Design, sent the Emperor notice of it, at the very Time they were going to put it in Execution; and tho' they came immediately, his Courage was so great that he appear'd not at all disturb'd, but receiv'd them very graciously. They came with their Swords in the Scabbards in their Hands, as is the Custom, and after some few Words spoken, the Emperor rising, as if it were to walk, laid his Hand on *Elios*'s Sword, by way of Familiarity, and went to the Stairs that led up to the Top of the House, the others follow'd, thinking they might better do what they came about in that Place, but when they were at the Door, which as was said before shut with a Spring Lock, the Emperor clapt it to, leaving them on the Stairs, and going up himself, so that they were disappoint'd,

without any Noise or Disturbance, and the Emperor remember'd what *F. Pays* had said, That he might have Occasion for that Spring Lock.

The Conspirators Rebel.

Julios the Emperor's Son-in-Law, was much concern'd at this Disappointment of murdering of him in private, and therefore resolv'd to break out into open Rebellion, which was no difficult matter to do, *Ethiopia* being, as has been said, and we shall have Occasion to see a Continual Scene of Insurrections, Mutinies, and Treasons. The motive he pretended, according to the *Ethiopian* Historian *Azage Tino*, and the two Fathers who were there, was the Emperor's taking the Dignity of *Raz*, which is the Highest in the Empire, and the Viceroyship, from his own Brother *Emana Christos*, and confering it on his other Brother *Cella Christos*, who was a great Favourer of the Catholicks. The *Moors* having made an Irruption into *Ethiopia*, next the Frontiers of the *Funchos*, and the Emperor marching with his Forces to repel them, *Julios* laid hold of that Opportunity, of his Absence, to make Proclamation, enoyning all those, who acknowledg'd two distinct Natures in *Christ* to depart the Province of *Ogara*, where he was Governour, and the others to joyn him, in Defence of their Religion; by which means he gather'd a numerous Army, and drew towards the *Nile*, to go over into the Province of *Gojam*, where *Cella Christos* resided. The Emperor was now return'd into the Province of *Dambea*, where being inform'd of the Rebellion of *Julios*, and the Danger of his Brother *Cella Christos*, he sent some Troops with all Expedition to his Relief.

Marches against the Emperor.

In an Island of the Lake the *Nile* falls into, *Julios* found *Simon*, the *Abuna*, who advis'd him, to turn his Forces directly against the Emperor himself, whom he might easily destroy, most of his Commanders being corupted. The Council being approv'd of they both march'd together, the *Abuna* encouraging the Soldiers, and assuring them of Heaven if they dy'd in that Service. The Emperor, who thought of nothing less, was much surpriz'd when his Scouts brought him Advice of the Enemies Approach, to whom he was very much inferior in Strength; but being a Man of extraordinary Bravery, and Conduct, after sending to his Brother *Cella Christos*, to come to his Assistance, he mov'd undantedly towards the Rebels, and the two Armies came in Sight of one another on the 5*th* of *May* 1613, the Emperor posting himself advantageously, to shun the Shock of the Enemies Horse, which were much supeiror to his.

Rebels routed and slain.

The next Morning *Julios* being impatient to put an End to the War, and concluding the Conspirators on the other Side would not fail to joyn him, after drawing out his Army, rode himself up to the Emperors Troops, with only six, or seven Voleutiers.

His

His Patrisans, not daring to betray their Monarch so barefac'd, suffer'd him to ride through, and he made on, crying out, *Where is the Emperor.* In this Manner he came to a Battalion of *Tygres*, that stood near the Emperor's Tent, and were not privy to the Treason, one of whom knock'd him down with a Stone, and another coming up first run him through, and then cut off his Head. His Followers were soon hew'd down, and his Army took to their Heels, the Imperialists pursuing them with much Slaughter, till the Emperor sounded a Retreat. The *Abuna* amaz'd at this wonderfull overthrow had not Power to fly, but was kill'd, and his Head chopp'd off; which they presented to the Emperor, who was thus secur'd on the Throne and the Rebellion suppress'd.

Chap. V.

Description of the Nation of the Agaus. *Two Rebellions suppress'd.* F. Pays *builds a Church. The Emperor professes the Faith of the* Latin *Church. Two new Fathers come into* Ethiopia, *and two others die.*

MANY Gentiles of the Nation call'd *Agaus*, being about this Time converted, it gives us Occasion to speak of those People. There are two Provinces of them in *Ethiopia*, the one in the Kingdom of *Begameder*, call'd *Lasta*, being a Hilly Country, full of such steep, and lofty Mountains, that they are almost impregnable, which was the Reason that several Rebels had maintain'd themselves there above ten Years, against all the Power of the Emperor. There is another Province of *Agaus*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, consisting also of high Mountains, tho' not altogether so lofty as those of *Begameder*. This Province, being about 20 Leagues in Length, and between 6, and 7 in Breadth, is divided into about 20 Districts, all the Inhabitants living near the *Nile*. These Mountains abound in Provisions, and are full of Woods, and thick of Bamboes, so very close, that they serve them instead of Walls, and Trenches against their Enemies; for through them they cut close narrow Ways, with so many Turnings and Windings, that they look like Labyrinths, and in Time

Agaus *in* 2 *Kingdoms.*

Time of War, they shut themselves up among those Bamboes, about a mile from the Entrance, stopping up the Ways with Trees laid across. Besides, the Natives, like wild Beasts, bred among those Thickets, and acquainted with all the Avenues destroy such as attack them, with their Bows, and Arrows. These their close Thickets they call *Secutes*.

Their Customes, Habit &c.

Nor are these Wooden Fortifications their only Security, for they have mighty Dens and Caves under Ground made by Nature in the solid Rocks, the Entrance into them narrow, but opening within, so that they can receive, and entertain a great Number of People, and some of them have Water within. These they call *Furtatas*, and there they hide themselves till their Enemy is pass'd by. The *Agaus* of *Gojam* are much addicted to Sorcery. Besides their common Provision, which is chiefly Millet, they have much Honey, a good Commodity in *Ethiopia*, because they make their Liquor of it, Abundance of fine Cattel, and like a wild Mountain People, they wear no Cloth, but only Cows Hides, whose Flesh they eat Raw, like the *Abyssines*. These Hides they beat very much, with an unweldy Sort of Instruments, till they become as soft, and limber, as *Spanish* Leather, and then dye them red, which is the Colour they are most fond of. Every Man and Woman covers himself with one of these Hides, throwing them over their shoulders and girding them about their Wastes, without any other Garment. They are generally of a dark Sooty Colour, not so black as the *Abyssines*, well featur'd, and good Soldiers, tho' they use not to go meet their Enemies out of their own Country, but are satisfy'd with defending it, and it were to be wish'd that those who value themselves upon being more civiliz'd were of the same Mind. Thus the *Agaus* maintain'd their Ground for many Ages, not only against the *Cafres* their next Neighbours to the West-ward, but even against all the Power of the *Ethiopian* Emperors, to whom they scarce ever paid any Acknowledgment.

It is true the Imperial Troops did sometimes make Incursions into their Lands, as did other Plunderers, driving away considerable Booties of all Sorts of Cattel, but it is no less certain that they often paid dear for it, and many who came off well the first Time did not care for returning. The *Agaus* look'd upon War with the *Abyssines*, as a less Evil than Peace, because they did them little Damage in War, and their opression was great in Time of Peace. However the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, being a brave, and fortunate Commander, press'd them so hard in the Years 1613, and 1614, piercing into their Lands, and wintering there, that they were oblig'd to submit, and apply'd themselves

Their Conversion.

selves to *F. Pays*, then at *Gorgorra*, to interceed for them with the Emperor, that they might have a favourable Reception, offering him a considerable Present, which he refus'd, desiring no other Reward, but that they would take him into their Country, to teach them the way of Salvation. They accepted the Condition, and the Emperor shewing them much Kindness on the Father's Account, *F. Francis Antony de Angelis*, was sent with them instead of *F. Pays*, who converted many, and erected several Churches.

Two Jesuits *come into* Ethiopia.

The Emperor had prevail'd with the *Bassa* of *Suaqhem* to give free Passage to some Fathers he would send for out of *India*, who came thither from *Goa* in the Year 1620, were well receiv'd by that *Turk*, and safely conducted to *Fremona*, where, it being then the rainy Season, they were order'd to Winter. Their Names were *F. James de Mattos*, a *Portugueses*, and *F. Antony Bruno*, *Sicilian*. *F. James Mattos* went the following Summer to the Emperor's Court, and had an honourable Reception, but *F. Lawrence*, who resided at *Fremona* dying, he return'd thither, to attend the Converts in that Kingdom, and receive the Supplies the King of *Portugal* sent the *Portugueses* yearly out of the Customs of *Diu*.

Saturday forbid to be kept holy.

The Emperor growing daily more zealous in establishing the true Doctrine, in his Dominions, and being fully convinc'd of the Certainty of there being two distinct Natures in *Christ*, resolv'd now to abolish another Error the *Ethiopians* had taken from the *Jews*, and accordingly set out a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons for the Future to keep Saturday holy, but only Sunday, as the true Christian Sabbath. That Abuse was so strongly rooted in the Hearts of the People, that it caus'd a general Uneasiness, and some Persons durst presume to send the Emperor a Letter, without any Name, full of base, threatning, and reviling Expressions. That Monarch not being able to discover the Offenders, issu'd out a Second Proclamation, enjoyning all Persons to work upon Saturdays, and in Case they did not, for the first Offence they should forfeit a Piece of Cloth, worth about a Crown, and for the second all their Goods. This Penalty was first inflicted on one *Buco*, a brave Commander, who was afterwards converted.

Rebellion upon it.

Jonael, one of the greatest Men in *Ethiopia*, was at this Time Viceroy of *Begameder*, whom the Emperor order'd to publish the aforesaid Proclamation in that Country. He did so, tho' not with a Design to see it obey'd, but rather to stir up the People to Rebellion, being himself resolv'd to head them, as he actually did in *October* 1620, withdrawing with such as would follow him to the Mountains on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, next the *Galbas*, whom he had before engag'd to come to his Assistance. This News being brought to Court much perplex'd the Emperor, who knowing

knowing he had many Traitors about him, beheaded some of those he could convict, and banish'd others; but all to little Effect, for the Remedies seem'd to heighten the Distemper. Next he march'd against the Rebels, but perceiving the Mountains they lurk'd in, were impregnable, he set down at the Foot of them, not questioning but many of those Outlaws would come over to him, as they soon did, and *Jonael* finding himself almost abandon'd fled to the *Gallas*, his Confederates, who being corupted by the Emperor kill'd him.

The Traitor kill'd.

In 1621, the *Damotes*, a People in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom of *Gojam* rose in Arms, on the same Account of keeping the Saturday, at the Instigation of their Monks, and *Batavis*, who are a Sort of Anchorites; but the Viceroy *Ras Cella Christos* defeated them, killing above 3000, and among them many of those Religious Hermits. This same Year *F. Pays* built a Stately Church of whole Square Stones, very bewtifull, and Masterly. Over the high Altar was a curious Arch, with several Compleat Columns, and six others of the *Jonick* Order in the Frontispiece; and a Steeple for the Bells with a winding Stair Case, and a flat Roof enclos'd with a Parapet about it, whence there was a delightful Prospect of the Lake and Plains of *Dambea*. The Emperor came two Days Journey to see this Structure, the like whereof had not been known in *Ethiopia*, and went into it barefoot, leaving a considerable Present to it, at his Departure.

Another Rebellion supprest'd.

A Church built.

The following Year 1622, he publickly profes's'd the *Latin* Faith putting away all his Wives, except the first, at *Focara*, near the great Lake of *Dambea*, next *Begameder*, betwixt *Anfras*, and *Dara*. Soon after *F. Pays*, who had converted, and receiv'd him into the Church dy'd at *Gorgorra*, having spent 19 Years in this Mission, besides the 7 he was a Captive in *Arabia*. He left an ample Relation of all the Affairs of *Ethiopia* till his Death, whence much of what is here said has been taken, and the Original is still preserv'd at *Rome*, in the Secretaries Office of the Crown of *Portugal*. This same Year also dy'd *F. Francis Antony de Angelis* an *Italian*, who came into *Ethiopia* in the Year 1604, and was a great Master of the *Amara* Language, which is that they speak at Court. These Persons Deaths are particularly here mention'd, as being those who travell'd these Countries, and to whose Accounts we are beholding for all the knowledge we have of them.

The Emperor embraces the Latin *Faith.*

These Accounts by whom writ.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

The Travels of F. Emanuel d' Almeyda, *and* 3 *others from* Bazaim, *in* India, *to the Emperor of* Ethiopia's *Court.*

AT this same Time *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*, residing at *Bazaim* was sent into *Ethiopia* with three Companions, which were *F. Emanuel Barradas*, *F. Lewis Cardeyra*, and *F. Francis Carvalho*, an Account of whose Voyage, and Journey by Land we will here give, as deliver'd by the first of the four. 4 Jesuits *sent into* Ethiopia.

We made ready with all possible Speed, and on the 28*th* of *November* 1622, imbark'd on a *Paguel*, being a small *Indian* Vessel, and set Sale with the Northern Squadron, which convoy'd the trading Ships, *James de Mello de Castro*, being Commodore. We put into *Damam*, and that very afternoon sail'd again; but were forc'd back to the same Port the next Day, our Squadron of Men of War, being in Pursuit of six *Dutch* Ships, we descry'd that Day, making from *Suratte* towards *Goa*. Having waited there 15 Days for the *Dieu* Squadron, and being impatient of Delay, we hir'd an *Almadie*, as far as *Goga*, designing to travel thence by Land to *Diu*. At *Goga* we staid a whole Month, by Reason the Road by Land was infested with *Resbuto* Robbers, which oblig'd us to wait for the Fleet, and in it arriv'd at *Diu*, two Months after we left *Bazaim*, At *Diu*, the Commander, and Factor, instead of forwarding, put us to much Trouble: but having dispatch'd our Affairs the best we could we imbark'd for *Suaquem*, on the 24*th* of *March* 1623.

The Vessel we were in, was a Pink belonging to *Luke de Sousa*, freighted by *Lanlegi Dossi*, and commanded by *Rapogi Sangovi*, and tow'd a large Vessel as big as a Ship, and so heavy loaded, that it could scarce move, and the worse because so ill stow'd, that as soon as she anchor'd she heel'd to one Side, and had like to sink, This, and the slackness of the *Monson*, made it late before we had sight of *Socotora*, and it was no small Vexation to us to see the continual Superstitions of the *Gentiles*, and *Mahometans*, the *Banians* offering several sweet Gums, and perfumes to their *Pagods*, or Idols, in the Poop, and the *Mahometans* in the Fore-Castle calling *Superstitions.*

upon their false Prophet for a fair Wind, and dedicating to him a Figure, like a Horse made of *Bamboes*, with several little Flags about it, and pretending that their holy one enter'd into an old *Moor*, which he represented, acting the Mad-Man, and striking all that stood in his Way, with a Ropes End; at the same Time answering those who ask'd him, when they should see Cape *Guardafuy*, enter the Red Sea, and come to *Suaquem*; and all his answers prov'd as false as the Prophet they came from, but they were all well pleas'd, and credulous nor the least out of Countenance, tho' every thing afterwards fell out quite contrary to what their Prophet had foretold.

In short, the Wind being scant we could neither come to anchor at *Socotora* tho' we had Sight of it, nor at *Caixem*, which we stood for several Days, but went to winter at *Dofar*. There the Vessel lay at Anchor, from the 18*th* of *May* till the 16*th* of *October*, and we all that while aboard, without ever going ashore, but in continual Frights, few Days passing without News being brought, once that they had Intelligence of us at Land, another Time that the Petty King was coming, or sending to fetch us; sometimes that there were *Dutch* Ships on the Coast, and could not miss seing us; then that there were *Turkish* Ships, and Gallyes come from *Moca*, which would probably touch at *Dofar*, or else we should meet them in our Way. This put us to the Trouble of hiding ourselves frequently in several Holes about the Ship, as often as any People came aboard from Land, besides the want of Provisions, which oblig'd us to shift with Rice, and some Fish, when it was to be had. The Water was a greater suffering being very brackish, or almost salt, which fill'd us full of the Itch, and that, tho' we let blood for it, held us to *Suaquem*, and some even into *Ethiopia*. The Sailers suffer'd much, tho' they were most of the Time ashore, many of them falling sick of Fevers, and others of the Itch, but what griev'd them most was the Money they exacted from them for anchoring, being above 2000 Pieces of Eight, besides the Loss sustain'd in their Goods, which taking wet, were spoil'd.

Jesuits *winset al* Dofar.

Dofar *Port.*

I shall say little of *Dofar*, because I was not in the Place; but it is well known to be on the Coast of *Arabia* in about 15, or 16 Degrees Latitude, betwixt *Cayxem*, and *Curiamuria*. The City is small, the Inhabitants poor, the petty King was Brother, and Subject to him of *Xaer*, who is Lord of many Lands in this Part of *Arabia*, which hereabouts is neither populous, nor wealthy. On the same Coast, between *Xaer* and *Dofar*, is the City, and Kingdom of *Cayxem*. This King of *Xaer* and *Dofar* is Master of most of the Frankincense in the World, growing on very high naked

naked Mountains, which run about 40, or 50 Leagues from *Dofar* to *Cayxem*, on small Trees, or Shrubs, bearing few Leaves, and no Fruit, but the Frankincense, which is its Rosin. Along the pleasant Coast of *Dofar* there are Abundance of Palm Trees, *Indian* Fig-Trees, much *Betele*, and Plenty of Grapes; and this Verdure it has by pertaking of two Winters, that of *India*, which brings many Clouds, tho' they discharge no heavy, but only small Rain, yet lasting for above 3 Months and a half; and that of the *Arabian* Gulph, which is at the same time as ours. Here are great Numbers of Wells, and the Country is so moist, that, as I was told it occasions both Men, and Women to have one Leg and Foot of a monstrous Thickness. *Frankincense.*

On the 16*th* of *October* we weigh'd Anchor, and arriv'd at *Suaquem* on the 4*th* of *December*. Our Voyage was tedious because the *Monson* began weak, which made us many Days in reaching of *Adem*; but it prov'd so favorable afterwards in the most dangerous Places, that we enter'd the Red Sea with a fresh Gale by Night, that we might not be seen by some *Turkish* Vessels that use to lye there, to carry the Ships to *Moca*, and we enter'd on the Side of *Ethiopia*, that is, between it, and the smal Island that lyes in the Mouth of the Streight betwixt it, and *Arabia*; because, tho' the *Arabian* Channel be deeper, and safer, yet the *Turkish* Vessels that guard the entrance use to lie at Anchor, behind certain Headlands of *Arabia*. The next Morning we discover'd the Mountains above *Moca*, and those in *Ethiopia*, opposite to them, and at Noon pass'd by the Island *Jabel Jaquer*, lying almost in the midst of this Sea, between the two Coasts. The *Banians*, and *Moors* saluted it, as they use to do, with sundry superstitious Ceremonies, offering it some Eatables, and talking to it, asking Questions and answering as they thought fit. *Red Sea.*

A little beyond it begins a Chain of small Islands, so close together that we sometimes saw 6 or 7 in a Row, and some of those that lie farther off are so visible, that they take away the Sight of the others behind them. This Chain of little Isles, is like a Ridge in the Red-Sea, dividing all the Length of it, as the *Apenine* does *Italy*. The common Course they run for *Suaquem* is for the length of the three or four first Channels, between these Islands, and the Coast of *Arabia*, then they cross the Gulph in three or four Days to the Coast of *Africk*, steering Norwest, and indeavouring to come up with the Land opposite to a Parcel of Islands call'd *Arquico*, where they take Pilots of the Country, there being no sailing along the Coast from, thence to *Suaquem* without them, by reason it is all full of Isles and Banks of Sand, some of them above, and others under Water. We fell in with the Land too low, and had much Trouble about that time with contrary *Chian of Islands.*

winds, blowing hard; yet having taken a Pilot, we held on our Course, through that Labyrinth of Islands, and Sands, till we came almost in Sight of *Suaquem*, where the Wind failing us, we were 10, or 12 Days gaining less than 8 Leagues, and then dropt Anchor, on the 4*th* of *December*, 50 Days after we had left *Dofar*.

Bassa *honours the* Jesuits.

The next Day we landed, 8 Months, and 12 Days after our imbarking at *Din*, going immediately with the Captain, the Pilot, and chief Merchants to wait upon the *Bassa*, who receiv'd us in honourable, and affable Manner, saying, he would permit us to go peaceably into *Ethiopia*, because he was a Friend to the Emperor, and desir'd to keep a good Correspondence with him, and the Emperor had sent to desire of him, that he would be kind to, and send the Fathers that should happen to come thither, safe to him. He order'd us all to put on *Cabayas*, that is Vests, which is the greatest Honour he bestows on those he favours; but we knowing how little it is worth, and how dear it commonly costs, excus'd ourselves, and only I put on one, that we might not seem to slight his kindness. The Captain, the Pilot, and I went away with our Vests, a Horseback, to our Lodgings, where we took them off, as is the Custome, and with them to lighten the Purse of 50, or 60 Pieces of eight, for the *Bassa*'s Servants, who invented this Custome for their own Profit. So much they cost the Captain, and the Pilot; for I having declar'd, that I was a poor religious Man, and not ambitious of so expensive an Honour, the *Bassa* had order'd they should not demand any Fees of me; however the show cost me 6, or 7 Pieces of eight.

Their Present to him, and others.

The next Day we carry'd the *Bassa* the Present brought for him, which purchases Leave to pass through his Liberties. The principal Things it consisted of were, a *China* Counterpane, a Dimity Quilt curiously wrought with Silk, a Velvet Carpet, an inlaid Escritoire made at *Din*, some *China* Dishes, and Salvers, and some other Curiosities. After the *Bassa*'s, we carry'd another Present to his *Quequea*, who is the Person that governs all things next to him, and a third to the *Amin*, being the Chief Officer of the Custom-house. Nor is this all, for there are many more that crave, and must be serv'd, as Clerks, Commanders upon Passes, Guards, Door Keepers, in short they all suck and draw as much as they can. Above all the Duties on Goods were exhorbitant for they valu'd Commodities at one half more than they were worth, and according to that Rate took 16 per Cent. besides five Pieces of every Sort in the Hundred. When we were thus well shorn, he dismiss'd us for *Mazua*, in honourable Manner, with Letters of Recommendation, ordering the *Quequea*, and *Amin*

to

to permit us to go on our Way, without touching our Equipage, or opening our Parcels, or exacting any more Duties, and to allow us a good Guard, for some Days Journey.

We stay'd 16 Days at *Suaquem*, unpacking the Cloathing, sent in Charity to the Christians of *Ethiopia*, and resting ourselves; during which Time we were partly cur'd of the Itch, and recover'd the Fatigues of the Sea, the Air being good, because it was then Winter, and very mild, and there were good Provisions, of Beef, Mutton, Fish, and some Fruit, as Melons *&c.* All very good, and cheap. All this comes from the Continent, which is inhabited by *Moors* call'd *Funchos*. They are generally tall, and slender, their Eyes very small, their King has a Share in the Profits of the Custom-House, which the *Turks* allow him, that he may supply them with Provisions, and let the Caravans pass. *Suaquem* is a very small Island, about two Musket Shot in Length, and one and a half in Breadth, the Channel that parts it from the Continent being about the same Distance over. Some of the Houses are built with Stone, and Mud, others with Timber, and all cover'd with Mats. Sua-quem.

We departed *Suaquem* on the 21*st* of *December*, in a *Gelva*, or small Vessel, and got to *Mazua* in six Days, coasting along by Day, and lying at Anchor in the Night. *Mazua* is like *Suaquem*, an Island, little larger, and close to the Coast of *Africk*, some of the Houses of Stone, and Mud, but plaister'd, and white-wash'd, and others of Wood, and Mats. There are some Cisterns, and a Bastion at the Entrance over the Bar, with few Guns on it. The River is shallow, and can bear only the little Ships of *Din*, which ride before it, between *Mazua*, and *Arquico*, or *Deghano*, for so the Natives call it. *Deghgno*, or *Arquico* is a Town lying along the Coast, having many Wels, dug in the Sand, whence they have all the Water us'd there, and carry'd over daily in three, or four Barks to *Mazua*, and with it they water some small Gardens of several Sorts of Herbs, as also Lemon, and Pomgranate Trees, which thrive well there. When I came thither this first Time, it had no other Fortification, but only an Enclosure of Stone, and mud two Yards and a half high, and at the End a poor House, one Story high, where the *Quequea* liv'd, but when I return'd in *July* 1633, the wall was built with Lime and Stone; some say the square Fort adjoyning to the *Quequea*'s House is of Stone, and Earth, it has four Bastions, at the Angles, they and the Wall five, or six Yards high, it stands near the Wels, to guard the Water. Mazua. Arquico.

Having presented the *Quequela*, *Amin*, and other Officers, and shown them the *Bassa*'s Pass, notwithstanding the which they

they exacted upon us, we departed thence on the 16 of *January*, attended by almost all the Garrison of *Arquico*, being then about 20 Musketiers, tho at present they amount to above 200. They bore us company a Day and halfs Journey, till we met with People belonging to *Zabot*, a Village the Emperor had given the Fathers, chiefly that the Men of it, being above 300, arm'd with Javelins, and Targets, should go receive them at their coming, and the Goods they brought for Charity, and conduct them to *Debaroa*; because there are generally great Bands of Robbers all along that Road, being most of them Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, who by reason the Country is very Mountainous, Desert in many Places, and so remote from the Court, have little Regard for the Emperor, retaining nothing but the Name of Subjects. Besides those already mention'd, the Viceroy *Keba Christos*, a Zealous Catholick, being then in his Camp near *Debaroa*, sent his Brother *Asma Guerguis*, and the *Bahar Nagais Acaba Christos*, to guard us, with a good number of Men. All this was little enough, for the Fame of our coming, and bringing a considerable Caravan, had mov'd the Robbers to summon one another from all Parts, so that there were great Numbers of them ready to fall upon us.

Zabot Village.

We spent four or five Days in getting through the dangerous Passes, for the most Part climbing excessive high Mountains, among which there were some Lands till'd, and spacious Meadows, where great numbers of stately fat Cows and Oxen graz'd, which continue so all the Year, for in *December*, *January*, and *February* they feed in these Grounds towards the Sea, where it is then Winter, and in *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, they go farther up the Country, to take the Winter there.

Good Cattel.

Asmara is a high Country, but not so Mountainous, 8 or 9 Leagues short of *Dabaroa*, where the Inland Winter of *Ethiopia* ends. From that Place towards the Sea, we could see the thick Clouds, and mighty Showers attending the Winter on the Coast, hang over the Mountains, and high Vales, without fearing to be wet, the Natives assuring us they never came thither. A little beyond *Asmara* we met with a Regiment of *Portugueses*, belonging to *Maegoga*, and among them *John Gabriel*, a Man in Esteem, who for several Years had commanded all of that Nation in *Ethiopia*. With them came 5 Servants of the Viceroys and brought 5 Mules he sent us, one for each of the Fathers, and the 5*th* for *Emanuel Magro*, who bore us Company from *India*; they were good Beasts and serv'd us several Years. That same Prince gave four Mules more to other 4 Fathers that came in *July*, and the next Year sent 7 to the Patriarch and Fathers, he brought

Asmara Country.

brought with him, which are no small Gifts for a Country that is not wealthy.

The next Day we came to the Viceroy's Camp, who order'd all his Men to receive us in a spacious Plain, being about 1500 Soldiers, 300 of them mounted on Mules, many of whom led very fine Horses. The Viceroy himself embrac'd us with singular joy, and after a splendid Entertainment, we went to lie half a League further, at a Village of our own call'd *Adegada*, where we were visited by him the next morning, and continu'd four Days, during which Time above 200 new Converts receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament, besides the old Catholicks. *Reception of the* Jesuits.

Here many *Portugueses* of *Maegoga* and the Viceroy appointed us a good Guard, so that we pass'd the Desert of *Seraoe*, lying between *Debaroa* and *Maegoga*, being 10 or 12 Leagues in Length, attended by above 600 arm'd Men. In this Place, besides Tigers, Lions, Ounces, and Elephants, there are Abundance of Robbers, resorting to it from all Parts of *Tigre*, and particularly from some neighbouring Mountains, which are so uncouth, that they seldom own any Subjection to the Viceroy, and at that Time, they were in Rebellion. Towards the End of this Desert we cross'd the River *Marebo*, and at a small Distance from it met *F. James de Mattos*, who was come a Days Journey from *Maegoga* to expect us, having liv'd there above a year without the Company of any other Father. Seraoe *Desert.*

The next Day we arriv'd at *Fremona*, a Town in the small Territory call'd *Maegoga*, and suppos'd by some to have taken its name from *Fremonatios*, the first Bishops of *Aczum*, whom our Books call *Frumentus*. The name of *Maegoga* was taken from the Water-running close by, it being usual in *Tigre* to give Denominations to Territories from the Waters. *Mae* signifies water, in their ancient Language, which is that of their Books, and *Goga*, or *Guagua*, for so they write and pronounce it, is the Noise made by the said Water of two Streams there are, one coming from the North, the other from the North East, washing the Foot of certain high Mountains, lying to the Eastward. At the Conflux of these two Streams, a small Hill rises above the Plain, on which stands the Town of *Fremona*, above which it still rises gently to the Westward, where it forms another Head. From the mid way is another still greater Ascent, turning towards the South, or South West. The Fathers had for Fear of the many Robbers thereabouts, built a House of Stone, and Clay, on the second Head above mention'd, to which several others being afterwards added, the Place became strong, for that Country being enclos'd by 7 or 8 Bastions, with lofty Curtins between them. Fremona *Town.* Maegoga *Territory.*

This

This Place defended by 20, or 30 Muskets, and one Drake, manag'd by the Sons of the *Portugueses* was look'd upon as impregnable. The Town lies scatter'd all about the Hill, having now many Houses of Stone and Clay, with Enclosures of the same, there being great Plenty of Stone, and very fit for any Work; which they dig in Pieces 3, or 4 Inches thick, of what Length, and Breadth they please, and is, taken out of the Quarry without the Help of Pick-axes, or Wedges, only digging, and parting them with slight Iron Crows. The Clay is all red, and so glutinous, that it saves Lime. In this Place we rested some Days, waiting for the Emperor's Orders to go on to *Dambea*, which soon came, with Directions to the Viceroy to assign us a good Guard, as he did, commanding the *Nebtet* of *Aczum* to conduct us with his Men, as far as *Sire*, and the *Xamo* of *Sire* to see us safe beyond the Desert, which both punctually obey'd.

We came to *Fremona* about the Beginning of *February* 1624, and departed thence on the last Day of the same Month, three of us, leaving *F. Emanuel Barradas*, with *F. James de Mattos*, to assist him in serving the many Converts of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, Our Journey to *Ganeta Jesus* took us up 20 Days, and there we had a Residence, where *F. Lewis de Azevedo* then was, and the Emperor sent to order us, not to make any Stay. At break of Day we set out and came at Noon to the Top of a very high and steep Ascent, for the Territory of *Daucaz* is a Spot of Ground, about a League in Length, and little less in Breadth. All this is very high Land, no way accessible without climbing Mountains of a vast Heigth, for 3, or 4 Hours, and these are almost upright. This is an excellent Situation for a City, were it in *Europe*, being full of Srrings, and Rivulets, Meddows, and Corn Fields; tho' there are few Trees, but that is not the Fault of the Soil, but of the Inhabitants, who are continually cutting them down, and never plant any. Near the middle of this Territory, on a small Ridge was the Emperor's Camp, or Town, containing about 8, or 9000 Houses, all of them of Timber, or Stone, and Clay, thatch'd, and being for the most Part round, they look'd more like a Parcel of Hay Reeks than a City. The Patriarch coming over 4, or 5 Years after, brought with him some Masons, who built the Emperor a Palace of Lime, and Stone, which in that Country was wonderfull, the like having never been there seen before, and would have been reckned a noble Structure in any other Parts.

Ganeta Jesus

Dancaz.

Half a League from the Camp we were met by all the Prime Men of Quality, attended by several Bodies of Horse, and Foot, who conducted us to the Camp, where the Emperor receiv'd us in

Jesuits *Receptions at Court.*

in a ground Room, ſitting on his Couch, which is his Throne, on curious ſilk Quilts, leaning on Brocade Cuſhions. The Room was richly hung, the Viceroys ſtanding along the Walls, the great Men clad in Veſts of Velvet, Cloth of Gold, Brocade, or Satin, with their broad rich Swords in their Hands, as is us'd at Court. The Emperor had a noble Preſence, being tall, well favour'd, large beautifull Eyes, a ſharp Noſe, a broad handſome Beard, cloath'd in Crimſon Velvet to the Knees, with *Mooriſh* Breeches of the ſame, a Girdle of ſeveral thick Gold Plates, and a looſe upper Damask Garment of the ſame Colour. He ſcarce ſuffer'd us to kiſs his Hand, but order'd we ſhould ſit down near his Couch, the Nobility afterwards ſeating themſelves by Degrees. After the uſual Ceremonies, and delivering him a Letter from F. *Mutius Vitelleſchi*, the General of our Order, he diſmiſs'd us, ſent a plentiful Entertainment after us, of ſeveral Cows, Pots of Wine, and Honey, *Apas*, or Cakes of Bread, *&c.* Some Days after we retir'd to reſt us at our Reſidence of *Gorgorra*. Thus far F. *Emanuel d' Almeyda*'s Relation.

CHAP. VII.

Several Fathers ſent into Ethiopia. Ras Cella Chriſtos *the Emperor's Brother ſuppreſſes a Rebellion.* Don Alfonſo Mendez *appointed Patriarch ſails from* Lisbon *to* Goa.

F. *Mutius Vitelleſchi*, the General of the *Jeſuits* had order'd the Viſitor in *India*, to ſend 12 more into *Ethiopia*, upon the News of the great Progreſs made in that Country. Four being ready as far as *Dofar* on their Way, the Viſitor appointed 8 more, and in regard it was fear'd, the *Turks* would not permit ſo many to paſs the ſame way, four were order'd to go by *Mazua*, 2 by *Melinde*, and 2 by *Zeia*.

The firſt 4 had a good Voyage from *Din* to *Mazua*, where they arriv'd on the 2d of *May*, having ſet out about the latter end of *March*. Here they were detain'd by the *Baſſa* of *Suaquem*, till he had receiv'd a Preſent he expected from the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, being a *Zeeora*, or that curious Creature before deſcrib'd, which the

4 Jeſuits more paſs by the way of Mazua.

Portugueses call *Burro do Matto*, that is a wild Ass. The Heat was so violent during their Stay in that small Island, that all their Skin being parch'd came off in Fleaks, and Scurf, but being satisfy'd to escape with their Lives, as soon as dismiss'd, they proceeded on their Journey and came safe to *Fremona*.

2 *from* Melinde *return to* India.

Those two appointed to go by the Way of *Melinde*, after visiting all the Ports on that Coast, and inquiring in all Places how they might proceed on their intended Journey, finding no Directions, nor any Person that could pretend to guide them, return'd at last into *India*. It is not to be wonder'd they should find no way, the nearest Port on that Coast being at least 150 Leagues in a streight Line from any Part of the *Abissines* Dominions, and all among the most Brutal, Barbarous, and Inhuman Nations that *Africk* affords.

2 *put to Death at* Zeyla.

The two that were to attempt passing through *Zeyla*, tho' well recommended by the *Mooriſh* King of *Caixem*, were immediately seiz'd by that Barbarous Prince of *Zeyla*, or *Adel*, and after some Days imprisonment put to Death in their dark Confinement.

Practises about Religion.

This same Year 1624, the Emperor put out a Declaration, in Favour of the Catholick Religion, which much provok'd the adverse Party, who knowing they could never prevail as long as the Emperor and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* were throughly united, they work'd so far by false Insinuations, that the Sovereign growing Jealous remov'd his said Brother from the Viceroyship of *Gojam*, and tho' he was soon restor'd, yet this Jealousy was never quite extinguish'd, but produc'd many Mischiefs, which afterwards ensu'd.

Ras Cella Christos *defeats Rebels.*

Ras Gella Christos at this Time dedicated the Church of Lime and Stone the Fathers had built for him, at *Cerca*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*; and having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to march against the Rebels in the Kingdom of *Amahara*, under the Son of *Cabrael*, he set forward, not withstanding all the Difficulties, that might have obstructed, it being then the Depth of Winter. The Rebels fled at the Sight of his Advanc'd Parties, which slew many, and took all their Baggage, their Ringleader retiring to an inaccessible Mountain, with the Remains of his broken Forces, one of the *Gallas* who was in the Imperial Camp, undertook for a considerable Reward to betray him to *Cella Christos*. To this purpose he pretended to desert, and coming to the General of the Rebels, perswaded him to go over to his Country, where he would prevail with those People to espouse his Quarrel. His advice was follow'd, and the Traitor being conducted to a Town of that Nation, his deceitfull Guide perswaded his Countrymen rather to deliver him up to the Emperor's Brother, for a good Reward

than

than pretend to support his broken Fortune. Accordingly they dash'd out his Brains, with their Clubs, and sent his Jaws and Beard which was all that remain'd unbroken to *Ras Cella Christos*. He in the mean while had gain'd the Mountain, where he found all the Treasure belonging to those Outlaws, which he distributed among his Men, only reserving for himself some Things to be restor'd to an ancient Church, whence they had been taken by the Rebels. *F. Emanuel de Almeyda* saw them, and says they were a gold Chalice, that would hold about three Pints, and weigh'd two Pounds, a Paten above three Spans in Compass, three Spoons wherewith they gave the consecrated Wine, two of them Gold, and one Silver, a great Bible, bound in Crimson Velvet, all pleated with Gold.

The News of this Success was brought to the Emperor; at the Time when our Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was at *Gorgorra*, ordaining the first Priests in *Ethiopia*; yet this could not stop the Progress of Envy, which never ceas'd to Misrepresent him to the Emperor. But we must leave that Affair to give an Account of the aforesaid Patriarchs coming into that Country.

F. Alfonso Mendez *Patriarch.*

The Emperor of *Ethiopia* having made pressing Instances to the Pope and King of *Portugal* to send him a Patriarch, notwithstanding the two former Prelates sent thither had been so ill treated by that Princes Predecessors, King *Philip* the *4th* of *Spain*, nam'd to that Dignity *F. Alfonso Mendez*, of the Society of *Jesus*, Doctor of Divinity, and a Person excellently qualify'd for that Function. Life being very uncertain in such a tedious Voyage, it was thought fit to appoint others to succed him, the first of which was *F. James Seco*, with the Title of Bishop of *Nice*, the *2d F. John de Rocha*, stil'd Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who were all three consecrated at *Lisbon*, in the Year 1623. These three, with seventeen more of the Society, imbark'd in *March*, that same Year, and arriv'd in *September* at *Mozambique*, where they were forc'd to Winter, which being pass'd they reach'd *Goa* on the *28th* of *May* 1624, the Bishop of *Nice*, above mention'd, dying by the Way. The Patriarch's Voyage from that City to the Port of *Baylur*, and his Journey thence by Land to *Fremona* we will deliver out of a Letter of his own, in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

The Patriarch Don Alfonso Mendez *his Letter, giving an Account of his Voyage from* Goa *to* Baylur, *and his Journey by Land thence to* Fremona.

The Patriarch to go by Dancali.

I Departed *Goa*, says the Patriarch, on the 17*th* of *November*, 1624, for *Diu*, intending to imbark there for *Suaquem*, or *Mazua*; but receiv'd Letters at Sea from the Father Rector at *Diu*, giving me to understand, there was no Ship there to carry me to either of those Ports, the *Banians* positively refusing to go thither, because they had the foregoing Year been unreasonably exacted upon by the *Bassa*, and other Officers of the Custom-House: Besides there were Letters newly come from the Emperor, and Fathers in *Ethiopia*, advising, that I should not go by the Way of *Suaquem*, or *Mazua*; but repair to a Port of the King of *Dancali*, who is a very good Neighbour, and almost subject to the Emperor, which Port is call'd *Baylur*, and is 12 Leagues within the Mouth of the Streights, for that Way I might take with me what Men, Church Stuff, Books, or other Goods I pleas'd, and be as safe as in the Emperor's own Dominions. At the same Time they advis'd that no Merchant Ships must venture to that Port, but only Men of War, Galliots that could row, or other such light Vessels, that might be out of Danger of the *Turks* of *Mocha*, which lies just opposite. Adding that notice should be given of the Time I was to set out, that all things might be in Readiness, and a number of Men to conduct me. Besides these I receiv'd Letters from the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, the great Promoter of Christianity, which are here omitted as too tedious.

His Company.

I touch'd at *Bazaim*, *Damam*, and *Goga*, and arriv'd at *Diu* on the 2*d* of *February*. Four Galiots fitted out for this Purpose at *Bazaim* coming to this Port on the 23*d* of *March*, I imbark'd on the 2*d* of *April*, and set sail the next Morning, with four Fathers of the Society, which were *F. Jerome Lobo*, *F. Bruno d Santa Cruz*, *F. John Velasco*, and *F. Francis Marquez*, two Lay-Brothers being *Emanuel Luis*, and *John Martins*, and 13 Lay-Men, one of them a Servant I brought from *Portugal*, 5 good Musitians, 3 *Abyssines*, two Masons, and two other Servants.

The

The Wind being slack, and steady, we had Sight of the Island *Zocotora* on the 18*th*, and standing for it all Night had like to be cast away about break of Day, being just ready to run upon a Shoal that buts out from the Island to the Eastward; but that the Captain, who at other Times us'd to rely upon the Sailors, stepp'd to the Head, and looking out, saw the Sea ripple under the Cutwater, which made him cry to the Steersman to put the Helm up hard a Lee, and the Galiot, which at other Times did not readily answer the Helm, and must now upon the least sticking have split upon a Rock, came about as swift as the ablest Horseman could have done, to the Admiration of all the Men, and particularly of the Captain, who, tho' well acquainted with the Sea, and having run many Dangers, declar'd he never was in any like this, and look'd all the Day after as pale as a Ghost, protesting the Deliverance was miraculous. *Escapes great Danger at Sea.*

Running along the North Side of the Island, we came to the watering Place, where the King of *Caixem* has a Town, and in it a very handsome House, with a Gallery, after the Manner of *India*, and *Portugal*. The King's Factor, being the Prime Man there, was frighted, and drew out all the Men in Arms, to be in a Readiness, but understanding they were *Portuguese* Vessels, presently sent out an *Almadie* to compliment the Commodore, and offer such fresh Provisions as the Country afforded, which we stood in need of, and accordingly, the next Day sent us a considerable Present of Flesh, and Tamarinds; not only for the Captain, but for the Fathers. *Refresh'd from Shore.*

That night we stood off from the Island, and pass'd between *Abdalzuria*, and the 2 Sisters, and on the 21*st* in the Morning discover'd Cape *Guardafuy*. On the 29*th* we enter'd the Mouth of the Red Sea, and the next morning by break of Day were six or seven Leagues within it, still inclining towards the Coast of *Ethiopia*; without having Sight of *Moca*, or so much as of the Islands, where generally the *Turkish* Galleys, or other Vessels use to cruize. On the 2*d* of *May* we found our desir'd Port of *Baylur*, which we might have got into the next Day after our entering the Mouth of the Red Sea, being the 30*th* of *April*, had our Pilots known how to hit it. In the Port were three or four small Vessels of *Moca*, which seeing ours that row'd, and had sharp Beaks, fell very hastily to landing all they had aboard. An *Almadie* of ours went before, and the *Xeque*, or Governour plac'd there by the King, who resides about six or seven Leagues from thence, coming out to her, the Interpeter told him, There were three Ships come from *India*, which intended to water; giving him his *Arrive at* Baylur.

Present

Present, and so to prosecute their Voyage. He in a great Fright, answer'd. He would give them all the Water they had Occasion for, but they must be gone immediatly, and would have sent Hostages presently; but the Interpreter reply'd. They would go ashore the next Morning.

Is well receiv'd.

Being assur'd that was *Baylur*, we drew as near to Land, as the Sea would permit, which is there very shoal, and full of Flats. As soon as the least of our Ships came up with the *Turkish* Vessels, and made it self Master of them, the Interpreter went ashore, and told the *Xeque* the Truth of the Matter, That the Emperor of *Ethiopia* had sent for Fathers to *India*, and directed them to come to that Port, because the King was his Friend, and had engag'd to give them a good Reception; that they were aboard, but that no arm'd Men should land, or do any Harm. This satisfy'd the *Xeque*, who said, They had receiv'd such orders from their King three Years before, and he the Emperor's Presents to that Effect. An old Man, who is a Sort of Judge there, whom they call *Furto*, added, that he came about a Month since from the King's Camp, and whilst he was there, Letters were brought from the Emperor of the same Purport both of them then came aboard, in very friendly Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to us.

Troublesome travelling.

We departed *Baylur* on the 5*th* of *May*, afternoon, not so well furnish'd as we expected, for tho' they had promis'd us, and there was need of many more Camels, yet we being very hasty to be gone, as apprehending the Neighbourhood of *Moca*, they found us but 14, which oblig'd us to leave behind much of our Goods, taking only the most valuable, we being now 22 Persons, with two that joyn'd us from the Ships. Only six Asses could be got, so that we rode by Turns, and went a foot most Part of the Way, which when it was not loose Sand, was over Mountains of Iron Mines, the Stones whereof are like the Dross that comes from the Furnaces, and so sharp pointed, that they spoilt a Pair of Shooes in a Day, and there being no great Stock of them, most of my Companions were forc'd to make use of the Pack-thread Buskins we carry'd for the Servants, and not being us'd to them, their Feet were much gall'd, and Bloody, following the Camels eleven Days our Journey lasted. Some of them to partake of the Blessing the Prophet *Isaiah* gives the Feet of Ministers of the Gospel, would not ride at all, eating very little besides Rice we had with us, meeting no Town to furnish us with Provisions; and the Heat so violent that it melted the Wax in our Boxes, without any Shade, but that of Briers, which did us more Harm than good, lying on the hard Ground, and drinking brackish Water

Water, of a very ill Scent, and sometimes but little of that. Yet the greatest Vexation we had was the Company of the Camel Divers, who dealt with us most barbarously, and could never be corrected by the old *Furto* above mention'd, who went along with us, continually craving something, and with a Design to inform his King, what he might demand of us. This Man, the Kinder we were to him, the worse he treated us, obliging us to maintain, and cook for him, and he would always be the first serv'd, and if at any Time his Meat was not so soon ready as he expected, he reveng'd himself by not travelling that Day, and playing us a thousand Dog Tricks, striking our Men, all which we were fain to bear, for Fear our Goods should be left in that Desert, which he would be very apt to do, because he was paid before hand, for the Hire of the Camels, without which he would not have stir'd a Foot with us.

Reception by the King of Dancali.

The King of *Dancali* being inform'd of our Arrival, came six Days Journey, from remoter Parts, to a better Country, where there was good Water, and sent his Brother before to receive, or rather to pillage us, for soon after we met, he sent to put us in mind, we should give him his Present, which we could not avoid delivering in that very Place, tho' we pleaded the Things were all dispers'd in the several Packs, that were to be open'd when we came to the King, his Brother's Camp. To show what Difference there is in Men's Fancies, he willingly accepted of all that was Clothing, and only rejected, and desir'd us to change him a little Cabinet of *Diu*, curiously inlay'd, which is worth there five *Cruzados*, that is about 13 or 14 Shillings, for a Bit of Cloth, worth about eight Pence. The King made the same Account of some Curiosities of *China* we offer'd him, parting with them immediately, and being extremely, fond of the Cloathing, tho' of very small Value; The Reason his People gave for this was, that, he always living in Tents, Curiosities were of no use there, nor had he any thing worth keeping in them.

The next Day, the King sent us four Mules for the four Principal Fathers to come into his Camp in more state, among which one fell to my Share, because I was reckoned the Great Father, for so they call they Superior. This Name sunk that of Patriarch, or *Abuna*, of which the King had receiv'd some Intelligence, brought him out of *Ethiopia*, by the *Moorish* Commander, and the *Portugueses*, that came from thence. Seeing us all in the same Habit, which was always that the Society wear in *India*, they ask'd for the *Abuna*, that came from *Rome*, and we answer'd, He dy'd at Sea, meaning the Bishop of *Nice*, at which the King was as much concern'd as we, thinking he had lost a considera-

ble

ble Prize in him. He prepar'd to receive us in a Hall, like that the Poets describe the first King of *Rome* had, round, enclos'd and cover'd with Hay, and so low, that it oblig'd me to bow lower than I had intended. Nor could the Wind be confin'd in it, being open on all Sides. On one of them the Floor, was rais'd about four Fingers above the rest, and on it a small Carpet of *Lar* in *Persia*, worn so thread bare, that it look'd as if it had serv'd all his Predecessors, with a small Cushion of the same Antiquity, which when he was better provided with what we gave him, he order'd to be laid for us to sit down before him, instead of a Leather we had at the first Visits, and we afterwards saw it on his Horse. His Canopy was a Piece of course Cloth, on the right Hand a Chair, which was once good, with Silver Plates, and on the left two very large Calabashes, full of a Liquor, he us'd instead of Wine, and took of it often, before his Visiters, and these were the Kittledrums that went before him, when he came thither from his Tent, which was a small Distance, and might for Antiquity have serv'd *Ismael*, from whom they boast they are descended.

His poor Equipage.

His Gravity, and Sedateness was well becoming a King, and he show'd it in despising a small Present we carry'd him for Admittance as his Servants told us was usual, reserving the rest for another Time, which he did that we might not think that sufficient; nor did he show much liking of the great Present, tho' it was of considerable Value, nor that he could find Fault with it, but that there might be Room for us to give more, and him to crave on, as he did during all the 17 Days we stay'd there, which very much vex'd us, and yet we were much oblig'd to him, for tho' he fancy'd we brought much more than in Reality we had, and both himself and his People were very greedy, which is occasion'd by the Country being so poor, that for above 50 Leagues I travell'd through, there is not one Foot fit to be sow'd, and they live upon Flesh, and Milk, and some Corn brought them out of *Ethiopia*; yet he never order'd our Goods to be search'd, nor saw any of them, nor exacted any Duties. The Fathers that went by the Way of *Mazua*, and *Suaquem* said we should not have come off there for 150 Pieces of Eight.

His Behaviour.

Here we began to be pinch'd with Hunger, for tho' the Rectors of *Bazaim*, and *Tana* had furnish'd us with Provision enough to serve us both by Sea and Land, it was left at *Baylur*, both for want of Carriage, and because they told us there was Plenty enough at the King's Camp; but we found so little, that it was a great happiness to meet with half a Peck of Millet, which we eat by Measure, either boil'd, or roasted, there being no conveniency for grinding

Hard Fare.

grinding, and very often we fed upon nothing but Flesh, which they sold us very dear, knowing we must eat, and they had then a good Opportunity to furnish themselves with Cloathing, which at length began to fail, and none having Faith enough to trust us, we were oblig'd to shorten our Allowance. At our taking Leave, the King would have me, as being the great Father, to ride his own Horse, from his Tent to ours, magnifying the Honour he did us therein, and telling us, that even his own Brother did not mount his Horse. There was no diswading him from it, tho we urg'd that the Fathers did not use to ride a Horseback, for he was resolv'd the Emperor should know he did his Masters that Honour, so that I was oblig'd to mount, and went back with great noise of Horse-bells, and well attended. *Honour done the Patriarch*

The next Day, being the 5*th* of *June*, we were dismiss'd, with more Honour than Conveniency, having but one He Mule, besides the Beasts we brought from *Baylur*, so that we were little mended, except my self, who had a good Mule given me by *Paul Nogueyra*, who would never ride in all the Way, alledging he could not do it, when the Fathers went a foot. Thus we travell'd through uncooth Lands, but with Plenty of good Water, the *Mooriſh* Commander, and his Men going along with us, as also a Renegado *Abyſſine*, who was his Father in Law.

The Boundary between the Kingdoms of *Dancali* and *Tygre*, is a Plain four Days Journey in Length, and one in Breadth, which they call the Country of Salt, for there is found all that they use in *Ethiopia* instead of Mony; being Bricks, almost a Span long, and four fingers thick and broad, wonderful white, fine, and hard, and there is never any miss of it, tho they carry away never so much; and this Quantity is so great, that we met a Caravan of it, wherein we believ'd there could be no less than 600 Beast of Burden, Camels, Mules, and Asses, of which the Camels carry 600 of those Bricks, and the Asses 140, or 150, and these continually going, and coming. They tell many Stories concerning this Salt Field, and among the rest, that in some Part of it, there are Houses that look like Stone, in which they hear human Voices, and of several other Creatures, and that they call such as pass that Way, by their Names, and yet nothing can be seen. The *Mooriſh* Commander told me, that as he went by there with a Lion *Ras Cella Chriſtos* sent to *Moca*, three or four of his Servants vanish'd on a sudden, and he could never hear of them after. In one Place there is a Mount of Red Salt, which is much us'd in Philick. This is to be pass'd over by Night, because the Heat is so violent in the Day, that Travellers, and Beasts are stifled, and the very Shoes parch up, as if they were laid on burning Coals. We enter'd upon it at three in the Afternoon, *Roch Salt grows.* *Red Salt.*

and it pleas'd God that the Sun clouded, which the Renegado *Moor* attributed to his Prayers. We travell'd all the Night to get over the Salt Hill, only resting three times, whilst the Camels Burdens were set down, and loaded again; and on the *11th* of *June* in the Morning came to a parcel of Stones, where they told us, the Salt was at an End. Here we all saw towards our Right, a Star in the Sky larger than the Planet call'd the Morning Star, very beautifull and bright, continuing fix'd in the same Place, whilst a Man might say the Lords Prayer, and an *Ave Mary*. On a sudden it enlightened all the Horizon, and rejoyc'd our Hearts.

Dangerous Ways.

We were oblig'd to travel all Day, that we might come to Water in the Evening, and had another Iron Mountain to pass, like that of *Dancali*, where our *Portugueſe* Companion bid us strike off a shorter Way than the Caravan could go, along which we travell'd afoot at least six Hours, almost perish'd for want of Drink, till a *Moor* we met accidentally conducted us to the Water, and there the Caravan join'd us at Night. We made but a short stay here, being told that the *Gallas* us'd to resort to that Water, and therefore travell'd on all Night to get over a great Plain they continually haunt, which we found strew'd with the Bones of 160 Persons those Barbarians had butcher'd, and frighted us, seeing the Track of their passing that way the same Night, and yet we could not get over it, till Eight or Nine the next Morning, when we took to the Mountains, where those People seldom go, and rested there all the remaining Part of the Day.

Pleasant River.

The next Night we travers'd another Plain of the *Gallas* shorter than the other, and then came upon the Bank of a River, along which we travell'd two Days, and I think it may be reckn'd one of the pleasanteſt in the World, for the Water is clear and cool, and the Herbs growing along it sweet, as Penny Royal, Basil, and many more we know not. The Banks are cover'd with Tamarind, and those Trees they call of the *Pagod* in *India*, besides many others, on which there were abundance of Monkeys, skipping about and making Faces at us. Here we met a Man who brought us Letters from the Fathers, and said *F. Emanuel Barradas* would be with us the next Day at Noon. The Renegado told us, the Camels should go no farther, unless we gave something more for them; and at Night, that we must lie still all the next Day, because their House was hard by, and they would go kill a Cow, in Honour of *S. Michael*, whose Festival is kept in *Ethiopia* on the *16th* of *June*, and the *Moors* observe it. That Night four or five Men came up to us, sent by *F. Emanuel Barradas*, with Provisions.

The

The next Day, at 9 of the Clock, we came to the Foot of the Mountain *Sanafe* where began the Command of the *Mooriſh* Captain that went for us, and ſo far we had hir'd the Camels, who could not go up it, becauſe very high, and ſteep. Soon after we had ſet up our Tent, came *F. Barradas*, with ſeveral *Ethiopians* of Quality, many *Portegueſes*, Mules for all the Fathers, a very fine one for the Patriarch and a bundance of Proviſions. Here *F. Barradas* advis'd me to put on the Epiſcopal Robes, which when the *Mooriſh* Commander ſaw, he was much ſurpris'd, and begg'd my Pardon for not having known me ſooner, to pay that Honour that was due to my Dignity, and the Renegado hearing of it was ſo confoounded, that he durſt not ſhow his Face. On the 17*th* we aſcended the Mountain, which is higher than the *Alps*, as one of our Companions ſaid, who had paſs'd them, and thicker of Cedars, Cypreſs, and other Trees, and ſweet Herbs, the common Weed on it being extraordinary high Tufts of Sage, and white Roſes. Going down again, we came into Till'd Grounds, full of Barley, and Millet, which we had not ſeen before. The *Xumo* of *Agamea* met us at the Place where we lay that Night, he and the others with him bringing Preſents of 2 or 300 *Apas*, or Cakes of Bread each, and 2, or 3, Cows, as alſo four, five or ſix Camels loaden with Meltheglin, all which was divided among the Company, and tho' perhaps the Preſents might be the more conſiderable, becauſe they were for Gueſts, who came from ſuch remote Parts, it is a ſettled Cuſtom in *Ethiopia* to entertain, and give a Days Proviſion to all Paſſengers, according to their Quality, and if it be not done the Traveller may the next Day complain of the Governour of the Town. The *Xumo* of *Amba Senete*, to whoſe Houſe we came the 3*d* Night, gave us there 8 Cows, and we were entertain'd after the *Ethiopian* Manner, a Round Table being ſpread on the Ground, and on it many *Apas*, as broad as Peck Loaves, made of Wheat, and a ſort of Peaſe much valu'd in that Country, on which they lay the Meat, ſo they are both eatan together, both Fleſh and Diſh.

Sanafe *Mountain.*

Being thus attended by a great number of Horſe Men, richly clad, who went before Skrimiſhing with their Jrvealins, and Targets, we came to *Fremona* which is a large and famous Town in theſe Parts, on the 21*ſt* of *June*. Thus far the Patriarch's Letter.

CHAP. IX.

The Patriarch's Journey to the Court. His Reception there. The Progress of Religion. Several Rebellions, and Contrivances of the Schismaticks for subverting the Roman *Religion.*

THe Patriarch coming to *Fremona* when the Winter began, which is there on the 21*st* of *June*, and ends in *September*, he was forc'd to stay all *October*, and a great part of *November*, because it is extraordinary dangerous travelling from *Tygre* to *Dambea*, during those Months, being very subject to Fevers, and other malignant Distempers, occasion'd by the Corruption of the Air in those Deserts, the Sun Beams perfectly burning in those low boggy Grounds, which so scorches up the Grass, and Shrubs that they exhale such noxious Vapours, as seldom fail to prove mortal to any that pass.

Dangerous Season to Travel.

At *Gorgorra*, the Patriarch gave Ordination conditionally to 20 Clergy Men, and Monks, who had receiv'd it before from the *Abuna*, and some of them that had Wives were permitted to keep them, as is us'd in the *Greek* Church, that the Parishes might not be destitute of Curates. Half a League from the Emperors Camp he was met by the best of the Court and 15, or 16000 Arm'd Men, both Horse and Foot, all in their best Apparel, which in the People of Quality consists of Vests of several sorts of Silk, as Velvet, Satin, Brocade of *Mecca* all after the *Turkish* Fashion. The Apparel of the common Sort consists of Callicoes, Buckrams, and other *Indian* Stufs. The richest, over their Silks have large Gold Chains, rich Sashes, wear curious Gold Bracelets, broad Swords, or Hangers plated with Gold, and Silver. The Gentlemen were well mounted and accouter'd, the rising parts of their Saddles higher than ours, and plated with Silver on Silk of several Colours. All these Horsemen coming up with the Patriarch made him a low Bow, and then opening to the Right and Left, took him in the Midst of them, the Air resounding with the Noise of Kettle Drums, Pipes, and Shouts. Thus was he conducted to a Tent, at a small distance from the Camp, where he alighted to put on his Bishops Rocket, and Hat, all the great Men kissing his Hand. Then he proceeded to another Tent, at the Entrance into the Camp, where having put on a Cope and white Mighter, he mounted a Py'd Horse, with a Horse-Cloth of white Damask,

Reception of the Patriarch

Habit of Ethiopia,

Damask, which the Emperor had sent very richly trapp'd, and thus under a Canopy, carry'd by 6 Viceroys, and Prime Noblemen, he proceeded to the Church of *Gan Jabet, Serca Christos*, the Lord High Steward leading his Horse, the Musick sounding all the Way. At the Church he was receiv'd with a Discharge of some Cannon the Emperor has, and all the small Shot, the *Benedictus* being sung by excellent Voices. The Emperor was in the Chancel richly clad, with his Gold Crown on his Head, sitting on his Imperial Seat, with a Cushion of Cloth of Gold, and Brocade at his Feet, where he receiv'd, and imbrac'd the Patriarch, who then went up to the Altar, and made a short Speech, which was much applauded.

Honour done he Patriarch.

When the Ceremony was over, they all withdrew, and after a small Repose the Patriarch went to Court, where the Emperor seated him in a Chair equal with himself, and this he practis'd as often as he afterwards came to see him. They then appointed a Day on which the Emperor and all the great Men, both Clergy, and Laity, where in solemn Manner publickly to swear Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, which was on the 11*th* of *February* 1626. The Palace being then richly adorn'd, and all the Men of Note assembled, the Emperor, and the Patriarch sate down on two Chairs, and the latter made a long Speech, or Sermon to the Audience, to prove the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*. Then *Mecha Christos*, the Emperor's Cousin, Lord High Steward, and Viceroy of *Cemen*, spoke by his Order, the Emperor himself prompting, where he miss'd in any thing he had been directed to say. Then the Emperor taking the New Testament in his Hands open, knelt down before the Patriarch, and took the Oath of Supremacy to the Pope, which was afterwards perform'd by all the Nobility, and Clergy. Next they all took an Oath to Prince *Faciladas* as Heir to the Crown. Proclamation was then made, that no Clergy Men, or Monks, should for the future say Mass, or perform other Ecclesiastical Functions, till they had been with the Patriarch; in regard it was much doubted, whether they were legally ordain'd; for besides that they did not confer any lesser Orders, the Ordination of the Deacons consisted in anointing their Heads, and cutting off some Hair, and that of the Priests in taking a Loaf off the Church Window with their own Hands. And it once hapened, that almost 3000 resorting to the *Alexandrian Abuna*, to be ordain'd, he being then busy, bid them all take what Orders they would, and go about their Business. It was also order'd that all Persons whatsoever should embrace the *Roman* Faith, upon Pain of Death, to such as should refuse it, and that none should presume to conceal them.

Oath of Supremacy taken to the Pope.

Ethiopian Ordination.

Next

Lands, and Houses given the Patriarch

Next the Emperor gave the Patriarch Lands, on the Borders of *Dambea*, adjoyning to *Begameder*, where he order'd him a House to be built, and furnish'd with all Conveniencies for himself, and Family, and a Seminary for 60 Young *Abyssines*, and Sons of *Portugueses*, to learn to write, and read both Languages and be be instruct'd in matters of Faith. Another House was built for the Patriarch in the Camp at *Dancaz*, where the Emperor us'd to reside in Winter, and that Prelate preach'd there on most Sundays, the *Ethiopians* delighting in hearing many Texts of Scripture quoted. Many of them mislik'd the Custom introduc'd by the *Portugueses* of praying on their Knees, and some contended that the Altars ought to be portable, without any Stone. The Patriarch employ'd himself in collecting, and expounding the Synods, till the *6th* General Council, because the main Errors of the *Abyssines* were relating to the Incarnation, whereof little is said in the other Synods because those Heresies had been sufficiently confuted before. He also compos'd a Catechism, in showing all the Errors not only of the *Abyssines*, but of all other Oriental Nations, in putting which Books into the *Ethiopian* Tongue he was much assisted by a Noble Man call'd *Oda Christos*, who had an excellent Talent that way.

A Church built

A mighty Progress was made in Converting of the People, the Patriarch sending abroad several Priests, and Monks he had Ordain'd, to instruct and administer the Sacraments. Two of these were murder'd in the Province of *Ceguade*, which is the most Eastern Part of the Kingdom of *Tygre*. At this time was the Solemnity of the Dedication of the new Church built at *Gorgorra*, with Lime and Stone, where the Vestry, and Choir being vaulted, and many Roses curiously cut in white Stone, the *Abyssines*, who had never before seen a Stone Roof came from very far to admire this strange Work. This same Year 1626, the Kingdom of *Tygre* suffer'd by a dreadful Plague of Locusts, which are frequent in *Ethiopia*, by reason of its being a Mountainous Country, and full of Deserts, where such Vermin generally breed, and there are such Multitudes of these Locusts, that they look like vast thick Clouds, and their Teeth are so sharp, that they destroy all the Grass, and the Leaves on the Trees, leaving all the Provinces they pass through desolate. This Plague was so dreadful in *Tygre* that whole Provinces were utterly unpeopled, particularly that of *Bur*, near the Red Sea, next to *Datalo*, and so great a Famine ensu'd, there being nothing for Men, or Beasts to eat, that very few escap'd, who all went away to other Countries 5000 of whom came to *Gane a Jesu*, in *Dambea*, where the Emperor then was; looking more like Ghosts than Men, as having nothing left

Locusts.

left but the bare Skin upon their Bones, who were all reliev'd by the Emperor.

As soon as possible the Patriarch went upon his Visitation, beginning at the Province of *Ogar*, which is 15 Leagues long, and 10 in Breadth, being high Land, and consequently very cold, but fruitfull in Wheat, and Barley. On the North it is bounded by Mount *Lamal*, on the South it joyns to *Dancaz*, and contain'd above 60 Churches, besides some Monasteries. This same Year 1627, the barbarous *Gallas* broke into the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where surprizing the Viceroy *Buco*, with a very small Number of Men, they kill'd him; but *Ras Cella Christos* offering them Battle, tho' with much inferior Force to theirs, they fled by Night over the River, and thus the Country was deliver'd of them. *Ogar Province.*

Five Fathers arriv'd in *May* 1628, at *Mazua*, from *Diu*, for the Mission of *Ethiopia*, and were detain'd there four Months by the *Turks*, but at length, after much Trouble, and Charge they got away, and arriv'd safe at *Fremona*. Soon after *Tecla Guerguis*, Viceroy of *Tygre* broke out into open Rebellion against the Emperor, declaring for the Faith of *Alexandria*. The Emperor having receiv'd the News, order'd *Keba Christos*, who had been before Viceroy of that Kingdom to march against the Rebel. He drew 500 Targetiers, and 100 Horse out of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, to which he joyn'd another Body of 1000 Men, call'd *Coapact*, which signifies Stars, being the ancientest, and best Troops in *Ethiopia*, with these he March'd so indefatigably, that tho' the Rebels were 100 Leagues from him, he came up with them, and put an End to the War in a Month, making a great Slaughter, and taking their Ring-leader the Viceroy, whom the Emperor caus'd to be hang'd in his Camp. *5 other Jesuits came into Ethiopia.* *Rebellion for Religion supress'd.*

This Year the Catholick Religion seem'd to be at its highest Pitch, for there were then in *Ethiopia* 19 Priests of the Society, besides very many of Natives that had receiv'd Ordination from the Patriarch, and the Number of Converts was incredible. The Foundation of a New Cathedral was now laid, and many other Churches much improv'd; but amidst this Prosperity the Seeds of all following Mischiefs were sown, *Melcha Christos*, a Rank Schismatick, underhand incensing the Emperor against his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, and laying the Foundation of the many Rebellions that afterwards ensu'd. *Conversions, and Plots.*

The first of them was in the Year 1629, by the *Agaus* of *Begameder*, who live among Mountains of a prodigious Height, and abounding in Provisions, against whom the Emperor march'd in Person, with 25000 Foot and 2000 Horse; but attacking them indiscreetly *Rebellion and Invasion.*

in

in their Fastnesses, was repuls'd with considerable Loss, and so return'd to *Dancaz*. Thence he sent to call his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, who was then in Disgrace, yet came immediately, and advancing towards the Rebels, defeated such as were come down from the Mountains. This done another Rebellion breaking out at *Amahara*, under one *Luca Muriam*, *Ras* came upon him so unexpected, that he and most of his Men perish'd by the Sword, or in the Flight falling off the Precipices. This broke not the others that were further on the Mountains of *Lasta*, against whom the Emperor sent the Viceroy of *Tygre*, *Keba Christos*, who venturing too far, with an inferior Force, was there kill'd by those Peasants, and his small Troops utterly routed. Misfortunes seldom come alone, and so it hapened now, for much about this same Time, the *Gallas* made an Irruption into the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where *Tecur Egzi*, Lieutenant to *Ras Cella Christos* opposing them with too small a Power, was himself slain, and his Troops defeated. These two Commanders *Keba Christos*, and *Tecur Egzi*, were the two Main Pillars of the Catholick Religion, next to the Emperor, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, and they failing there soon ensu'd an extraordinary Change, such as were of the contrary Opinion about the Emperor, laying hold of al Opportunities to alienate him from the Religion he had em. brac'd.

Accidents that overthrew Religion.

Two Accidents now happned, which contributed very much to the Revolution that was at hand. The first that a famous Monk, who had been for many Years *Ichege*, that is General of the Religious Order of *Tecla Haymanot*, dy'd obstinate in his Schism, and was nevertheless bury'd before the High-Altar in a Church; which the Patriarch hearing of, he sent a Reprimand to the Priest that Church belong'd to, telling him, The Church was defil'd by that Body, and unfit for divine Service. Hereupon the said Priest took up the Body, and cast it out, which gave great Scandal, the People complaining, that the *Portugueses*, under Colour of propagating the *Roman* Faith, insulted the very dead, and would not suffer them to lie in their Graves. The other Case was, that the Patriarch caus'd a Woman convicted of Witchcraft, and who had confess'd it herself, to be imprison'd for a few Days; but perceiving it gave a Disgust, he dismiss'd her again, without any farther Punishment. The Reason why this was so heinously resented is becaufe it is a positive receiv'd Opinion in *Ethiopia*, that there can be no Contract, or Familiarity with the Devil, so as to do Harm to any Person by way of Witchcraft. The original of this Notion proceeded from very many having been formerly destroy'd by Poison, whose Death

Deaths they then attributed to Sorcery, and to obviate that, it was decreed, that no Perſon ſhould ſay, there was any *Buda*, that is Witch, or Wizard. To confirm their Opinon they ſay, that whoſoever believes there are any ſuch Sorcerers, muſt of neceſſity grant there are two Gods, for none but God has Power to give or take away Life. If we urge Scripture, as *Pharaoh*'s Magicians, *Simon Magus*, and the like, they at beſt grant there were formerly Sorcerers in other Countries, but not in *Ethiopia*.

A lewd Princeſs.

Theſe were not all the Occaſions of Offence. The Emperor had a lewd Daughter, call'd *Oenguelavit*, who had two Husbands living, and yet liv'd in open Adultery with a third Perſon, which was *Za Chriſtos*, who had been marry'd to another of the Emperor's Daughters. This infamous Woman would have prevail'd with the Patriarch to grant a Diſpenſation, for her to Marry her Adulterer, which that Prelate refuſing, ſhe meditated Revenge, and ſet all the great Men ſhe had any Influence over againſt him. Many more Accidents concurr'd, which being improv'd by the Adverſe Party occaſion'd mighty Troubles, and theſe at length wrought upon the Emperor, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Rebels routed.

In the Year 1630, the Rebels of *Amara*, ſent one with the Title of Viceroy, and a ſtrong Body of Men to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of *Tygre*. He being wholly intent upon feaſting on a Saturday, which thoſe People keep as religiouſly as Sunday, was ſurpriz'd, and ſet upon by the Emperor's Viceroy, and three *Xumos*, or great Men of that Kingdom, who ſlew 4000 of his Men, and took 32 Pair of Kettle-drums, which ſhow'd how conſiderable their Victory was, becauſe none are allow'd to uſe them but Commanders who have at leaſt 400 Men. Another conſiderable Party of theſe People was entirely cut off by *Ras Cella Chriſtos* on the Mountains. Notwithſtanding this good Service, the Emperor upon the Inſinuations of his Adverſaries took from his Brother *Ras Cella Chriſtos* the Viceroy-ſhip of *Gojam*, moſt of his Lands, and the beſt Troops he had, leaving him in ſuch a Condition, that he was wholly unable to ſupport his Dignity.

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A lewd Princess.

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Rebels routed.

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Chap. X.

A New Bishop comes into Ethiopia ; *Troubles, and Rebellions ; a great Victory obtain'd by the Emperor; he gives Liberty of Conscience, and dies ; the manner of his Funeral ; Cruelty of his Son, and Successor* Faciladas.

THUS stood the Affairs in *Ethiopia* at the Arrival of *Don Apollinaris d' Almeyda*, the new Bishop of *Nice*, chosen in the Place of *Don James Seco*, who, as has been said, dy'd at Sea. He landed at *Goa* on the 21*st* of *October* 1629, sail'd thence again on the 18*th* of *November*, and reach'd not *Diu* till the 25*th* of *March*. From *Diu* he set out for *Suaquem*, but was force'd into the Island *Camaran*, on the Coast of *Arabia*, whence he sent a good Present to the *Bassa*, to gain his Favour. That Commander was then far off carrying on the War against *Imam*, a powerful King of *Arabia*, who had newly defeated him with the Slaughter of 12000 *Turks*. That King had not long before taken the City of *Adem* from the *Turks*, and 3 Years after this, in 1635 made himself Master of *Moca*, so that those Infidels lost all the Kingdom of *Yemen*, which is the best of *Arabia Felix*, when they had been possess'd of it above 60 Years, and by that Means enjoy'd a most considerable Trade in the Eastern Parts, the Commodities of those Countries being brought to *Adem*, *Moca*, *Odida*, *Camarane* and *Guida* by Merchants of *Nagana*, *Por*, *Mangalor*, *Diu*, *Goga*, *Surtate*, *Dabul*, the *Malabar* Coast, and *Achem*.

Turks worsted in Arabia.

The *Bassa* was well pleas'd to hear of the Arrival of the Bishop, remembering that a few Years before four *Italian* Religous Men of our Order landing at *Alexandria*, had been ransom'd for 6000 Pieces of Eight, notwithstanding they had the *Turks* Pass, to go that Way into *Ethiopia*. However being told by some *Turks*, that these were poor, had a Pass from the *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, and their Order very kind to the Merchants trading to *Diu*, he dismiss'd them, and they sail'd in a small Vessel, on the 12*th* of *July* for *Mazua*. In that passage, which is generally perform'd in three or four Days, they spent 14, were suffer'd to

A Bishop gets into Ethiopia

go from *Mazua*, without any Obstruction, and arriv'd at *Fremona*, on the 20*th* of *August*. There they continu'd 3 Months, because it was Winter, and came into the Emperor's Camp on the 16*th* of *December* 1630, had a very honourable Reception, and after a Fortnight's Stay, retir'd to the Patriarch's House at *Depsan*, in the Territory of *Anfras*, four Leagues from *Dancaz*.

The Emperor had lately depriv'd his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* of the Viceroy-ship of *Gojam*, and bestow'd it on his Nephew *Cerca Christos*. This was done through the sinister Insinuations of the Unkles Enemies, and particularly of Prince *Faciladas*, who envy'd *Ras*, and thought he should have a fitter Instrument for his Designs, in his Cousin. This new Viceroy of *Gojam* was now order'd, by the Emperor to go with all his Forces to convoy a Carravan, that was coming out of the Kingdom of *Narea*, and brought him the Gold that Country yearly pays, being in all 1000 *Oqueas*, which amount to 10000 Peices of Eight, and so poor is *Ethiopia*, that they look upon this as a mighty Treasure. *Cerca Christos* in his Way came to a Territory of the *Gafates*, near the *Nile*, which abounding in Grass, was full of those Peoples Cows, there very numerous, and stately, as also those of the Neighbouring *Demotes*. The Viceroy concluded that these Cows would yield him more Gold, than all that amounted to, which came from *Narea*, and which he was not like to be the better for, and therefore drove a way so many, that at *Dancaz* it was said they were above 100000. The Emperor was much concern'd at this Insult, and sent him Orders to restore the Cows and deliver himself up Prisoner; but he had other Thoughts, and accordingly made Proclamation in his Camp, declaring Prince *Faciladas* Emperor, and commanding all Persons to forsake the *Roman* Faith, and embrace that of *Alexandria*. The Prince nevertheless was so far from consenting to this Practice, that he march'd against him with his Army, which the Rebel perceiving he set up an Infant descended from the Royal Family, and at the Perswasion of the Schismatick Monks, murder'd two Persons for Professing the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor was much concern'd at the News of this fresh Rebellion, whilst the other of *Lasta* was still on foot, and therefore being sensible how he had been misled, sent again for his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, to whom he was reconcil'd, and by his Advice sent more Forces to Prince *Faciladas*, with Orders to march immediately against the Rebel. The Prince did so, taking *F. Francis Marquez* along with him. The Viceroy fled hastily over the *Nile*, but was so closely pursu'd, that coming to a Battel, and being much inferior in Numbers, his Forces were routed, and he flying to a Mountain oblig'd

Rebellion of Cerca Christos.

He is taken and executed.

three Days after to surrender himself to the Prince, by whom he was conducted to the Emperor's Camp, and there executed with seven of his Prime Commanders.

Actions with the Rebels of Lasta.

After this Success the Emperor soon slighted his Brother *Ras*, who retir'd to his own House, whilst that Monarch march'd against the Rebels of *Lasta*. He divided his Army into three Parts, to enter these Mountains so many several Ways, which was done successfully enough, killing many of those Peasants, and gaining three of the most difficult Passes; yet after all this good Fortune a Party of the Imperialists being worsted, that Prince was so much discourag'd, that fearing lest his Provisions should be cut off, he slunk back to his Court at *Dancaz*, leaving that Kingdom of *Begameder* expos'd to the Fury of those Rebels.

Conversions,

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Patriarch made his Visitation in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and the Bishop continu'd it where he could not come. *F. John Pereyra* was very successful among the *Damotes*, in his Residence at *Ligenugus*, and no less among the *Zeytes*. These last formerly dwelt beyond the *Nile*, near the Kingdom of *Narea*; but their Country being conquer'd by the *Gallas*, they with the Emperor's Leave, retir'd over the *Nile*, and settled in the Territory near *Lamogue*, and *Gombolim*, towards the *Agaus*. After their coming thither they were baptiz'd, which was all they had of Christians, still following their former Barbarous Customs. A *Xumo*, or Governour of this Nation coming to the Viceroy's Camp, happen'd to hear the Fathers Doctrine, was much taken with it, and prevail'd with the said Father to go preach among his People, who approv'd of all he taught them, and only thought it a difficult Matter to quit their many Wives; for among them, he who had 200 Cows might keep two Wives, and so on one more for every hundred Cows; yet at length they renounc'd that, as well as their other Errors.

Liberty of Conscience.

Still the *Alexandrian* Party was powerful at Court, and never ceas'd to insinuate to the Emperor, that all the Troubles in the State were occasion'd by the Change in Religion, and that he could never be safe till he allow'd the People more Liberty in that Point. He at length overcome by their Importunity, caus'd Proclamation to be made, that all Men might follow their ancient Customs, provided they were not repugnant to Faith. The Patriarch complain'd, that this Proclamation had either been made otherwise than the Emperor order'd, or misinterpreted by those who heard it, and alledg'd it gave full Liberty to return to the Faith of *Alexandria*, whereupon his Majesty comply'd, to have it publish'd over again, and explain'd, in the Presence of one of the Fa-

Fathers, as the Prelate requir'd. It would be too tedious to mention all the Differences that aroſe, and Controverſies between the Emperor, and the Patriarch, and therefore we muſt paſs moſt of them by, as not Material, nor Pertinent to our Purpoſe, that we may entertain the Reader with what is more proper for this Work, thoſe Points, being the Subject of an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; tho' at the ſame Time, we have thought fit to inſert ſo much as may give him a true Idea of the Religion of the *Ethiopians*, and the Motives made Uſe of for baniſhing thoſe Fathers, to whom we are at leaſt oblig'd for as much as we know of that Country. Let us now return to the Wars.

Rebels of Laſta *worſt the Emperialiſts*

The War of *Laſta* grew ſo troubleſom, that the Empero was again forc'd to ſend for his Brother *Ras Cella Chriſtos* to command; yet notwithſtanding all he could alledge oblig'd him to march with only 3000 Men. The Mountaniers beſet him with 20000, againſt whom he defended himſelf bravely all the Day; as did the Viceroy of *Begameder Kebra Chriſtos*, who lay at a ſmall Diſtance with his Forces; but their Men forſaking them in the Night, they were both neceſſitated to ſave themſelves the beſt they could. This Misfortune ſo daunted the Emperor, that he retir'd to the Kingdom of *Gojam*; the Rebels, on the other Hand, propos'd to poſſeſs themſelves of *Dancaz*, his uſual Reſidence, and a great Part of his Army was ready to forſake him. He being inform'd of the Enemies Reſolution, and fearing if they were once Maſters of his Court, that all the Empire would declare for them, left his Baggage behind, and march'd directly towards them all Night, with about 20000 Men. On the 27*th* of *June* 1632, his Scouts brought him Word, that the Rebels were advancing towards him with about 25000 Men, but ill arm'd. At noon the two Armes came in Sight of one another, the Imperial Horſe in the Van, being about 2000, Then the Emperor himſelfe clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and being follow'd by the Cavalry obtain'd a compleat Victory the firſt Charge, the Peaſants flying like ſo many Sheep before the Wolves. The Night coming on ſav'd many of thoſe Wretches, tho' others were beaten to Pieces, caſting themſelves down Precipices, the Purſuit being continu'd till late, when the Imperialiſts made themſelves Maſters of their Camp. The next Day the Slain appear'd to be about 8000.

Are themſelves routed.

This Slaughter the *Alexandrian* Party took care to repreſent to the Emperor as caus'd by the Change of Religion, telling him whether he beat, or was beaten, ſtill the loſs was his own, ſince all thoſe were his Subjects, and ſo tenacious in their Opinions, that he could never hope to enjoy Peace, till the Faith of their Anceſtors was reſtor'd. In fine, the Prince his Son, his Empreſs,

Alexandian *Faith restor'd*

and most of the great ones giving him no Respite, he was so perplex'd that he took his Bed, and they having consulted together, gave publick Notice that all Men might return to their former Religion. The Patriarch hereupon made a Speech to the Emperor, blaming his Conduct after so glorious a Victory, and exhorting him not to fall off from what he had so well begun. To which he answer'd, He had done all that was in his Power, till all Men were ready to forsake him; but that still his Design was not to make any Alteration in Matters of Faith but only to allow of Customs, and would do nothing without accquainting his Lordship. Notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers, at length Proclamation was made in these Words, *Hear, Hear, we first gave you this Faith, believing it was good, but innumerable People have been kill'd about it, with* Elos, Cabrael, Tecla, Guerguis, Cerica Christos, *and now lately with these Peasants; for which Reason we restore you the Faith of your Fore-Fathers. The former Clergy-Men may return to their Churches, put in their* Tabotes, *and say Masses; and do you rejoice.* This Liberty threw them into many Errors, for being uncertain what to believe, some of their Monks affirm'd, that *Christ* was the Son of God, only by Grace; others that the Divinity dy'd with him on the Cross, but that he had two Divinities, one of which dy'd and the other surviv'd; others said, one Person was compos'd of the two; others confounded the Divine Nature with the Human; and others being quite puzzeled cry'd, *Christ* is true God, and true Man, and it is enough to know that. Nor was there less Division about Consecrating the Cup, some contending it could not be done with any Liquor but Wine, others that it should be with Water discolour'd with six or seven Raisins. At length they agreed it should be done as was us'd at *Alexandria*, and finding no abler Person to enquire of, they put the Question to an *Egyptian* Carpenter, who told them it was always done there in Wine; yet they resolv'd it should be with Water and Raisins. Because the Catholicks us'd to call upon the Name of *Jesus*, it was forbid so to do, under severe Penalties, and some Persons were run through with Javelins for not forbearing.

Errors.

A few Days after, there was a general Circumcision, and then follow'd an universal Baptism, after their former Manner, which being done they concluded themselves free from the Obligation of being ty'd to one Wife, that being one of their Grievances, and publickly declar'd, That for the future they would marry, and unmarry as they pleas'd. Accordingly, *Oengualavit*, the Emperor's eldest Daughter, marry'd her own Brother in Law *Za Christos*, he forsaking his other Wife, and she he

her first Husband *Bella Christos*, both of them still living. However the Proclamation which allow'd of the *Alexandrian* Religion did not forbid the *Roman*, but gave Liberty of Conscience, so that the Fathers continu'd to say Mass, and Preach in their Churches; but soon after they were expell'd, and another Order publish'd, that all Persons should return to the *Alexandrian* Faith, and that none should for the future dispute with the Patriarch, or Fathers. The Emperor did not long survive this Change. Some would have it that he was poison'd, but it visibly appear'd that he broke his Heart with Grief, and Trouble, being in perpetual Anguish, till he dy'd in *September* 1632, at the Age of 61 Years, whereof he reign'd 24. At his Death, he declar'd he dy'd in the *Roman* Faith, having always kept *F. James de Matos*, and the Patriarch's Chaplain *Emanuel Magro*, about him. His Body was bury'd in the Church of *Ganeta Jesu*, 4 Leagues from *Dancaz*, where he dy'd. The Manner of his Funeral is thus related by *F. Manuel d' Almeyda*, who was present at it.

The Emperor Socinios, or Sultan Segued, *dyes.*

An *Egyptian* had made him a Bier, with small steps, almost Square, into which they put the Body, wrapp'd up in Buckram, covering it with a large Piece of Tafety, of Several colours. Before this Bier, or Coffin, were carry'd, first the Imperial Colours, being of two Sorts, the one they call *Sandecas*, and are Coloured Staves, for Poles, with Bals of Metal gilt on the Top, under which hang their little Banners, about a Span, and a half Square. The others are like Standards, of white Cloth, with some Red Stripes in the middle, neither of them bearing any Arms, or Device. There were five or six of each Sort, all advanc'd, without dragging, or striking them. By them went the Kettle-drums, beating at Times a melancholy Tone; then two or three of the best Horses he us'd to ride, with their richest Furniture; next several Pages, and other Servants, carry'd Parts of his Imperial Robes, and Ornaments, one his Vest, another his Sword, a third his Crown, and so others his Sash, his Beads, his Javelin, his Target, *&c.* These Things divers Persons took by Turns, showing them to excite Tears, and Sighs, and to this end the Queen herself carry'd his Crown on her Head a considerable Space. This was the Funeral Pomp of the Emperor *Socinios*, otherwise call'd *Sultan Segued*, all the Court, from the highest to the Lowest attending a foot, or a Horseback. The Queen, his Daughters, and all the Ladies then at Court, rode on Mules, their Hair cut off, and a Slip of fine white Cloth two Inches broad ty'd about their Heads, the Ends hanging behind. All the Company was in their Mourning, which is any old Rag, and those who would express

His Funeral.

is

it most, put on a black Leather, or Cloth, and clip their Heads. There was no Sort of Light carry'd, nor any in the Church, but much weeping, till he was bury'd, and six or seven Monks stood at the Door reading the Psalms. The next Day they all return'd to *Dancaz*, and when in Sight of it, drew up again as the Day before, carrying the empty Bier, or Coffin, and by it a Man clad in the Emperors Robes, and the Crown on his Head, riding on a Mule, with a Silk Umbrella over him, in all respects representing the Emperor. Before him went another with that Princes Head-piece, and Javelin, on his best Horse, with the richest Accoutrements. Near *Dancaz* stood four or five Bodies of Troops, and other Persons belonging to the Court, who all came out to meet the Company, crying as loud as they could.

Faciladas *the new Emperor.*

In this Manner they went all together, and with them F. *James de Mattos*, and *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, who gives this Relation, to the Palace Gate, where they alighted, and the chief of them went into a large Tent, where the new King was, with some Noblemen, and then began a new Lamentation, which lasted near two Hours. The Fathers went home, and when the weeping was over, return'd to kiss the Kings Hand, condoling with him for his Fathers Death, and then congratulating his Succession to the Crown.

Murders 24 *of his Brothers.*

The new Emperor *Faciladas* had 24 Brothers, all whom he afterwards inhumanly put to Death, only out of *Turkish* Policy, to secure the Crown upon his own Head, a Barbarity scarce to be paralell'd in History; and then fell to persecuting all those that profess'd the Catholick Faith, like another *Diocletian*.

CHAP.

Chap. XI.

Persecution of the Catholicks. The Patriarch, and Fathers baniſh'd to Fremona. *Four of the Latter ſent away to* Goa. *Their Journey, and Voyage, and a particular Deſcripion of the City of* Adem.

Faciladas being rais'd to the Throne, as has been ſeen in the laſt Chapter, took the Name of *Sultan Segued*, as his Father had done before him, and began to exerciſe much Cruelty towards the Catholiks, beginning with his own Unkle *Ras Cella Chriſtos*, whom he depriv'd of all his Lands and Dignities, and ſent him baniſh'd in Chains to *Cemen*, where he liv'd like a common Criminal, under a Guard. Next he order'd *F. James d' Mattos*, and *F. Joſeph Giroco* to depart *Dancaz*, and to repair to *Ganeta Jeſu*, where they had not been long, before they were with four others turn'd out, and ſent to *Gorgorra*, and four of theſe again remov'd to *Collela*, in which twelve of them liv'd ſome Time very hardly. The Patriarch, and Biſhop had their Lands taken away, and ſcarce as much allow'd to Maintain them, and three Fathers, as was requiſite for a Poor Vicar. The Fathers at *Fremona* were as hardly us'd by the Viceroy, and had been all murder'd by the Soldiers, but that the *Portugueſes* aſſembled, and defended themſelves in that Sort of fortify'd Place. All others who profeſs'd the Catholick Faith, from the Emperor's own Couſin Germains to the Meaneſt, were ſtripp'd of what they had, and left to beg their Bread; and then the Emperor ſent Orders to the Patriarch, and Biſhop to deliver up all the Arms they had, and depart immediately to *Fremona*, a new *Abuna* being come into the Camp from the Kingdom of *Narea*, who ſaid he would not give Ordination, till the Patriarch, and Fathers were either kill'd, or baniſh'd. After ſeveral Meſſages to and fro, the Arms were deliver'd, and the Fathers all turn'd out of their Reſidences, with Orders to repair to *Fremona*.

Faciladas *call'd* Sultan Segued.

Perſecution.

They ſet out accordingly, with one *Paul*, the Emperor's own Nephew, whom he had ſent to guard them through the Deſerts, which are full of Robbers; but he and his Men did what they were ſent to prevent, plundering a great Part of the Baggage, and would have taken all, had not the *Portugueſes*, who

Jeſuits *baniſh'd and robb'd.*

follow'd the Patriarch defended it, and kill'd some of his Men. Yet would not this have sav'd the small remainder of their Goods, or even their Lives, had they not been afterwards faithfully assisted by *Tecla Salus*, and *Asma Guerguis*, two Commanders appointed to conduct them, after they were out of *Paul's* Liberties. In their way they pass'd one Brook twelve Time, every one of them in great Danger of their Lives, from those who were to guard them, who finally resolv'd to murder them all, and divide their Spoil, after the last Passage, in a small Plain, where they were to rest that Night. When they had pass'd the 11*th* Time, *Tecla Salus*, who had Intelligence of the wicked Design by his Spies, struck out of the Way, and led all the Company up a high Mountain, before they were discover'd by their Robbers, who bit their Fingers to be thus disappointed of their Prey. However they enclos'd the Mountain hoping to pick up some of the Mules, or Oxen, one of which last fell into their Hands loaded with Church-stuff, and *Paul* being charg'd with consenting to the Robbery then plainly told them, That what had hapned was nothing to what they were to expect.

Are way lay'd.

The Mountain they were on had two Ways up to it, one to the North, and the other to the South. *Asma Guerguis* pitch'd his Tent on that to the Northward, which is the easiest, and next to *Ambo*, where the Robbers, expected us, our Men pitching theirs next him. On the South Pass, being at some Distance *Tecla Salus* lay, and the Fathers on the Top. The next Morning, both the Robbers, and *Paul's* Men began to ascend the Mountain, but retir'd several Times, upon only presenting one Musket we had, and fled in great Disorder, when it was fir'd. Nevertheless they ventur'd to return again, and found such a hot Reception, the very Women among us fighting like good Soldiers, that they immediately turn'd their Backs, and were pursu'd down to the very brook, whence they did not offer to return any more. A sufficient Number of the Troops of *Tecla Salus*, and *Asma Guerguis* joyning the Fathers the Day after, they proceeded on their Journey in Safety, and came to *Fremona* on the 24*th* of *April* 1633.

Arrive safe at Fremona.

Here they suffer'd much Want, most of their Lands being taken from them, besides that they hourly expected to be sent away, and deliver'd up to the *Turks* upon the Sea Coast, for which Reason it was resolv'd to send four Fathers before, to lessen the Expence, and procure some Relief. One of these four was *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*, who gives an Account of their Journey, and Voyage as follows. At the End of *April* 1633 there were of us, at *Fremona*, 18 Fathers, one lay Brother, and two Prelates, being the Patriarch, and the Bishop, where it was agreed that some of

4 Sent away before.

us

us should go over to *India*, for Relief in our Distress, and accordingly my self and three others were pitch'd upon. The Undertaking was Difficult, because if we offer'd to go the direct Road, we should certainly be stopp'd by the Emperor's Officers, as not having his Pass. We therefore agreed, by the Interposition of a Lady, call'd *Oziero*, who still preserv'd her Affection towards us, that a *Xumo*, or Lord of *Bur*, whose Name was *Xiay*, should secure our Passage through his Lands, and guard us to *Arquico*. It was a great Compass about, and the Woods and Mountains full of Lions, Tigers, and more fierce, and cruel *Moors*, from whom God protected us, gaining the Favour of the *Xumo*, who guarded us, with Gifts, and Presents, out of that little we had. We came to the Coast near *Defalo*, ten Leagues from *Mazua*, which was the worst of all our Way, for the Sun scorch'd on those Sands, like Fire, so that the Ground we lay on was as hot, as a Hearth, or Oven, and the Heat was no less violent at *Mazua*, when we came thither, which was about the middle of *July*. Before our Departure from *Fremona*, we had by Means of some *Baneans* procur'd a Pass from the *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, for 400 Pieces of Eight. That *Bassa* dying in this Interval of Time, his Successor exacted as much more for confirming of our Pass, and his Deputy he newly sent to govern at *Mazua*, and *Arquico* oblig'd us to pay 600 more to allow us to depart, which Sum we were oblig'd to borrow of the *Baneans* to repay them at *Diu*. At length we imbark'd on a small Vessel for *Adem*, not being permitted to go to *Cayxem*, four Fathers of the Society, two Priests born in *India*, and fourteen *Abyssine* Servants, who would go with us. We set sail on the 19*th* of *August*, and the next Day came upon the Island *Dalec*, a low Land, poor, and destitute of all Necessaries; but close by it there is a Pearl Fishery, tho' not considerable, all which the *Bassa* of *Suaquem* takes to himself, having Officers there on the fishing Days. Having water'd there, we held on our Course along the Coast of *Dancali*, sail'd through the Mouth of the *Red Sea* on the 29*th* of *August*, and holding on our Course all Night, miss'd the Flats, lying in that Part, and came to *Adem* on the 30*th*, but the Wind growing scant got not in, till the next Day, after a strong Gust had carry'd away our Mast. It was known in the City, who we were by Letters, sent in, the Day before by an *Almadie*, or Boat, and *Xarif Abdela* the Governour of the City expected some mighty Wedges of *Ethiopian* Gold from us.

They come to the Coast.

Sail for India.

Arrive at Adem.

Being landed they carry'd us before the Governour, who sent us to the *Xabander*, and order'd all we had should be carry'd to the Custom House. The *Amir*, or Lord of the City, being then at *Rara* five or six Leagues from *Adem*, and expecting to get

Detain'd and cruelly us'd there.

some mighty Treasure, order'd us, and all we had to be carry'd to him, which was accordingly done, and finding nothing but our Bedding, Bisket, and some inconsiderable, necessaries, kept us there several Days Prisoners, with great Threats in case we did not turn *Mahometans*, and tho' he could not prevail on us, he succeeded better with the poor *Abyssines*, who overcome with ill Usage, comply'd, and embrac'd his Sect. At length being inform'd, that the *Baneans* would lend us much Money, because we were very rich in *India*, he sent us back to *Adem*, when the Ships were ready to sail for *Diu*, but would not suffer us to depart that Season, that he might have more Time to treat of our Ransome.

Adem described.

Since we are come to *Adem*, a Place famous in the Histories of *India*, it will be proper to give a short Account of the Condition we found it in. This City is in *Arabia Felix*, and in twelve Degrees of North Latitude, about 20 Leagues without the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, seated at the Foot of high Mountains, which are the Land Marks of Necessity to be observ'd by all the *India* Ships bound for the *Red Sea*, which Generally first make Cape *Guardafuy* in *Africk*, and thence stand over for the Mountains of *Adem*, and as soon as discover'd, being sure of their Course, they steer directly for the Streight of *Babelmandel*, which they generally Pass the same, or the next Day. Formerly most Ships resorted to *Adem*, without entring the *Red Sea*, because all the *Arabian* Merchants met there, with the Wealth of their several Provinces, and carry'd thence the Commodities of *India* to several Fairs, frequented by Merchants of *Damascus*, and all Parts of the lesser *Asia*, who convey'd them along the *Mediterranean* into *Europe*. This Trade enrich'd *Adem*, and made it once so famous, as to vie with the three principal Eastern Marts of *Goa*, *Ormuz*, and *Malaca*.

How it declin'd.

After the *Turks* made themselves Masters of the Ports in the *Red Sea*, and of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, which is the best Part of *Arabia Felix*, taking the City *Adem*, that Part declin'd, by Reason of the Wrongs the Governours offer'd to Merchants trading thither; who being better treated at *Moca*, *Odida*, *Camarane*, *Gida*, *Suaquem*, and *Mazua*, within the Red Sea, went on thither, leaving *Adem*, which of a rich, and very populous City, came to be so poor, and thinly inhabited, that we saw most, and those the best Structures in it gone to Ruin, so that scarce one in 15 was standing.

The

The *Arabs* had retaken this City from the *Turks*, five or six Years before we came to it, having it betray'd to them by the Guards, who open'd the Gates on the Land Side to them, in the Night, and they entring easily put to the Sword all the Garison, being as is said, about five, or 600 Men, only such escaping as got out of the Sea Gate, into some Vessels they found there, and so to *Moca*. At the same Time the King of *Yemen* obtain'd great Victories over the *Turks*, driving them almost out of all his Kingdom, and taking all the Inland Cities; so that the prime Men being kill'd in several Actions, the Towns on the Sea Coast, believing they could not be long defended, offer'd many Wrongs to the Merchants of *India* trading to them, whereas on the contrary, the *Amir* of *Adem*, being desirous to draw many Ships to his Port, began to show them much Favour. Thus *Adem* began again to improve, and we found 18 Ships in the Habour, come that Year from several Parts of *India*, richly laden. But it was not long so fortunate, for the King of *Yemen* still pressing upon the *Turks*, two Years after made himself Master of the Ports in the Red *Sea*, as *Moca*, *Odida*, and *Camarane* and he being still more kind to the *India* Merchants, than those of *Adem*, he drew almost all the Trade to himself, very few resorting to *Adem*, which soon sunk again. *Taken by the* Arabs.

Its Situation is thus, Certain high Clifts, and Headlands run out from the Land, and Jutting into the Sea, stretch forth one Arm to the Eastward, and another to the Westward for about a League. These Arms consist of very lofty, Craggy Rocks, and Mountains. The Sea runs in on both Sides East, and West, forming two large Bays between those Promontories, and the Main Land. That to the Westward is longest, but shallow. The other opposite to the Eastward, has Water enough for many Ships to Anchor close by the Shore, and is shelter'd from almost all Winds; because near the Arm form'd by the Mountains on that Side, there is a high Clift, divided from it by a small Channel, and lying to the Eastward; breaks off the Sea from the Ships in the Harbour. At the Foot of these Mountains is a Spot of Ground, almost round, about a Falconet Shot Diameter, tho' bury'd under those Hills, like a Kettle. There stands the City, so enclos'd, that it needs no Wall, except only one small Part, next the Bay, where the Ships Anchor. The Houses are of Stone, and Clay, as far as the second Story; such as are higher being of Brick from thence upwards, all flat roof'd, with many small Windows, and wooden Lattices. They are not ill built, and tho' not so strong, for want of Lime, yet they are out of Danger, because it never rains there, all the Year Round, and tho' the Sky is often clouded, never any thing fals above a small Dew. *Its Situation.*

This

Gates &c. This Furnace, for so we may call it, by reason of the Vehement Scorching of the reflected Sun Beams, is as close as can be imagin'd having but two Gates, or Avenues. The one leads to the Shore, which contains a very small Compass, being terminated by the Rocks of the Mountains enclosing the City, which is in the Shape of a Bow full Bent, the Shore being the String, holding at the Ends of the said Bow, next the swelling Billows, that continually beat upon those Rocks. On the other Side, the Way leads to the Continent, between Rocks, and seems to be hew'd out by Hand, being of prodigious Height, and for above 100 Fathom in Length, in which Space there are three Gates, one behind another, open'd, and shut, at Night and Morning, all of very thick Planks cover'd with Iron Plates, and 12, or 14 Yards High, with *Guerites* over them, on Arches, lying a cross the Road, from one Rock to the other. These Gates are continually guarded by above 100 Soldiers, and no Man can go out, without carrying the *Ducani's* Ticket on his Arm.

Strength. The Mountains, and Precipices on them are a Fortification to the greatest Part of the City they surround. Next the Shore it has a weak Piece of Wall, as being built with Stone, and Clay, and plaister'd without; but the Headland, I said, lies to the Eastward of the Bay, serves instead of a Fort, being very high, and commanding all about, and the Chanel lies very close to the Rocks, of the said Head-land. On the Point of it is a Battery, level with the Water with some Canon on it, which can sink any Enemies Ship that shall come to Anchor there, but a few Men may easily make themselves Masters of it.

Fertility. The Land about *Adem* is fruitful, where we saw many Fields of Millet, the Reed whereof was as tall, and thick as a Pike-staff, and the Ear so large and full that 10, or 12 would fill a Peck, and what is still more wonderful is, that one and the same Seed Yields three Crops, for it runs up, and is ripe in three Months, when they cut the Reed about a Span, or a Span and a Half from the Ground, and the Stalk left sprouts up again and comes to Maturity in three Months, which being cut again grows up again a third Time, with only this Difference, that tho' the Reeds are still alike, the Ear is fuller the first Time, than the other two following; but the Reed is almost as good as the Grain, being excellent Food for Horses, Camels, and all Sorts of Cattel.

A Camban friend to the Jesuits. In this Place we continu'd six Months, and suffer'd enough, which had been worse, but that some of the *Baneans* reliev'd us with Alms, and Mony Lent; but we chiefly owe our Lives to a Native of *Cambaya*, whose Name was *Emsarg etar*, and he had been

been several Years *Xabander*, well belov'd by all Men for his good Temper, and Generosity, besides that he was familiar with the prime *Xarifs*. This Man gave them so good an Account of us, that they began to favour our Pretensions, disliking the *Amirs* scurvy Behaviour towards us, and so far supporting our Interest, that all Men show'd us Respect, and good Will. An Accident hapen'd at this Time, which indanger'd our Liberty, and even our Lives, and was thus. The *Amir* returning to *Adem*, with his whole Court, several of the *Abyssines* they had taken from us, return'd with their Masters. These now finding an Opportunity, some of them came to confess to us, and be reconcil'd to God, repenting the Sin they had committed, in professing *Mahometanism* with their Mouths, tho' they had never receiv'd it in their Hearts, or sincerely renounc'd *Christ*, whose Faith they promis'd for the future openly to profess, tho' it cost them their Lives. One of these, to secure his Religion, and get rid of his Master, who was the *Amir*'s Son, and never ceas'd to importune him to repair to the *Mosques*, fled to a Sanctuary, the Slaves in *Adem* us'd to have Recourse to when oppress'd by their Masters; and it is the Custom there, that the Master can not force them thence, but is oblig'd to sell them to another. The *Amir*'s Son, being much concern'd at it, complain'd to his Father, who believing that had been done by our Advice, grew inrag'd at us, and order'd we should depart *Adem*, and be carry'd in Banishment to *Canfar*, a very unhealthy Place, where it would be a wonder if we escap'd with our Lives. Our *Banean* Friend took the Business in Hand, and spoke to the *Xarif Abdela*, Goverour of *Adem*, who obtain'd of the *Amir*, that we should be banish'd to a better Territory, call'd *Lage*; where we suffer'd much, during our 20 Days Stay, till the *Amir* was somewhat mollify'd.

They are banish'd.

At length he came to this Resolution, to demand 1200 Pieces of Eight for our Ransom, which some *Baneans* lent us, to be repaid at *Diu*, with another Sum borrow'd for our Expence in that Country, and the Ransom of four or five *Abyssines*, of those they had taken from us. The little *Monson* coming on, which is about the Beginning of *March*, three Fathers of us embark'd on a Ship belonging to *Diu*, and the 4*th*, with two of the Patriarch's Chaplains on a small Coasting Vessel of *Mascate*, hoping to get to *Diu* by the End of *April*, and thence to *Goa*, before the Winter. We had a troublesom Voyage, because that *Monson* is very weak, and the Winds scant. Our Ship sail'd out of the Harbour the next Day, with a fair Wind. The other Vessel, not being then quite ready, continu'd there 40 Days, for Want of Wind

Embark for Diu.

Wind to carry her out, all which Time the Passengers continu'd abroad, for Fear of being stopp'd again, if they went ashore. The 40 Days being expir'd, they set Sail, and arriv'd at *Mascate*, where they were forc'd to Winter, and got to *Goa* with the *September Monson*.

Our Voyage prov'd no better, tho' we left *Adem* sooner, the Winds proving so contrary, that we were two Months, and a half sailing to *Caixem*, where we winter'd, and came to *Diu* about the Middle of *September*, *F. Joseph Giroco* dying by the Way. Thus far *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda*.

Chap. XII.

The Patriarch, and Fathers dispers'd. Most of them deliver'd to the Turks, *who put them to Ransom. Some pass over to* Goa. *One sent to* Lisbon. *Plague, Famine, and War in* Ethiopia.

Six Jesuits *go towards the Sea.*

THE new *Abuna*, and his Followers could never be satisfy'd, as long as the Patriarch, and Fathers were in *Ethiopia*, and accordingly ceas'd not pressing the Emperor, till at the Beginning of the Summer, he sent an *Azage*, with Orders to deliver them to the *Turks* at *Mazua*. This Officer being well affected towards them, was very favourable, so that they were allow'd to write to the Emperor, tho' without Hopes of altering his Resolution, but only to gain Time. News being brought, that the Emperor was sending a second Messenger to remove them, the first fearing he should be blam'd for his Remissness, press'd to carry them away immediately; but the Patriarch positively declaring he would not stir, unless dragg'd away by Force, and he having no such Orders, nothing was done at that Time. However, for Fear of exasperating the Emperor too much, the Bishop went away, with six of the Fathers to the Province of *Siraoe*, which is nearer the Sea, where they suffer'd very much.

The

The Patriarch, soon after, understanding, that another Messenger was coming to drag them away by Force, privately negotiated with *Joannes Akay*, the *Bahar-Nagays*, or Governour of the Sea Coast, that he should take them all into his Protection, which he consenting to, and sending a Number of arm'd Men to conduct them, they made their Escape by Night, and came safe to him. He receiv'd them in friendly Manner, as he did a Present they gave him, of the small remains of their Shipwrack, and sent them to an *Amba*, or *Ethiopian* Fortress, being an high upright Mountain on all Sides, with only two steep, and difficult Avenues to it, on the Top whereof was a Plain, containing a small Village of Thatch'd Houses, and Cottages, more like Dens of wild Beasts, than Habitations of Men. Here was little Water, and less Provision, the Land being barren, and affording little but some Millet, and a few Lentiles. *Others with draw to a Mountain.*

The Bishop, and his Companions had Notice sent them, to get away the same Night the Patriarch had fled, but they were so closely observ'd, that it was impracticable; for one of them hapening only to look abroad a little, it was interpreted that he intended to fly, and had like to be kill'd, being much hurt. The Lord of those Parts being acquainted, that they had attempted to escape, sent for, and confin'd them to a Shed there was in the midst of his Village, for Cattel; but thinking that too good a Lodging, at his Departure the next Day, order'd them to be remov'd to a worse. Being on the Way, *F. Jerom Lobo* went before to beg of the said Lord, that they might continue in their first Apartment, but was fain to wait half a Day, before he could speak to him, he being then very busie about discovering a mighty Treasure his Monks told him lay under a vast Stone, which when turn'd up, they assur'd him a great Stream of Gold would run out, till it met with another of Water, that ran about half a League from it. The Fable of this Treasure was very ancient, and imported, that the said Treasure had been always guarded by a very dreadful Devil, who as soon as any dug down to a certain Hole, flew out from under the Stone, in such a terrible Storm of Wind, that the Searchers ran away with all Speed, cursing the Devil, and his Treasure. But now an old, blind, praying Monk assur'd them, that the said ill condition'd Devil was newly dead, and had left only one Son, who was then very far off, and being lame could not come in haste, and that there was none at that Time but a blind Daughter of his, who since she could not see, minded nothing, and therefore that was the Day to make their Fortune. This was the Business that employ'd the *Xumo*, when *F. Lobo* came *The rest confin'd.* *Fabulous Notion of hidden Treasure.*

to him, who tells us in his Commentaries, that 300 Men were at Work, digging, and labouring to remove the Stone; besides abundance of Monks, and among them the blind one praying heartily, and they had sacrific'd a Black Cow, that the dead Devil might not come to life again. But after all their Toil, and praying, when the Stone was remov'd they had nothing but Weariness for their Pains.

The *Xumo* was much out of Humour, but being told that the Father brought him a present of Value, he admitted him, and granted his Request that they should return to their first Lodging, where the next Day, he search'd their Baggage, and accepted of what they gave him, wondering at their Poverty. Here they receiv'd Advice from the Patriarch, that the Viceroy was coming to *Tygre*, with Orders to carry them down to the Sea, and *F. Lobo*'s Head to Court, fearing, that if he went to *India*, he would cause a great Fleet to be sent against *Ethiopia*. This Advice being brought on *Low* Sunday, which the *Abyssines* celebrate with much eating and drinking, the Fathers took the Opportunity of their Guards being dead asleep to give them the Slip, travelling all Night, and lying hid all Day, with much Danger of wild Beasts, but could not escape the Hands of the Lord of a Village, who would have stripp'd them of their very Cloaths, as having nothing else at that time, but that they gave him Security, he should have three Ounces of Gold, as soon as they came to the Place, where the Patriarch was.

They escape.

The Emperor understanding that the Patriarch, and Fathers were under the Protection of *Joannes Akay*, sent the Viceroy of *Tygre*, to offer him the Command of *Bahar-Nagays*, or Governour of the Coast, and other great Advantages, if he would deliver them up to him, or at least to the *Turks* at *Mazua*. He could not withstand this Temptation, and therefore chose to put them into the Hands of the *Turks*. They being inform'd of this Design contriv'd to divide themselves; and one *Cassa Mariam*, a powerful Man in the Territory of *Bur*, offering to secure two on his Lands, the Bishop, and *F. Hyacinth Francis* went to him; as did the Fathers *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Bruno Bruni*, to one *Cantibazara Joannes* an old Friend of theirs in the same Province. There was no time to dispose of any more, for their Protector *Joannes* soon sent them word, that he would obey the Emperor's Orders, yet not in delivering them up to him; but would conduct them to *Mazua*, and desire the *Turks* to grant them free Passage; and accordingly came with the *Azage Ziero*, who deliver'd the Patriarch a Letter from the Emperor, complaining that he had not obey'd him, in departing his

4 Jesuits *protected by* Ethiopians.

his Dominions, and threatning him, if he persisted in his Resolution of staying. In fine they were conducted within a Days Journey, and a half of *Mazua*, and there deliver'd to a *Turkish* Officer, who was waiting for them with about 80 Musketiers, and receiv'd them with much Civility, which he continu'd to *Arquico*, where they arriv'd on the 20*th* of *May* 1634. Only the Fathers *Francis Rodrigues*, and *John Pereyra* were permitted by *Joannes Akay*, before the Delivery to stay behind in Disguize, to assist the many *Portugueses* there were within his District in *Tygre*. *Two deliver'd to the Turks.*

Mazua as has been said, is a small, flat, and open Island, without any Fortification, divided from the Continent of *Ethiopia* by a Channel about a Musket Shot over. There is never a fresh Water Spring in it, nor any but what is gather'd in Cisterns, when it rains, which not being sufficient to serve the Inhabitants, they have it daily brought from certain Wells, on the Continent, near the Sea, and a League and a half from the Island, towards the Mouth of the Red Sea. Near these Wells is the Town we call *Arquico*. The People of *Mazua* not being able to subsist without Water, it is requisite for them to be Masters of *Arquico*, on Account of the Wells, and therefore the *Turks* have there erected a Fort, with four Bastions, and Curtains, but weak, and low, and all the Work seems to be of Stone and Clay, yet supposing it were of Lime and Stone, two Hours Battery would lay it level with the Ground, by reason of its Thinness. On the Bastions, there are some Falconets, and Drakes, sufficient to fright the Natives; but not any that understand the Art of War. The Governour, whom the *Turks* call *Quequea*, has his House adjoyning to the Fort; and about it is a Wall of dry Stone, within which the Garrison Soldiers live, being about 60, or 80 white *Turks*, and as many *Arabs*, and Mungrels. Mazua, *and* Arquico *described.*

As soon as the Fathers enter'd this Enclosure, they were receiv'd with Shouts of the Boys, and the rest of the People flock'd to see them, both on Account of their being Strangers, and because they thought every one of them was loaded with Gold, and a mighty Treasure came with them to *Arquico*. Those who were not afoot alighted at the *Quequea*'s Door, and went up immediately to salute him. He receiv'd them in a Room cover'd with Carpets, sitting on a Step rais'd above the rest, and leaning on a Cushion of half Brocade of *Mecca*, being himself a Man of a middle Stature, pretty gross, with a long Beard, a grave Countenance, a Fierce Aspect, and worse in Conditions, as the Fathers found by Experience. His Vest was of fine Cloath, and on his Head a large Turbant of very fine Muslin. *Usage of the* Jesuits *at* Arquico.

They all came in barefoot, as is the Custom, and touching the Points of his Fingers kiss'd their own Hands. He bid them sit down on the Carpet, enquir'd about their Journey, and gave fair Words, promising free Passage for *India*. All these Ceremonies tended to draw from them those mighty Heaps of Gold, Fame had spread abroad, they brought out of *Ethiopia*, and accordingly he had order'd his Guards to search their Goods, whilst he held them in Discourse. They did so, and after all their Labour, found nothing but two Silver Chalices. The Governour being told, what had appear'd, gave Directions, they should be strictly search'd, in the next Room, and after all nothing appear'd, but two little gilt Crosses, such as Prelates use to wear, and a few Royals in a Purse, which would keep them but a very few Days with good Husbandry. This being too little to satisfy the Avarice of the *Turk*, he sent them away to the *Xabandar*'s House, taking for himself four *Abyssine* Boys, which he said fell to his Share. One of them had been Servant to a Monk, who having been possess'd of many Lands, forsook all to follow the Patriarch. This Monk, being concern'd for the Loss of the Child, which would be bred a *Mahometan*, and not acquainted with the Barbarity of those People, went indiscreetly to the *Quequea*, and told him, That Boy was born free, and could not be made a Slave. The *Turk* who was enrag'd to be disappointed of his conceited Treasure, drew his Scymeter and would have cut him in Pieces, had not the Standers by mollify'd him, excusing the Monk's Ignorance. However he caus'd him to be so cruelly bastinado'd, that it had like to cost him his Life.

Barbarity of a Turk.

That afternoon the Patriarch, and Fathers were hurry'd over to *Mazua*, where the *Amim*, or Chief of the Custom-House, being a better natur'd Man, receiv'd them courteously, and sent them to the Lodgings the *Baneans* had provided. Here they borrow'd 600 Pieces of Eight of the said *Baneans*, which they presented to the *Quequea*, who oblig'd them to give him 60 more, to ransome a *Portuguese* Boy he would have taken away. They continu'd here above a Month, till the *Bassa* of *Suaquem* sent for them, and accordingly they imbark'd on the 24*th* of *June*, on two small Vessels, with a Guard of *Turks*, and spent 45 Days in their Passage, which is generally made in Eight. The first welcome they receiv'd at *Suaquem*, was being told, that the *Bassa* would take no Ransom for them, being resolv'd to rid the World of them. However being inform'd, he would quite lose the Trade of *Diu*, if he murder'd them, he demanded 30000 Pieces of Eight for their Ransome, which they not being able to pay,

He sends the Jesuits *to* Suaquem.

pay, he after several Abatements came to 4000, which were borrow'd, and they provided for their Voyage. When they were ready to imbark, he sent Word that only seven should go to *Diu*, and the Patriarch, with the rest remain there till the next Year, which was accordingly done.

They are ransom'd for 4000 *Pieces of Eight.*

The Ship set sail on the 26*th* of *August* 1634, and after 52 Days, arriv'd at *Diu*, whence some of them made the best of their Way to *Goa*, to treat about the Patriarch's Ransome, and making some Provision for *Ethiopia*. They propos'd to the Viceroy *Don Michael de Noronha*, Count *de Linhares*, to send 400 *Portugueses*, who would easily make themselves Masters of *Suaquem*, *Mazua*, and *Arquico*, which last they should Garrison, and it would be a Curb upon both *Turks*, and *Abyssines*, whence the Catholicks in those Parts might be protected, and as to Temporals the Custom-House of *Mazua* was worth 1000 Pieces of Eight a Month, besides that from *Ethiopia* might be had much Wax, Brimstone abundance, of Hides, and Gold; but all these Projects came to nothing, and therefore *F. Jerom Lobo* was sent into *Europe* to negotiate at *Madrid*, and *Rome*. The Ship which carry'd him being one of the finest that was ever built in *Portugal*, made so much Water, that they were forc'd to run her aground at *Terra-do-Natal*, on the South Coast of *Africk*, beyond the Cape of *Good Hope*, where whilst they were endeavouring to save what they could ashore, she took Fire, and was consum'd.

Arrive at Goa.

F. Lobo *imbarks for* Lisbon.

The Father, and his Companions remain'd on that desert Shore, seven Months, during all which time, none of them dy'd, or was sick, so healthy is that Air. They all labour'd hard to build two small Vessels, with what Timber the Sea threw up, and what they found ashore, each of them 45 foot Long, about twelve in Breadth, and six in Depth, to attempt in them to weather the Cape of Good Hope. 263 Men embark'd on those two inconsiderable Vessels, which met with such Storms, that one of them was soon forc'd ashore again in the same Place, whence it set out. The other, which they call'd *Nossa Senhora da Natividade*, or Our Lady of the Nativity, in which the Father was, after immense Dangers and Sufferings, arriv'd safe at *Angola*, on the 5*th* of *March* 1636. Thence the Father, embarking on another Ship, sail'd over to *Cartagena* in *America*, and came thence in a Galeon to *Cadiz*, whence he went by Land to *Lisbon*, then to *Madrid*, and *Rome*, in all which Places he obtain'd nothing, but fair Words and Promises, with which he return'd to *Goa* in 1640.

Left seven Months on the Coast of Africk.

Gets to Angola, *thence to* Lisbon *and back to* Goa.

In

Ethiopia *destroy'd by the Rebels and* Gallas.

In the mean while *Ethiopia* groan'd under all the Calamities it had pretended to dread, on account of Entertaining the Fathers, for notwithstanding their Banishment, the Peasants of *Lasta*, who before pleaded Religion to countenance their Rebellion, grew more formidable, insomuch that they ravag'd the greatest Part of the Kingdoms of *Bagameder*, and *Tygre*, as far as the high Mountains of *Cemen*. The *Gallas* pierc'd into the Heart of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, plundering, and driving away the Cattel, under the Conduct of *Chyrilos*, Son to *Ras Cella Christos*, to revenge the wrongs offer'd to his Father, and defended himself from being compell'd to renounce his Religion. *Emana Christos*, Son-in-Law to the same *Ras*, who then Govern'd in *Narea*, revolted, and refus'd to pay the usual Tribute to the Emperor. At the same Time, the Plague rag'd in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, so that the Emperor was forc'd to remove his Court from *Dancaz*, to *Lybo*, whither it pursu'd him, destroying several of his Servants, and obliging him to fly thence. Nor did it stop there, but spred into the Province of *Ogara*, the High Mountains of *Cemen*, that of *Lamalmon*, and over the Plains of *Tygre*. To compleat the Miseries of those wretch'd People, such immense Multitudes of Locusts spread over the Provinces, as devour'd all the Product of the Earth, which was follow'd by so destructive a Famine, as swept away the greatest Part of the Natives the Pestilence had spar'd.

Plagues Locusts, and Famine.

Chap. XIII.

Persecution and Slaughter in Ethiopia *for Religion. Capucins sent thither murder'd. The* Gallas *ravage the Kingdom of* Tygre. *A short Account of* Moca, *and the Conclusion of this Work.*

THE Bishop, and Fathers that remain'd in *Etihiopia*, could not be so close conceal'd, but that the Emperor had Notice of it, and sent strict Orders to the Viceroy of *Tygre* to deliver them to the *Turks*, or put them to Death. *Casla Mariam*, who protected the Bishop, and his Companions stood by them at first, till being overcome by threats, he carry'd them towards the Sea, near *Dasalo*, to a dreadful deep Vale, where he left them, in the Custody of some *Moors*, desiring they would relieve them with a little Barley. Here they continu'd till a *Portugueſe* found them almost famish'd, and acquainting *Casla Mariam* with it, he carry'd them to his own House, till fearing the Emperor's displeasure, they were forc'd to fly again. *F. Almeyda* to a thatch'd House, where he lay close a Year, and the Bishop to *F. Rodrigues*'s Retreat, which was somewhat easier. Jesuits *distress'd in* Ethiopia.

Three others were protected by *Tecla Emanuel*, Governour of *Assa*, near *Maegoga*. He being remov'd, and his Brother succeeding in the Place, and being a mortal Enemy to the Fathers, they were oblig'd to remove, and he never ceas'd till he had found the Place where they lay hid, stripp'd them almost naked, kill'd *F. Gaspar Pays*, and three *Portugueſe* Youths, and left the others dangerously wounded, of which Number *F. John Pereyra* dy'd eight Days after, on a Mountain, whither they had been remov'd by some *Portugueſes*. This account is given at large by *F. Bruno Bruni*, the Surviver of them, in a Letter to the General of his Order, and we have a Confirmation of it in an Authenick Instrument, sent over by the Bishop of *Nice*, with the Affidavit of several Witnesses, proving that all these Persons were thus butcher'd in Hatred to the Catholick Faith. *Two murder'd and others wounded.*

The Patriarch, and two Fathers were still at *Suaquem*, whence they had writ to the *French* Consul, at *Grand Cairo*, acquainting him with their barbarous Usage, whereupon an Officer of the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, to whom he of *Suaquem* was subordinate, writ

The Patriarch ransom'd for 4000 Pieces of Eight.

writ to acquaint him, that it might cost his Head, if he did not dismiss them. Upon this Advice he demanded 15000 Pieces Eight for their Ransome, and they offering but 1000, he put them into Irons, where they continu'd till the *Baneans* contracted with the *Bassa* for 4000 Pieces of Eight, which being pay'd, they were dismiss'd, and put aboard on the 24*th* of *April* 1635, and in a Month arriv'd safe at *Diu*, whence the Patriarch went immediatly to *Goa*, to solicite for *Ethiopia*, tho' without any Success.

Others put to Death for Religion.

To return to *Ethiopia*, the Persecution ran as high as ever there, and six noted *Ethiopians* were cruelly put to death, for professing the *Roman* Faith. In the Year 1638, the Bishop of *Nice*, and the two Fathers his Companions were deliver'd up by their Protector *Joannes Akay*, to the Emperor's Officers, who conducted them to Court, where they were condemn'd to Death, but their Sentence chang'd into Banishment, which their Enemies not bearing, after many Suffering, they were all hang'd.

Capucins *sent to* Ethiopia.

The News of what had happen'd in *Ethiopia* being brought to *Rome*, and some Persons representing that what those People had done, only proceeded from their Hatred to the *Portugueses*, they sent six *French Capucines*, with Passes from the Great *Turk*, to make their Passage into *Ethiopia* several Ways. Two of them attemped it by the Coast of *Magadoxo*, and *Pate*, on the East-side of *Africk*, where they had not travell'd up the Country many Leagues, before they were murder'd by the *Cafres*. The other four went through *Egypt* to *Suaquem*, two of whom pass'd no farther than *Mazua*, being there inform'd of what had befallen the other two, who ventur'd before into *Ethiopia*.

Ston'd to Death.

Those two being *F. Agathangelus* of *Vendosme*, and *F. Cassianus* of *Nants*, enter'd the Kingdom of *Tygre* in the Habit of *Arabian* Merchants, where they were soon seiz'd, and sent Prisoners to Court, and there being examin'd, and owning what they were, immediately ston'd to Death.

Two Jesuits that had lain conceal'd hang'd.

The two Fathers *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Bruno Bruni* were still in *Ethiopia*, under the Protection of *Abeto Xa Mariam*, *Xumo*, and Lord of *Temben*, one of the best Territories in the Kingdom of *Tygre*. This great Man, withstood all the Emperor's Promises, and slighted his Threats, disappointing all the cunning Machinations of his Enemies to destroy him, for defending those Religious Men; till after many brave, and honourable Exploits perform'd against the Viceroy, who besieg'd him, with all his Forces, and was kill'd by him, he was basely slain by some of the Enemies, that surpriz'd him alone, and spent with

Fa-

Fatigue. The News of his Death was soon brought to *Amba Salama*, which signifies the Holy Mountain, where he secur'd the Fathers, yet was not believ'd in three Months, till a Priest came from *Lasta*, with the Confirmation of it. The Inhabitants of this Mountain were all so Zealous, that they resolved to perish, rather than forsake their Spiritual Directors, and accordingly endur'd the utmost Extremities of Want, both of Provisions, and Water, till they all look'd more like Shadows than Men. Thus they all continu'd on the Mountain till the following *March* 1640, being above a Year and a half after the Death of their Protector, who was kill'd, as has been said above. During this Time, the Emperor never ceas'd trying all means to destroy them, and offering fair Conditions for them to quit the Mountain, which they never would regard, well knowing, he valu'd not what he promis'd, being resolv'd not to perform it, till finding it impossible to subsist any longer in that Place, they were forc'd to condescend, the Emperor swearing, he would not oblige them to depart *Ethiopia*, but would assign them a Place, where they might live in Safety, with all the Catholicks that were on the Mountain. Notwithstanding this Solemn Ingagement, as soon as the two Fathers came down from the Mountain, they were carry'd to a Neighbouring Town, where a Fair was kept that Day, and there hang'd in the Sight of a Multitude of People.

Miseries of Ethiopia.

The Death of these Fathers was immediately follow'd by an Irruption of the *Gallas*, into the Kingdom of *Tygre*, a great Part whereof they laid waste. The Emperor sent one of his Sons, with the greatest Part of his Army against them, who being joyn'd by the Chief *Saentes*, so they call the Lords of Lands in *Tygre*, gave those Infidels Battel, near the Place, where the aforesaid Fair had been kept, and was himself kill'd, with the *Bahar Nagais*, *Tecla Salus*, the *Xumo Robel*, and the whole Army defeated. The *Gallas*, encourag'd by this Success, return'd the next Year, 1641, with a greater Power, destroying most of the Provinces of this Kingdom, *viz.* Those of *Terta*, *Sera*, *Temben*, *Sorte*, *Agamea*, *Auzen*, *Amba*, *Canete*, *Fixo*, *Maegoga*, *Debaroa*, *Angana*, and others, and piercing as far as *Decano*, which we call *Arquico*, the *Turkish* Fort, and had thought of possessing themselves of it, but drew off when the Balls began to fly among them. These Judgments were so heavy, that even the Emperor's Mother, who had been the most violent Enemy to Catholick Religion, and his Brother *Gladios*, look'd upon them as such, and advis'd him to return to it, to prevent the utter Ruin of the Empire; but his Heart was hardned.

These Accounts we receiv'd in several Relations sent us from *Ethiopia*, and *Mazua*, and by Information the two *Capucins* above mention'd took at the said Town of *Mazua*, from several *Abyssines* both Catholicks and Schismaticks.

The Patriarch in *India* never ceas'd trying all Expedients to send some *Jesuits* into *Ethiopia*, knowing that all those he had left there were dead. The *Bassa* of *Suaquem* was tamper'd with, by means of a rich Present, and offer'd mighty Matters, but was found to do it, only in Order to extort Money from those Fathers, if they had come, being corrupted by the Emperor of *Ethiopia* with a Bribe of 100 Oqueas, which amount to 1000 Pieces of Eight. *Antony Almeyda*, upon a Pass sent by the *Aga* of *Moca*, giving Leave for *Jesuits* to go thither, went, to attempt a Passage that Way, in *March* 1643, and return'd in *September* following. He declar'd that Country is still worse than *Mazua*, being so hot that it resembles an Oven, so that there is not a Tree to be seen, nor any sort of Green, nor so much as a River, or Spring, or any Water but of one Well, which is half a League from the Town, and that rather Salt than Brackish. The Houses are very inconvenient, little, and low, and all moulder away into Salt Dust, because the Clay they are made of is moulded with Sea Water. As bad as this Place is, it was formerly much frequented, as being a Port to which the Commodities of *India* were brought, and therefore resorted to by Caravans of Merchants from all Parts of the Lesser *Asia*, or *Natolia*. However since the *Arabs* recover'd that Country from the *Turks*, the aforesaid Caravans failing, the *India* Commodities were not brought, because there was no Vent for them, and consequently Trade ceasing, the Town is gone to Decay, as is that of *Diu*, and others that formerly engrols'd the Commerce of the *Red Sea*.

Wretched Country about Moca.

In *March* 1648, two *Italian*, and one *French Capucins* were beheaded at *Suaquem*, by Order of the *Bassa*, at the Instigation of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, who sollicited him to commit the Murder. Their Heads were flead, and the Skins, stuffed with Straw, sent to the Emperor, as a Testimony, that his Will had been perform'd, and to procure the promis'd reward. The Account we receiv'd in a Letter of *F. Torquatus Parisiano*, an *Italian*, sent by our Patriarch, in the Habit of an *English* Man aboard a Ship of that Nation, from *India* to *Suaquem*, to consult there, about the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, with those Fathers. After touching at *Moca*, they made over to *Dalet*, the largest of all the Islands in the Red Sea, being twelve Leagues in Length, and proceeding on their Voyage very slowly, becau

of the many Shoals, anchor'd at a place called *Xaba*, whence they ſent to acquaint the *Baſſa* with their arrival, at which he rejoyc'd, becauſe of the Profit he expected, and return'd a Boat with freſh Proviſions. On the *7th* of *May* 1648, the Ship came to an Anchor at *Suaquem*, where the Father Landing among the *Engliſh* could hear no News of the *Capucins*, the *Baſſa* having forbid all Perſons, on Pain of Death, to diſcover that he had murder'd them. At laſt the Chief of the *Engliſh* told him, how inhumanly they had been butcher'd by the *Baſſa*, deſiring he would go aboard the Ship, for Fear of the like Fate, ſince he could not poſſibly ſucceed in what he came about, and might do him much Harm, if diſcover'd. The *Baſſa* beginning to enquire particularly into the Strength of the Ship, the *Engliſh*, who ſuſpected that Infidel might have ſome Deſign to ſeize, went all aboard, and making merry, fir'd their Guns at every Health, to ſhow the *Turks* they were ready to receive them. This done, they went aſhore, to ſhow themſelves, without ſuffering the Father to land, for Fear of any Diſaſter, and ſo return'd again to their Ship, and in her to *India* in the Year 1649.

All other Means failing, the Patriarch ſent one of the *Abyſſines* he had brought with him, and a *Banean*, both of them Catholicks, hoping the one, as a Native, might be permitted to paſs into *Ethiopia*, and the other find more Favour among his Country Men the *Baneans*. They ſail'd from *Diu* in *March* 1651, and touching at *Moca*, in *Arabia*, ſtay'd there till *Auguſt*; the reaſon whereof was this. The *Baſſa* of *Suaquem*, who is Commander in chief of all that Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, kept a Galley cruizing in that Sea, in which there were 60 Chriſtians, all *Polanders*, at the Oar, who breaking looſe one Night, ſlew all the *Turks*, and to be reveng'd on thoſe People, play'd the Pyrates, without ſparing any thing they met on either Coaſt. But they prov'd too bold, for the King of *Arabia* hearing of them, fitted out ſome Veſſels, which boarded, and took them, after a brave Defence. The Men were all put to Death, and the Galley reſtor'd to the *Baſſa*. He flying into a Paſſion, ſent the King Word, that he ought to have reſtor'd him his Slaves, and not have kill'd them; for he knew how to puniſh them himſelf; and ſince he had been ſo haſty, as to put them to Death, he ſhould give him 250 Crowns a Man for them, or he would make Repriſals on his Ships, and ravage all the Coaſt of *Arabia*. The King laugh'd at his Meſſage, ſending him for an Anſwer, That he might begin when he pleas'd, for he had his Revenge in his Hands, and he would cut him off all the Trade of *India*.

The *Turk* hearing his Meſſage, went away to *Mazua*, and vented his Spleen on the Inhabitants of that Place, Robbing and Killing thoſe that were no way concern'd. This Breach with *Arabia* was the Occaſion that none paſs'd from *Arabia* to *Mazua*, or *Suaquem*, and detain'd the *Abyſſine* and *Banean* there ſix Months. Here they receiv'd News from *Ethiopia*, that the new *Abuna Mark* had been publickly depos'd for his moſt infamous Life, and another, whoſe Name was *Michael*, ſent from *Egypt*.

The *Turks* and *Arabs* being reconcil'd, the *Banean* and *Ethiopian*, in *October* paſs'd over to *Mazua*, and thence proceeded to *Engana*, which is two Days Journey farther, ſending Letters to *F. Bernard Nogueyra*, the Patriarch's Vicar General, to meet them there with all Speed. This Father had been appointed Vicar General, by the Patriarch, after the Death of all the others, and was put to Death for the Profeſſion of his Faith. Here *F. Tellez* concludes his Hiſtorical Account of the Travels of the *Jeſuits*, and the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, reaching to the Year 1654, what hapened afterwards we ſhall have from the *Capucins*, who ſucceeded in that Miſſion, and have publiſh'd their Relation in *Spaniſh*.

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The Dominions of ye
KING of FEZ
By TALBE-BOUGIMAN
Doctor of the Alcoran.
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
MEDITER-
RANEAN SEA
Sea of Algier
GULF OF JUMENS
ATLANTICK OCEAN
Ceuta
Tanger
Tanquedarte R.
Tetuan
Arzilla
Alcassar
Marbon R.
Loucous R.
Larache
Algarbes P.
Penon de velez
Chechouan
Al-bouzemas
Jebelzebibe M.
Cebu R.
Mamora
Riffe P.
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Serhon R.
Salle
Mequinez
Cebu R.
Cast. of Fez
Fez
Fez
Ras Xims R.
Anfa
Teza
Seis P.
Mazagam
Temesena P.
Asamor
Valadia
KINGDOM of FEZ
Marbea R.
Guron R.
Beth R.
Melwya R.
PART OF
Duquella P.
Zavoias P.
Bouyazegua
Green Mount.
Saffia
Zaouias
Ouanna R.
BARBARY
Coudet R.
Iron M.
Tadela
Quuuane
Haha P.
Marocco
Goudet R.
The Atlas Mountains
MAROCCO K.
Guilaoa M.
Itata M.
La Vera Cruz
Agus R.
Sus P.
Messe
Tarodant
Sara P.
Tafilet R.
Sus R.
Aguilou R.
Hlec
Dras R.
TAFILET
Tafilet
Sehel P.
10 20 30
Leagues

THE TRAVELS OF THE Sieur *MOUETTE*, In the KINGDOMS of FEZ and MOROCCO, During his Eleven Years Captivity in thoſe Parts.



CHAP. I.

My Departure from Diep, *for the* Caribbee Iſlands *in* America, *and how I was taken by two Pyrates of* Sale.

I Set out from *Paris*, on the laſt Day of *July* 1670. with my Couſin *Claude Loyer la Garde*, and a Friend of ours, deſigning for the *Weſt Indies*: Being come to *Diep*, we imbark'd there, on the 16th. of *September*, paying 56 Livres each of us, for our Paſſage, on a ſmall Veſſel of 120 Tun, and 6 Guns, call'd the *Royal*, and commanded by *Iſaac Beliart* of *Diep*. After us imbark'd Madam *de la Montagne*, whoſe Husband had been Commander of the ancient Inhabitants of the *Iſland* of S. *Chriſtopher*, and ſhe was returning thither with the Knight her Son

The Author imbarks.

Son, and ſome Men and Women Servants. The ſame Day there came aboard us a young Gentleman of that Country, who fled from his Father, having had the Misfortune to kill his elder Brother whom his Fahter lov'd entirely.

The Wind coming up at *Eaſt*, in the Evening we ſet Sail; but about midnight it ſuddenly veer'd about to *South-Weſt*, and riſing every moment, the Sea run ſo high, that the Waves often breaking over our Deck, began to fright us. Our Sailers, being us'd to ſuch Storms, laugh'd at us; however the Fury of it ſtill increaſing, oblig'd us to leave the Road of *Fecam*, where we ply'd upon a Bowling, to get under the ſhelter of the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and came to an Anchor near *Rye*; but diſcovering there two Veſſels ſunk, the Tops of whoſe Maſts ſtill appear'd, and the Weather continuing boiſterous, it was thought ſafer to weigh, and Sail to the *Downs*, where we ſhould be better ſhelter'd from the Wind, which was then come into the *Weſt*, by the high Hills on the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

Lands in in *England.*

There we Landed, and ſtay'd four Days aſhore. The Wind coming about to *North Eaſt* and by *North*, on the firſt of *October*, a Fleet of *Dutch* and *Hamburgers* bound for the *Levant*, and the *Engliſh* Blue Squadron, ſet Sail, with whom we kept Company two Days, enjoying, during that time, the Diverſion of their Trumpets, and frequent firing of Guns. Near the Iſle of *Wight* we parted from them, and ſtood our Courſe with a fair Wind, till the ninth, when the Wind veer'd to the *South-Weſt*, which was right a Head of us, cauſing the Sea to run ſo high, that we were oblig'd till the twelfth to leave our Veſſel to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves. One Night when we were all upon the Deck, except the Maſter and Pilot, who were in the Round-houſe, a Sea breaking in over the Veſſel half over-ſet her, and muſt have infallibly ſunk us, had not Providence ſo order'd, that another Wave rais'd the Head of her, which was the ſaving of us. At length, on the thirteenth in the Morning the Storm abated, and a Rainbow appearing, brought fair Weather. The fifteenth about Evening we met three tall *Dutch* Ships, coming from the Coaſt of *Barbary*, where they told us they had burnt ſome Pyrates, and ask'd whether we had not ſeen a Flyboat belonging to thoſe Parts, which had eſcap'd them, and they warn'd us to take head, for it was not far off. Having ſaluted one another, each held on their Courſe.

The next Morning, being the ſixteenth, whilſt we were at Prayers, a Boy, who was at the Main Top Maſt, cry'd out, he ſaw two Sail a Head of us, and not above two Leagues diſtant. As we ſtood towards one another, we ſoon came within Cannon Shot

Shot, they bearing *Turkiſh* Colours, and we putting out ours. They ask'd who we were; and whence we came? and being anſwer'd we came from *Diep*, and were bound for *America*, they told us, they were *Algerines*, at Peace with us, and therefore we needed not to fear; but that our Captain muſt go aboard to ſhow his Paſs, and they would be ſatisfy'd. This was the Method the *Sale* Men us'd to take our Ships, and the ſame is practic'd by the *Algerines* when we are at War with them; which makes them Maſters of their Prizes with much eaſe, and might be eaſily remedy'd, did Men but conſider what they do.

Our Commander being either too credulous, or a Coward, would not take the Advice of the Pilot and Sailors, who ſhew'd him, that one of thoſe Veſſels was the Flyboat the *Dutch* had bid him be aware of but the Night before, and therefore ſaid, he had better defend himſelf than believe them. He caus'd the Boat to be hoiſted out, and taking ſix of our beſt Men with him, left us, ſaying, in Caſe thoſe were Enemies Ships, he would throw his Hat into the Sea, as a Signal for us to ſtand upon our Guard. Inſtead of ſo doing, the Villain betray'd us; for having contracted ſtrictly for his Veſſel, ſo that he enrich'd himſelf by the loſs, inſtead of performing his Promiſe, he writ a Note to the Pilot, bidding him to fear nothing; but to ſuffer the *Mahometans* to come aboard, for they would only ſearch, to ſee whether we had any Strangers conceal'd. The Pilot obeying his Orders, aſſoon as the *Moors* came aboard, they drew the Weapons they had conceal'd under their Cloaths, and fell upon all they met. When I perceiv'd they were in earneſt, and that no Man offer'd to oppoſe them, I dropt a Firelock I had, after diſcharging it, and got down as faſt as I could into one of their Boats, were a Devil of a *Black*, left to take Care of it, preſently ſeiz'd me by the Collar, and held a Battle-Axe over my Head to ſcare me: However he made me underſtand by Signs, that I ſhould come to no harm, if I would be quiet and let him do his Will. Then he took all I had about me of any Value, and that done ſaid no more to me. Taken by the *Moors*.

In the mean while there was a dreadful Havock on the Deck; the *Moors* meeting with no Oppoſition, kill'd a young *Hugonot*, about 13 or 14 Years of Age, ſhooting him in the Belly: The Knight of *Malta*, Son to Madam *de Montagne*, had ſome ſlight Wounds with a Cimiter. The Infidels being become our Maſters, carry'd us over to their Ships, where we were all ſtripp'd, and ſearch'd narrowly, for fear we had conceal'd any Money. Then counting 40 of us, great and ſmall, with four Women, they

divided us equally between the two Ships, as they did the reſt of the Booty. The Knight, and his Mother remain'd with the *Reys* of *Courtebey*; and my Couſin and I were, with others, carry'd aboard *Mahomet Reys*, Captain of the other Corſair, being a Runaway from *Algier*, who had joyn'd *Courtebey* ſome Days after the *Dutch* had chac'd the latter, who got clear of them in the Night; for *Courtebey* commanded the Flyboat the *Dutch* had warn'd us to beware of.

Carry'd to *Sale*.

As ſoon as ever we came aboard, ten of us were fetter'd in one Chain. When they had examin'd what was in the Prize, and were ſatisfy'd, they made back for *Sale*, whence they came. We were in ſight of that Place on the 24th of *October*: An *Engliſh* Ship, that expected the Return of thoſe Veſſels, and then lay at Anchor before the Bar, ſpying them, immediately ſet Sail; but having only 50 Men aboard, was ſatisfied with Cannonading, to oblige us to ſurrender. However the Corſairs came up to the Bar, and endeavour'd to get over it; but it being then Ebb, and the Water too low, put to Sea again, and kept along the Coaſt. The *Engliſh* Man purſu'd ſo cloſe, and tore them in ſo many places, that he oblig'd the Pyrate, I was aboard, to run himſelf and his Prize upon the Rocks, where we had all like to have periſh'd. *Courtebey*'s Ship by the Favour of the Night, made her eſcape into the ſmall Port of *Fidella*, 12 Leagues from *Sale*. As we were landing, a young and beautiful *Norman* Maiden Gentlewoman, that came with Madam *de Montagne*, fell into the Sea, as did her Maid: The Chriſtian Seamen haſtned to their Relief, yet could only ſave the Maid, the Miſtreſs having ſunk under the Keel of the Veſſel; and being drowned, at our coming aſhore we found her ſtark naked on the Sand, the *Moors* having ſtripp'd her already.

CHAP. II.

How they ſell the Slaves at Sale, *and the Deſcription of that Place.*

Deſcription of *Sale*.

THE *Alcayde*, *Hamet Benyencourt*, Governour of the Caſtles, and the two Towns of *Sale*, with *Hache Abdelcader Marino*, Intendant of the *Marine*, came the next Day, being the 25th, to the Place where we were, to conduct us to the Town, from which we were about two little Leagues. It will not be here improper to

to give a ſhort Deſcription of *Sale*: It ſtands on the Banks of the *Guerou*, which falls from the Mountains of *Zaovias*, and divides it into two parts; That on the *North* ſide is properly call'd *Sela* in the Country Language, and *Sale* in ours; and there live the richeſt *Jewiſh* and *Mahometan* Merchants: It is encompaſs'd with good Walls, about ſix Fathom high, and two yards and a quarter, or a half, thick, made of Clay and red Sand, knit together with Lime, after the manner of the Country. They have Battlements on them, and are flank'd with good Towers; and were almoſt ruin'd, before the Reign of *Muley Archy*, who caus'd them to be well repair'd: That part of the Town which lyes to the *Southward*, is call'd *Raval*, and takes up a much larger Compaſs than the other: There are abundance of Gardens within the Circumference of this Town, and a great Field, where they might ſow Corn enough to ſerve 1500 Men. Its Walls are very ancient, and there is a Tradition in the Country, that they were built by one part of the firſt *Chriſtians* brought into *Africk*, by thoſe Generals of *Jacob Almanzor*, King of *Arabia Fœlix*, who conquer'd *Spain*; the other part being carry'd to *Morocco*, to build thoſe famous Aqueducts, which are ſtill to be ſeen there. On the *South-Eaſt* and by *South* Quarter, ſtands a high Tower, call'd *Haſans*, which ſerves as a Land-mark for Ships to come in; and at the foot of it are Docks to build Ships, and for them to Winter. A Man may ride a Horſe-back up to the Top of this Tower, as eaſily as if it were a Hill, becauſe the Aſcent has no Steps. It was built by the ſame King's Order, with a *Moſque*, now all in Ruins, by the ſame Architect that rais'd the famous Tower of the *Moſque*, that is now the Cathedral at *Sevil*, and that of the great *Moſque* at *Morocco*.

This Town, which was for ſeveral Years a Commonwealth, firſt ſettled that Government ſome time after it receiv'd the *Andaluzians and Granadines*, expell'd by the King of *Spain*, on Account of their frequent Mutinies. Thoſe *Moors*, who had been bred in Wars, and reſolv'd to live free, finding themſelves more numerous than the Natives of *Sale*, oblig'd them no longer to own any Sovereign; and to caſt off the Obedience they had promis'd *Ben-bucar* when they came into his Country, beſieg'd his Son Prince *Abdala*, who commanded in the Caſtle. That Prince, who was then but fifteen Years of Age, bravely ſuſtain'd a Siege of ſeveral Years, being ſupply'd with Proviſions and Ammunition, by the Duke of *Medina Celi*, Lord of *Port St. Mary*, near *Cadiz*; and by the King of *Portugal*, who ſent him ſeveral Caravels loaden with all Neceſſaries for the Support of Life and Warlike Uſes; the Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe by *Ben-bucar*, ſo-

ſoliciting for it. The Inhabitants of *Sale* being excluded the Harbour, which the Caſtle Commanded, and having all the Country about for their Enemies, began to want all things: Several Chriſtian Merchants brought them Corn, which was landed on the Coaſt between *Mamora* and *Sale*, where thoſe Merchants made their Fortunes; for they carried off almoſt all the Gold and Jewels the *Moors* had brought out of *Spain* with them. Prince *Abdala* growing weary of living in a continual Priſon, at laſt contracted with the Captain of an *Engliſh* Ship that was come into the Road, promiſing to make him Maſter of the Caſtle, upon Condition the King of *England* would give the King his Father a Thouſand Quintals, or Hundred Weight of Powder, and the ſame number of Firelocks. The *Engliſh* Man readily comply'd, and was in the Caſtle with 200 Soldiers he deſign'd to leave with the *Moors* till he return'd from *England*. Having ſtay'd there Four or Five Days, and perceiving there were not Proviſions enough for them, till he return'd from *England*, he told the Prince he would go home and tranſact that Affair with his Maſter. After he was gone Aboard again, the Inhabitants of *Sale* ſummon'd the Prince to Surrender the Caſtle, threatning if he did not, to Spring a Mine they had carry'd on in the Rock. An *Italian* Captive was the Contriver of that Invention, who found means to pierce into the Rock, and perfected that work in hopes of his Liberty which had been promis'd him. The Prince ſent two of his greateſt Favourites to view the Mine, who told him what it was, and that it had been carried on by the Direction of a Chriſtian.

Abdala perceiving he muſt either depart or Periſh, Capitulated the very next Day, and had all the Articles he demanded granted him; among which, was the delivering up of the *Italian* to him, whom he put to a moſt Cruel Death. When he was departed the Caſtle, the *Andaluzians* kept their *Divan* in it: *Hache Abdala Feniche*, and *Mahomet de Santiago*, aſſembled there in Council to Govern the People, with the *Marinos*, *Izquierdos*, *Ozaras*, *Pantojas*, *Zebedez*, *Tonſos*, *Courtebeyes*, *Valencianos*, *Blancos*, *Meninos*, and many more of the Prime of both Towns. They order'd a Ditch to be carry'd round the Caſtle, at which Work above 500 Men were employ'd for ſeveral Months; but being made in the Rock, and very much Money ſquander'd about it, they left the Work imperfect, as we ſee it at this Day.

Old Caſtle of Sale. There are at preſent two Caſtles at *Sale*, the old, I have laſt ſpoken of, is directly at the Mouth of the River *Guerou*, next to which, its Walls, ſtanding on Rocks, are very lofty, and ſhelter the Governours Houſe adjoyning to them from any Cannon ſhot.

ſhot. There is nothing regular in the ſtructure of this Caſtle, for it is neither Square nor Triangular; but they built it as the Ground would allow: The Walls fronting to the River, are for the moſt part of Square Stones, with ſeveral Towers newly built by *Muley Semein*. Within this Caſtle, and before its Principal Gate, which is almoſt all Rotten, is a Fort rais'd high, and on it ſeveral Culverins that Command the Town. Below, next the Sea, on the Point of the Rock, facing the Bar, is a Baſtion, mounted with Five Pieces of Cannon, to ſecure the Veſſels that Anchor in the Road, and cover the Retreat of the Pyrates, when purſu'd by any Chriſtian Veſſels. The Walls next the Sea are low, and very eaſy to be Scal'd; for as much as within they are fill'd up with Earth almoſt to the Top, and without there are many Heaps of Dung and Earth as high as they, which would render the entrance very eaſy: On that ſide of the Wall, there are above Twenty indifferent pieces of Cannon, which ſerve alſo to defend the Road; and there is a Subterraneous Paſſage from the aforeſaid Baſtion into the Caſtle. Within, it has no Water to Drink but what is preſerv'd in a Ciſtern, which receives all that falls on the flat Roofs of the Houſes when it Rains, and is convey'd to it by ſeveral Spouts. There is alſo a Well, but the Water of it is brackiſh, and only ſerves for Cattel.

The New Caſtle, on the South Weſt ſide, was built by *Muley Archy*, and is ſquare, flank'd with good Towers, and has Battlements like the Walls. There is a Communication from the one to the other by a high Wall, flank'd with Two Towers, and built upon Arches, under one of which the People paſs, to go walk on the Strand. When I was at *Sale*, there were Twelve Pieces of Braſs Cannon of ſeveral ſizes in this Place. On the Weſt ſide, before the Breach in the Town Wall, on the Edge of the Sea, ſtands another Baſtion on a Rock; but neglected of late, which renders the taking this *Raval* of *Sale* very eaſy, as well becauſe of this large Breach, which Fifty or Sixty Men may enter abreaſt, as by Reaſon the Gates of this Town are never ſhut at Night. The Proper time for ſuch an Enterprize is in *April*, when the Pyrates are at Sea, who take all the beſt Soldiers with them, and there are none left to defend it, but old Men, Women, and Children, unfit to make any Oppoſition. The Deſcent might be made at *Fidella*, which lies Twelve Leagues *South-Weſt* from *Sale*, and the way thence to the Town is all plain. *New Caſtle.*

The Country about *Sale* is very fruitful for Corn, and abounds in Cattel and Fruit-Trees. There is a great empty ſpace within the Walls fit to ſow Corn, and abundance of Gardens without; and if when taken, a Garriſon of 500 Horſe were kept in it, this *Country about* Sale.

this Place would be as conſiderable as that of *Oran*, held by the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Algier*, whither they Banniſh young Gentlemen that deſerve any Puniſhment, to ſerve at their own Coſt for ſome years; for all the Province of *Temeſona*, which has no Strong hold, and is one of the beſt in the Kingdom of *Fez*, might be brought under Contribution. If it ſhould be thought fit to advance farther into the Country, to make any Conqueſts, it would be neceſſary to take the Field in *March*, to drive the *Arabs* towards the Mountains, and ſecure the Corn, which they begin to reap about *May*, lay it up under Ground, and Plow over it; for ſhould an Army go after the Harveſt, it muſt needs Starve, both Men and Horſes, becauſe they lay up no ſtores of Hay, and all the Graſs is burnt up by the violent heat of the Sun. For the better ſecuring of the Conqueſt, it will be convenient to leave no Enemies behind that may be troubleſome; for the *Moors*, who daily expect either the Chriſtians or the *Turks* ſhould come into their Country, ſay, They had rather have the Chriſtians, becauſe they are more Merciful, and will ſpare their Lives; ſo that they may in Proceſs of Time get the better of, and expel them, which they do not hope for from the *Turks*.

To return to our particular, as ſoon as we came to *Sale*, we were conducted to the Merchant, that fitted out the Privatier, who kept us till *All-Saints* Day, when we were ſold. Our Captain was at firſt preſented to the Governour, who kept him for the King. The Criers took each of us by the Hand, and walk'd us bare headed along the Market, which is kept under great Arches, call'd *Canonettes*, being near the River, next the Caſtle.

How Slaves are Sold.

Thoſe who buy Slaves obſerve their Countenance, and look into their Hands to ſee whether they are Labouring Men or Well Born: When they meet with one that has a curious Complexion, and ſoft Hands, they conclude he is Rich, and that makes them advance upon one another for the Poor Creature, hoping, when they have him, to exact a conſiderable Ranſom; and therefore 'tis afterwards hard to get out of their Hands. Our Knight of *Malta*, and the Lady his Mother were ſold for 1500 Crowns. I being left the laſt of all the Company, after the Cryer had well walk'd me about, and cry'd *Herech, Herech*, was bought for 360 Crowns, and deliver'd to my Maſters who were Four in Number. One of their Servants carried me to a Publick Houſe, where Strangers are entertain'd, as in our Inns, and which they call *Fondaques*. Three of my Maſters, who had only one half of me, came thither immediately to ſee me: The Eldeſt of them was called *Mahomet le Moraxchy*, and was Farmer of the King's Weights. The Second, whoſe name was *Mahomet Liebus*, was a Mer-

a Merchant of Wooll and Oil; and a very good Man, as I afterwards found by experience. The Third was *Rabby Yemin* a *Jew*. They bought me some Cloaths, and then *Maraxchy* carried me home for his Wife to see me. She presently brought me a White Loaf, Butter, Hony, and some Dates and Raisins of the Sun, saying, *Coul, Coul*, that is, Eat, Eat. Having not broke my Fast before, I soon made an end of all she brought me, and she seeing I had done wou'd have given me more; but taking off my Cap, I gave her to understand I had enough.

The Author's Adventures with his Masters.

Then *Moraxchy* carried me back to the first House, where the *Jew* came to me again, and made a Compliment in *Spanish*, which I did not then understand, but know since, it was to this effect; *Courage Sir, God is Great and Powerful; He will deliver you from the Misfortune you are fallen into through the Perils and Hazards of the Sea.* Then he ask'd me, Whether I had a Father and Mother, and wherewith to Ransom my self? Having been before instructed by the Christian Slaves that were aboard the Pyrate, how I was to behave my self towards my Masters when they examin'd me, I told the *Jew*, he was much mistaken in calling me Sir, for I was the Poorest Fellow of all our Company, and not able to give him the Value of a Crown. He did not seem to believe me, and went on saying, *He pity'd my Youth, and therefore, if I would agree with him, he would prevail with my other Masters to give me my Liberty at a very easy Rate.* I reply'd, *That if a Penny would purchase my Liberty, I was not able to give it. Well*, said he, *if you have nothing, as you pretend, you may at least write a Letter to your Relations, for them to gather Alms to get you out of our Hands: For, if you will not, we shall load you with four Chains, beat you like a Dog, and starve you in a Dungeon.* Having heard these dismal Words, I ask'd for Pen, Ink and Paper, which a Renegado, who was our Interpreter, immediately brought me. I writ a Letter in the most moving Words I could think of, directing it to a Brother, whom I made a Cobler, desiring him to beg as far as forty or fifty Crowns, and give them to the Fathers that go upon the Redemption of Captives, that they might remember me when they came into the Country. He caus'd the Renegado to read the Letter to him, who thinking I had writ the Truth, told the *Jew*, they had certainly been deceiv'd, in giving so great a Price for me; for which reason they ceas'd persecuting of me.

The next Morning I was deliver'd to *Mahomet Liebus*, who carry'd me home, where I found his Mother-in-Law, and his Wife, both *Andaluzians*, who began to bewail my Misfortune.

They gave me a good Breakfaſt, and after it a Basket of Corn, to grind at a Hand-mill that was in their Kitchin. This is the moſt uſual Labour of the Slaves in the Sea-port Towns, there being no other Mills. This toilſome Exerciſe requires much ſtrength, and having never been us'd to work, I began to miſlike it the firſt moment I was imploy'd, and made ſuch courſe Flower that they could not mould it. This mov'd my Miſtreſs to give me a young Child ſhe had, to carry about the Town: I made ſo much of him, that he would not go to any Body elſe, nor lye from me. My Miſtreſs, who was young, and very handſome, and ſpoke excellent *Spaniſh*, perceiving how fond her Son was of me, got me Liberty to walk abroad with him where I pleas'd. She treated me with white Bread, Butter mixt with Hony, and ſuch Fruit as was in Seaſon; caus'd a Chain of twenty five Pound Weight her Husband had put on me, to be taken off; conjur'd me to be patient under my Captivity; ſaved me from her Husbands beating and reproaches, and often preſſed me to turn Renegado, that ſhe might have it in her Power to give me greater Tokens of her Affection, by marrying me to a very beautiful and rich Niece ſhe had, whoſe Father *Abdul Caderamer*, had been fifteen Years a Slave in the *Captain* Galley of *Malta*. The better to pleaſe her, I anſwer'd, *That were ſhe to be my Reward I could willingly incline to it; but I could never admit of ſuch a Thought for any other.* Then I added the tendereſt and moſt moving Expreſſions I could think of, which prevail'd with her to excuſe me from going to lye in the Dungeon among the other Slaves.

Madam *de Montagne* having in fifteen Days concluded for her own, and her Son the Knight's Ranſome, for Three thouſand Crowns, the one half whereof the Sieur *de Laubia*, a Merchant of *Bayonne*, paid down; ſhe went aboard a *Dutch* Ship then ready to ſail, which landed her on the Coaſt of *England*. Then ſhe went over to *France* to raiſe Money, and ſolicite the Diſcharge of her Son and Servants, who were left behind; but ſoon after her Departure, *Muley Archy*, who then reign'd at *Fez*, being inform'd that the ſaid young Knight of *Malta* was Captive at *Sale*, caus'd him to be remov'd to *Fez*, with a Reſolution never to reſtore him to his Liberty, no more than he did any of thoſe that fell into his Hands; he alſo took from his Maſter the Fifteen hundred Crowns he had receiv'd, and gave him Two hundred Baſtonades for having releas'd his Mother. That noble Gentleman was, during all the Reign of the ſaid *Barbarian*, put to all the Hardſhips of the meaneſt Captives; but after his Death, *Muley Semein el Heuſenin*, his Succeſſor, ſold him

Cruelty of Muley Archy.

him to certain *Jews* of *Fez* for Two thouſand Crowns, who to oblige him to give Three thouſand for his Ranſome, employ'd him during Eighteen Months about the vileſt Employments in their Quarter, putting him to carry out the Dirt of their Houſes, and cleanſe their Privies, adding a thouſand Reproaches, which he bore with wonderful Patience: Yet at length he fell under the weight of ſo many Sufferings, and of his Chains, into a dangerous Sickneſs, which brought him to the Brink of the Grave, and oblig'd thoſe Villains when he was recovered to let him go for Two thouſand five hundred Crowns, in the Year. 1674. *Wicked* Jews.

For my part, I liv'd eaſy enough with my Maſter *Liebus*, for a year I was in his Houſe, and he never preſs'd me for Money, the Renegado I ſpoke of having prepoſſeſs'd him in my behalf. The year being expired, *Hamet Ben Yencourt*, Governour of the Caſtle, who was my Fourth Maſter, and had a half ſhare in me, ask'd the other Three, Whether I had not Treated with them about my Ranſom? They anſwer'd No; and told him, they perceiv'd they had been deceiv'd when they bought me. *Will you take your Money*, ſaid he, *and reſign me your ſhare, and I'll find a way to make him ſpeak?* They readily conſented, and carried me to the Caſtle, where I was put to ſerve in the Stable. I ſoon found the difference there was between the Governour and *Liebus*; for with the latter I us'd to eat as he did, and with the other had nothing but Brown Bread and Water; and was forc'd to lie in a *Mazmorra*, that is, a Dungeon, ſo Filthy, Stinking, and full of Vermin, that it oblig'd me to get freſh Straw every Night; becauſe about Thirty *Arabs* were kept Priſoners in that Place, upon all whoſe Ordure I was fain to lye at Night, with the other Slaves, as long as we continu'd there. Mouette *Slave to the Governour.*

Whilſt I was at *Sale*, there came in a *Dutch* Ship from *Amſterdam*, which brought the *Jews* of the former Place, certain Predictions ſent them from *Holland*. The purport of them among other things, was, *That the* Meſſias *they had expected ſo many Ages, would be born in* Holland *at the Beginning of the following year*, which was 1672. The *Jews* hearing this good News, made a ſecond Feaſt of the Tabernacles, and kept a general Rejoycing and Treating for Eight Days together. *Story of a* Meſſias *to be born.*

The chief of them being met one Day, at the Houſe of *Jacob Bueno de Meſquita*, the Richeſt of thoſe that were clad after the Chriſtian Faſhion, having made his eſcape out of *Spain* from the Inquiſition; the Sieur *L'Aubia*, a Merchant of *Bayonne*, went thither to Congratulate with them. He Drinking their Healths, and to the ſafe Arrival of their pretended *Meſſias*; *Meſquita*,

who percei'vd he jeer'd them, ſaid to him in *Spaniſh*, *Well Mr.* L'Aubia, *will you lay* 400 *Pieces of Eight with me, that the King* Meſſias *we expect, will not be born in* Holland *within a year?* *L'Aubia*, who deſired no better, gave *Meſquita* his Hand before all the other *Jews*, who took hold of it, to make good the Wager, declaring he oblig'd himſelf in their Preſence to pay the 400 Dollars, in Caſe the King *Meſſias* was not born in *Holland*, within the Time he propoſed. *Meſquita* Swore before all the Company, that he would ſtand to his Word, and then invited *L'Aubia* to proceed in their Mirth. The year expired in *July*, at which Time *L'Aubia* went to *Meſquita*'s Houſe to ask, Whether the *Meſſias* was born, and in Caſe he was, to offer him the 400 Crowns he had won. The *Jew*, who thought the Wager had been a a meer Jeſt, was ſurpriz'd at this Viſit, and began to recant; but *L'Aubia*, without loſing any Time, went up to the Caſtle and gave the Governour a full account of what had paſs'd between him and *Meſquita* the year before, naming all the other *Jews* that had been preſent, whom the Governour ſummon'd. Being inform'd by them how the matter ſtood, he order'd *Meſquita* immediately to pay down the 400 Crowns he had loſt, againſt which Judgment no Intreaties were of Force. When the *Jews* were gone, the Governour and *L'Aubia* divided the 400 Crowns between them.

Sometime before this hapned, the *Alcayde* had demanded 1000 Crowns of me for my Ranſom, I return'd him the ſame Anſwer I had given the others; but he being a Brute, who had all the Authority in his own Hands, and conſequently not to be ſatisfy'd with Reaſon, beſides that I had no other Maſter to plead for me, he ſent me to Work as a Labourer to the Maſons, that were repairing the Caſtle Walls, who for Two Months and a half, never gave over beating me unmercifully with their Trowels, without ſhowing any other reaſon for it, but that I ſhould give my Maſter a Thouſand Crowns, and I ſhould work no more. At length, the Blows and the Labour prevailing, I promis'd the *Alcayde* five hundred Crowns; who anſwer'd, *That he did not want Money, and that ſuch great Men as he did not part with their Slaves without great Ranſoms; beſides that they ought to think themſelves much oblig'd to him to get off at that Rate.* I continu'd ſome time longer upon the Work; till perceiving I was not able to hold out, I apply'd my ſelf to his Steward, telling him, *I could give but ſix Hundred Crowns, and if he could get me of at that rate, he ſhould have Twenty for himſelf.* This Man did my Buſineſs for me, and we went to the Sieur *Paraſol*, then Conſul of our Nation, to draw up the Contract: I had a little

Mouette *a Labourer.*

little Reſt for ſome Months, which being expir'd, my Maſter ask'd me, whether the ſix hundred Crowns were return'd? I told him, *I had uſed all my Endeavours, but that the Merchant Ships durſt not repair ſo frequently to thoſe Coaſts, becauſe of the Wars among Chriſtian Princes.* He waited a Month longer, when perceiving the Money did not come, he put me to work again, adding a Chain of twenty five Pound Weight to increaſe my Miſery.

At this time *Muley Semein*, who was come to the Crown, by the Death of his Brother *Muley Archy*, and return'd Victorious from *Morocco*, being offended at the Governour of *Sale*, my Maſter, who had ſlighted him whilſt he was Prince, ſent him Orders to go to *Fez* with all his Soldiers. The *Alcayde* miſtruſting the King deſign'd him no good, was ſo frighted, that he became like a mad Man, and not knowing on whom to vent his Paſſion, on the Day before his Departure, he reveng'd himſelf on me and my Companions. The firſt ſtroke he gave a *Spaniard*, broke his Head, and knock'd him down half dead; a *Roman* far'd no better; and I who came laſt under his Hands, and againſt whom he had a Spleen before, had my Head batter'd, and all my Body bruiz'd with Blows, to cure which I had nothing but the white of an Egg and ſome Cobweb. The next Day he ſet out for *Fez*, where the King would have cut off his Head with his own Hand, but ſome *Cherifs* and *Alcaydes*, that were his Friends, interceeding for him, the King ſpar'd his Life, taking away his Government and Soldiers, and ordering him to ſpend his Days in *Old Fez*, like a private Perſon. Hereupon he ſent his Couſin *Hamet Ben Abdalla* to *Sale*, to remove all his Goods to *Fez*. He made us ſet out about the end of *July*, only I of ſeven Chriſtians, having Irons on my Feet, with which I was forc'd to travel barefoot over the ſcorching Sands the Road was full of. *Goes to Fez.*

A Fortnight after I arriv'd at *Old Fez*, commonly call'd *Fez Belle*, the City revolted againſt *Muley Semein* for the Reaſons I mention in my Hiſtory; and having call'd *Muley Hamet Meherez*, the King's Nephew, who was at *Theſa*, a ſmall Town, but Eigteen Leagues diſtant to its Aſſiſtance, they ſent him fifteen hundred Horſe, and five hundred Foot, among whom my Maſter was made a Captain. He left us in the Cuſtody of a *Black*, who during the whole Siege, which laſted fourteen Months, gave us nothing but Bread made of Bran, and ſome boil'd Herbs, to eat; ſo that had not the other Chriſtians relieved us with Bread, and the Sieur *Raymond*, Conſul at *Sale*, ſent me ſome little Money, we had periſh'd for Want. *Rebellion of* Fez.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the moſt remarkable Things that hapned in New Fez, *commonly call'd* Fez Gedide, *till I was remov'd to* Mequinez *with the other Captives.*

THE City of *Fez Belle*, being reduc'd under the Obedience of *Muley Semein*, all the Slaves belonging to the *Alcaydes*, and other private Perſons, that had ſided with *Muley Hamet* the King's Nephew, of which Number I was, were remov'd to *Fez Gedide*, to be put among the Kings. I might here deſcribe the Cities of *Fez*, but having done that at large in another place, I ſhall not repeat it, but only inſert what I there omitted concerning the Buildings, and ſome other particulars.

Some Account of Fez.

The Houſes in both theſe Cities, and in other Towns of *Barbary*, are ſquare, and terras'd at the Top: The Walls next to the Streets, or other Neighbours, have no Windows. They have generally four Rooms below, eight or twelve Foot wide, and twenty five or thirty in length, ſome more, ſome leſs: The Doors of theſe Rooms are directly in the middle, that the Light which comes in at them, may equally reach both ends of the Chamber: The Courts are in the middle, in which there are commonly Wells, or if they be Houſes of great Men, which are always very ſpacious, there are Marble Baſons, with Spouts of Water, and ſome Fiſh ponds, about which they have Orange and Lemon Trees, with the Fruit hanging on them all the Year about. If the Houſes be two Stories high, they have Galleries ſupported by Pillars of Marble, Freeſtone or Brick, with turn'd Wooden Baniſters on them, painted of ſeveral Colours. The Joiſts and Girders are painted after the ſame manner, there being an Ornament all round the Room three Spans broad under them of Plaiſter Fretwork in Flowers, after the *Moſaick* manner. Under that is another Circle, about a Man's height, of curious Chequer Work painted of ſeveral Colours, and repreſenting all ſorts of Flowers. They have Folding Doors which are always open, there being colour'd Silk Curtains before them. At both ends of the Rooms there are *Eſtradoes*, that is, a part raiſed about two ſpans above the Floor, made of Fir painted. On theſe *Eſtradoes* the great Men have their Beds, which conſiſt of a Mat of painted Ruſhes, and ſeveral Carpets like thoſe of *Turky*: On them they lay Quilts not above two Inches thick, cover'd on the one ſide with Silk cut in ſlips of ſeveral Colours,

and

and on the other with Cotton Cloth, and Pillows ſtuff'd with Wooll. By them they have *Haiques* of *Holland*, or *French* Linnen, which are Pieces of that Linnen, in which, after ſtripping to their Shirts, they wrap themſelves up to ſleep, and for the more Conveniency, they make their Wives Beds at the other end of the Room, whither they go to them when they have a mind. The Common ſort have only the Carpets without Quilts, and the Poor, whoſe Houſes are for the moſt part of Reeds, like Cottages, lye upon a Mat, with ſome Sheeps Skins on it in their *Haiques* of courſe Wooll. The Houſes never have any Windows, unleſs it be to ſome Cloſet, where the Light cannot come in at the Door. They have no Chimneys in their Kitchins, but only ſeveral little Stoves made of Brick or Stone, under ſome part of the Roof, which is purpoſely left open for the Smoke to go out. The Entries into the Houſes are always winding to the right and left; and there are often three or four Doors between the Street and the Court, and as many Paſſages, which are very dark. Between thoſe Doors the *Mooriſh* Great Men uſually feaſt with their Friends, or elſe they have ſome Chamber for that purpoſe at their Stables. I ſhall not here treat of their Manner of Eating, having elſewhere ſpoken of the Kings, which is much the ſame; but the *Couſcouſou* being their moſt uſual Diſh, the Reader will be pleas'd to know what it is, and how they make it.

They take a great Wooden Bowl, or Earthen Pan before them, with a Poringer full of Flower, and another of fair Water, a Sieve and a Spoon: Then they put two or three Handfuls of the Flower into the Bowl, and pour three or four Spoonfuls of Water on it, which they work well with their Fingers, every now and then ſprinkling it with Water, till it all runs into little Lumps like ſmall Peaſe, and this they call *Couſcouſou*. As it rolls up they take it out of the Bowl and put it into the Sieve to ſeparate the Flower that may have remain'd looſe; and there are ſome Women ſo expert at making of it, that it is no bigger than Hail ſhot, which is the beſt. In the mean while, they boyl a great deal of good Meat, as Pullets, Beef and Mutton, in a Pot that is not above a Span over at the Mouth. They have another Copper Pot made on purpoſe, very wide at the top, and ſo narrow at the bottom, that it may ſink two Inches within the Mouth of the other, the bottom whereof is full of holes like a Cullender: Into this laſt Pot they put the *Couſcouſou* over the other Pot the Meat boils in, when it is almoſt ready, leaving it ſo about three quarters of an Hour, cloſe cover'd with a Napkin, and a wet Cloth with a little Flower, being wrapp'd about

about the Mouth of the other Pot, that no Steem may come out that way, but all aſcend to pierce the *Conſcouſou*: When ready, they turn it out into a Diſh, and ſtir it about, that it may not cling together, but lye looſe in Grains; then they Butter it, and laſtly pour on the Broth and all the Meat.

To return to my ſelf, having no Acquaintance in *New Fez*, ſo that I muſt have lain on the Ground, the *R. F. Gregory Rippert*, of the Order of St. *Francis*, a Religious Man of ſingular Piety and Charity, ſince Guardian of the *Franciſcans* of St. *Remy* in *Provence*, and then a Captive, with the Sieur *Caſſel* a Surgeon, and Virtuous Perſon, gave me what was neceſſary to make me a Bed of Canes, as the others had. The next Day after my Arrival, I was put to the Labour that all the other Captives were about, which was Maſons Work, the hardeſt of any, for their way of building Walls differs much from ours in *Europe*. Tho' never ſo high they are made of Earth, temper'd with Lime, and they are ſo hard to raiſe, that I admire how it is poſſible to hold long at that Toil; beſides that the Water is to be brought a great way to mould the Earth. The difficulty ſtill lies in carrying it up, for that they having neither Scaffolds nor Ladders, it muſt be drawn up by a Pulley, with a ſmall Cord, which burns and cuts the Fingers of ſuch as pull at it. If thoſe who work above, ceaſe but one moment pounding the Earth that is between the Planks with heavy Rammers, the Overſeers, who have quick Ears, throw Stones at them to continue their perpetual Labour; which they dare not give over to eat a bit of Bread, but are to hold it in one hand, and to work with the other. Thus we toil'd all the Day till Night, and when the Stars began to appear, the Slaves were conducted back to their Priſon, and ſhut up after being counted over and over again: The next Morning at break of Day we were to return to our Labour. Some time after, I was a while imploy'd in grinding of Colours under a Painter, who was alſo a *Talbe*, or Dr. in the *Alcoran*. This *Talbe*, whoſe Name was *Bougimon*, told me ſeveral Particulars concerning the Manners and Religion of the Country, which I give an account of elſewhere. Then alſo was I acquainted with the Cruelty of *Muley Archy* towards the Chriſtian Slaves, and it being my main deſign to make known the Miſeries the poor Slaves endure in that Country, I could not forbear relating the Inhumanities of that Barbarian towards them, or mentioning them in the next Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Perſecutions under the Reign of Muley Archy.

THO' that Prince, at the beginning of his Reign, behav'd himſelf mildly enough towards the Chriſtian Captives, yet he afterwards became extraordinary Cruel to them, on the following account. The Soldiers that were in Garriſon in thoſe Places the King of *Spain* was poſſeſs'd of along the Coaſts of the Kingdom of *Fez*, being very ill us'd, Deſerted in great Numbers to *Muley Archy*: When they came to *Fez*, they there ſoon committed many diſorders, which on a ſudden alter'd the King ſo much, that he chang'd the Kindneſs he before ſhew'd to the Chriſtian Captives, into the utmoſt Rage; ſo that he order'd one *Ardouan*, Son of a *Spaniſh* Renegado, to load them all with Irons, and appoint Guardians who ſhould not ſuffer them to go any where for the future, but make them Work continually: Thus they all receiv'd the Puniſhment due to ſome few, which is uſual enough in thoſe parts. *Occaſion of Perſecution.*

The King one Day ſuſpecting a young *Spaniard* call'd *Francis Carrion*, was guilty of a very ſlight Fault, notwithſtanding all the Captive could ſay to clear himſelf, he caus'd him to be walk'd in ſhameful manner through all the Streets of *Fez*, to make ſport for the Boys, who ſtrove to out-do one another in pricking him with ſharp-pointed Reeds, which he endur'd with a true Chriſtian Fortitude. He was carried back half Dead to the Palace Gate, where the King order'd the Butchers to Murder him, and bring him his Head to ſee, his Body being cut into Fourteen pieces, and then thrown to the Dogs. *Murder of a Captive.*

Another time, the Inhabitants of *Tetuan* having petition'd him to deliver one of their moſt noted Pyrates, call'd *Seth Ben Hendon*, out of the Galleys of *Genoa*, he having been taken by thoſe People; he ſent a *Jew* to demand him, offering to give in exchange, all the Captives that were of that Nation in his Kingdom. The *Genoeſes* knowing there were very few of theirs, ſent him word, *They would exchange him for a Dog*; to ſignify, That they valu'd a *Mahometan* no more than they did a Dog. This ſo far incens'd the King, that he ſwore, He would never give Liberty to any Chriſtian, for any Price whatſoever; and at the ſame time, ſent Orders to the Inhabitants of *Sale* and *Tetuan*, to make their Excurſions againſt the Chriſtians with more Vi- *Another pretence for Perſecution.*

gour than ever: He built Two Veſſels himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, and directed the Governours of the Two Places aforeſaid, to ſend him all the Captains and Officers of Ships, with the principal Paſſengers and Merchants they ſhould happen to take; that he might deſtroy them in his Galleys at *Fez*; meaning the Works he emply'd them on.

Villany of a Moor.

Some time after, he had Thoughts of burning all his Slaves, which hapned upon this Account: A *Moor* came to him one Day, begging an Alms, and ſaying, He was a poor Slave that had made his eſcape from among the Chriſtians, and that in *Spain*, where he had been a long time, they had practis'd many Cruelties upon him; all which he invented to put him in a Paſſion. The King pitying ſuch mighty Sufferings, cry'd out, *Is it poſſible that my Brethren ſhould be ſo us'd in* Europe, *and that theſe Dogs of Chriſtians ſhould live ſo eaſy under me!* What I ſay is ſo true, anſwer'd the Wicked Fellow, that they knowing very well we have an abhorrence for Swines Fleſh, and are forbidden to eat it by our Law; they compel us to it by main Force, and make us drink the Milk, and lie with thoſe Creatures. The King eaſily gave Credit to all his Relation, and in that Fury call'd the Blacks of his Guard, whom he order'd to bring together all the Slaves into a large Square behind his Palace, call'd *Mechonal*; but before they came, to load them all with Wood. All thoſe Innocent Creatures being there Aſſembled, ty'd by two and two, and the Fire ready to be ſet to the fuel they had brought, expected nothing every moment, but to paſs out of this Wretched Life, to another more Glorious, Bleſſing God, who that Day call'd them to the Crown of Martyrdom. Some of them who were more fond of Life, tho' theirs was but miſerable, were concern'd to dye ſo Young; but reſolv'd to ſuffer for their Religion. The old Men exhorted the young to Suffer Manfully as other Martyrs had done, and after long waiting the Cruel Execution, God deliver'd them after this manner: A *Cherif*, or *Mooriſh* Prince, upon the Report of what was doing, went to the King to repreſent the Injuſtice of that Execution, telling him, He had been above Twenty Years a Captive in *Spain* without receiving the leaſt ill Uſage; that on the contrary, many *Mahometans* he had ſeen there, look'd upon their Slavery as very ſupportable; yet if he deſired to be more fully ſatisfy'd, he might give order that they ſhould let him know all Perſons that had been there as well as himſelf, who would convince him how falſly he had been inform'd by that *Moor*, only to get the better Alms from him. The King being ſomewhat appeas'd, order'd that Impoſture to be found out, that he might confront him

him with the *Cherif*; but there was no meeting with him: However the King ſent for all thoſe that had been in *Spain*, to enquire how they had been uſed, who aſſured him, That what the *Cherif* ſaid was true; ſo that coming a little to himſelf, he was ſenſible he had been too eaſily put into a Paſſion, and therefore order'd the Chriſtians to be ſent back, and their Captivity from that time forward began to be more tolerable.

There is nothing more remarkable among the Cruelties of *Muley Archy*, than the Tragical, and at the ſame time Glorious end of *Don Pedro Lopez* a *Spaniſh* Gentleman: He was Commander in Chief of the Cavalry in *Melilla*, a Garriſon held by his Chatholick Majeſty on the Borders of *Alcaladia*, which is at the Mouth of the River *Meluya*, that parts the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Tremecen*. This Gentleman making frequent Excurſions againſt the Barbarians of this Province, had oblig'd them to retire for Safety to the higheſt Mountains. At laſt, having laid an Ambuſh for him, with the Aſſiſtance of the People of *Riffe*, a Neighbouring Province, they took him and his Brother, who was his Lieutenant, after they had both bravely withſtood all their Power for a long time. He might have made his eſcape if he would, as many of his Men did that were well Mounted; but could not think of leaving his Brother who was Wounded, and whom he lov'd better than himſelf. The *Barbarians* were for Sacrifizing him upon the Spot, but the Governour of *Riffe* interpos'd, and admiring *Don Pedro*'s Valour, treated him in his Tent, and caus'd his Brother to be carefully dreſs'd. The very next day he ſent them towards *Fez*, to be preſented to the King. *Muley Archy* was very joyful for having that Commander in his Power who had made ſo great a noiſe, and took ſuch a liking, as to make him a Thouſand obliging offers, and promiſe to adopt him for his Son, if he would change his Religion. Perceiving after ſeveral Days that he was not to be mov'd, he ſent him to the Captives Priſon to be employ'd at the common Works, thinking he would grow weary and alter his Tone; but the Hardſhips of Slavery only ſerv'd to ſtrengthen his Faith, and give greater Proofs of his Conſtancy. The King pretended to be taken with his Reſolution, and after other tokens of Affection, gave him the Poſt of *Alcayde* of all his Captives, which *Don Pedro* could never prevail with himſelf to accept of.

Bravery of a Spaniſh Captive.

During the whole time of his Captivity, which laſted ſix years, he gave a Thouſand Proofs of his Generoſity and Virtue; for not wanting Money, whether he had any given him by the King, or receiv'd it of his own, he kept the Pooreſt of the Slaves in Cloaths, and his Alms were ſo private, that thoſe

who receiv'd them, were a long time before they knew from whence they came. The ſick were reliev'd by him and his Brother, with wonderful Charity; for they ſpar'd nothing they had to comfort them; but the loſs of his Brother, who was ſnatch'd from him by a violent Diſeaſe, troubled him beyond all his other Sufferings. At the ſame Time, the Barbarians fearing leſt he ſhould recover his Liberty, and do them more harm afterwards, than he had done before, ſent to entreat the King to deliver him up to them for a great Summ of Money. The King was amaz'd at their Fear, and that he alone ſhould be more dreadful to them than all *Spain*: However to pleaſe them, he promis'd to eaſe them of their Apprehenſions, and that they ſhould ſoon either ſee *Don Lopez* Dead, or converted to their Religion. From that time, he only waited an Opportunity to execute his deſign with ſome ſhow of Juſtice: Meeting one day with one of the Keepers of his Graneries, Drunk with Brandy, he preſently order'd his Brother *Muley Semein*, to go to the Priſon, and beat Twelve of the firſt Slaves he met with, and then bring them to him with *Don Lopez*. The Prince obey'd, and having Cudgell'd thoſe that came in his way, deliver'd them to his Guard to bring along with him to the Palace. Being come thither, *Muley Archy* told him, he deſign'd to put *Lopez* to Death, if he came before him as a Chriſtian; the Prince, who lov'd the Gentleman, went out to the Palace Gate to acquaint him with it: He, nothing concern'd, lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, offering himſelf up to God, and returning the Prince Thanks with a low Bow, went on at the Head of his Companions without giving him time to ſay any more. As ſoon as the King beheld thoſe poor Cripples, who were ſo beaten that they could ſcarce go, he roar'd like a Lyon, and order'd them to be ty'd to the Orange Trees that were in the Courts of his Palace, except only *Lopez*, whom he call'd to him; and being inform'd by his Brother, that he was reſolv'd not to renounce his Faith, ask'd him, *Why he ſuffer'd the Slaves to ſell Brandy to the* Moors, *ſince he had plac'd him over them?* This ſaid, he gave him ſeveral ſtroaks with his Cymiter, which laid him Dead at his Feet. Then he proceeded to the others, to vent all his Malice, and had ſoon made an end of them, but that *Check Louety*, his Father-in-law, and greateſt Favourite, embracing him, took the Cymiter out of his Hands. He told him, That if the News of that Maſſacre were carried over into *Spain*, where there were Thirty *Moors* for one Chriſtian they had in *Barbary*, thoſe People would not fail to ſhow their Reſentment of his behaviour to-

towards *Lopez* and his Companions. Thus he mollified the King's Rage, and prevail'd that *Lopez* might be interr'd in the Chriſtian Burial Place, and his Companions ſent back to the others to have their Cuts dreſs'd, which were ſuch, that ſome of them died in a few Days.

A Fortnight after this Action, *Muley Archy* went to ſee his Town of *Sale*, and paſs the Month of *Ramadan* or *Lent* there. Having ſeen ſeveral young Chriſtians about the Streets, he order'd *Hamet Ben Yencourt*, the Governor of the Town, and my Maſter, to bring them before him: There being Nineteen of them, and good likely Men, he ſent them ſome Days after to *Fez*, with orders that they ſhould he ſhut up till his Return. They were carefully kept at the Palace, and the King's Commands ſo punctually obey'd, that none of the Captives could ever come to talk to them. About the end of *Ramadan* or *Lent*, the King return'd to *Fez*, to Celebrate their great Feſtival, like our *Eaſter*; and cauſing them all to be brought before him on that Day, Preach'd to them on the excellency of his falſe Religion, telling them, They would infallably be damn'd, if they did not follow the Law of *Mahomet*: Then he promis'd, That as ſoon as they were ſufficiently inſtructed in the *Alcoran* and *Arabick* Tongue, he would make them all Governors of Towns, and Commanders of his Troops; That he would Marry them advantageouſly, give them Rich Garments, fine Horſes, Gold, Silver, and all they could deſire; and in ſhort, that they ſhould be treated as his own Children, that he had begotten to Salvation. Thoſe Young Men, being moſt of them Servants and Cabbin Boys, and conſequently ill inſtructed in Religion, gave Ear to that Barbarous Prince's Promiſes, and all turn'd *Mahometans*, except Two. He caus'd them to be immediately Richly Clad; gave each of them a Cymiter and a Horſe, and thus ſent them to all the *Moſques*; whither they were attended by the Great Men of the Kingdom, and follow'd by all the King's Muſick, and Cavalry, Marching with their Standards diſplay'd: All the People that ſtood in the Streets to ſee thoſe New *Mahometans*, gave them a Thouſand Bleſſings. The King having prepar'd a Sumptuous Entertainment made them eat at his own Table, attended by the Prime Nobility. Then he gave them a Summ of Money, and after being heal'd of their Circumciſion, he Married ſuch as were of Age to Rich Wives. Their Proſperity was not laſting, for we ſaw moſt of thoſe Renegadoes die miſerably in the next Reign.

The King makes many Renegadoes.

As

Two Constant Christians. As for the other Two that would not renounce their Faith; one of which was an *English* Proteſtant, and the other a *French* Catholick born at *Diep*, who came Aboard with us to learn Navigation, the King practic'd all that Malice could dictate upon them; perceiving that his Cruelty did not prevail upon their Reſolution, he ſent them to ſerve in his Stable, ordering the *Alcayde*, or chief of it, to allow them no Reſt: This continual Fatigue ſoon threw them into a deſperate Sickneſs, which made the King ſend them to the Priſon among his other Slaves, and afterwards thought no more of them. The reſt of their Captivity was eaſy enough, till they recover'd their Liberty, in the year 1676.

Cruelty to Women Captives. This implacable Enemy of our Faith, was not ſatisfied with Perſecuting thoſe of our Sex, who would not renounce their Faith: Several Women and Maids, who had been unfortunately taken at Sea, or in their own Houſes on the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, were ſhut up in the *Seraglio*, and put to the meaneſt Employments, being ſubject to the Inhumanity of a Thouſand Black Women that are the Queen's Slaves, as the Men are the King's: Thoſe Poor Creatures were to be Servants to them all, and if they were not able to go through whatſoever was enjoyn'd them, the King had order'd they ſhould be beaten. If they happened to complain to him of their ill uſage, he gave them no other Anſwer, But that they muſt change their Religion if they had a Mind to be better us'd. He promis'd ſuch as were Handſome enough to pleaſe him, That, if they would become *Mahometans*, he would raiſe them to a high Pitch, and they ſhould be his chiefeſt Favourites. However, God be Prais'd, he could not prevail upon any of them; but they all rather choſe to Suffer for the Profeſſion of their Faith, than to enjoy all ſorts of Riches and Pleaſures, by imbracing the Abſur'd Law of *Mahomet*, which is ſo full of Fables and Follies, that I admire how any Men can ſuffer themſelves to be deluded.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Perſecutions and Troubles we went through at Miquenes, *which the King caus'd to be rebuilt to keep his Court there. The Deſcription of* Morocco *and* Sus.

MUley *Archy*, having given *Miquenes* to his Brother *Muley Semein*, for his Appanage or Support; that young Prince made it his uſual Place of Reſidence, tho' he had the fineſt Palace in all *New Fez*. That City being ſeated in a delightful Plain, ſhaded with abundance of Olive Trees, he reſolv'd to remove his Court thither; but the buildings being all old, he would have them rais'd anew, before he went to ſettle there. To this purpoſe, the Structures he had began at *Fez* being now finiſh'd, he caus'd his Slaves to be ſent thither to Work. We were receiv'd there at the Caſtle Gate, by a Black of a Prodigious tall Stature, of a frightful Aſpect, and a Voice as dreadful as the Barking of *Cerberus*: He had a Staff in his Hand proportionable to his bulk, with which he Saluted every one of us, and then led us into the Store Houſe, to chuſe Pickaxes of an extraordinary Weight, which when every one was furniſh'd with, we were conducted to old Walls to pull them down. This was our firſt employ there, which began at break of Day, and held on till dark Night; and if any Man ceas'd but never ſo little, he receiv'd his reward immediately. That Black would not allow us time to Eat, and never went from the Work, without leaving one in his Place, which change was always to our Diſadvantage; for thoſe new Executioners, did not only beat us themſelves, but when the Black came again, told him who had not work'd to their Mind, and he thereupon redoubled the Strokes, which he always took care to beſtow on thoſe parts where he thought they would do moſt hurt. He ſtruck moſt at the Head, and when he had broke it, Counterfeited the charitable Surgeon, applying ſome unſlack'd Lime to ſtanch the Bleeding. When he perceiv'd any one had been ſo beaten, that he could not go, he had a dreadful way of enabling him, by redoubling the Stripes, ſo that the new ones made him forget the old.

Captivity at Miquenez.

The King coming one Day to lay the Foundation of the *Seraglio*, ſome that had yet the Blood of their Hurts about them, caſt

caſt themſelves at his Feet, offering their Complaints in the moſt moving Manner, to incline him to Compaſſion. He look'd earneſtly upon them, but afforded us no Redreſs; which made the *Black* ſtill more cruel. After the King was gone to make War on his Nephew *Muley Hamet*, who had been choſen King of *Morocco*, where he continu'd three Years, the *Black* grew ſo inrag'd, that he never gave over, till he had ſent above twenty to their Graves. Nothing was to be heard at Night in our Priſons, but diſmal Groans, occaſion'd by the violent Pains proceeding from our beating. The very ſight of that Devil made us quake; his Voice put ſuch Life into us, that the moment we heard him in the Morning, cry out at the Door, *Eoua-y-alla cruſion*, that is, come out quick; every one throng'd to be foremoſt, for the hindmoſt always felt the Weight of his Cudgel

Slaves attempt to kill their Keeper.

In ſhort, our Miſery was ſo great, that we reſolv'd to make away with him, tho' it coſt us our Lives. He uſing to come to our Quarters at Night to get drunk with Brandy, at our Coſt, it was reſolv'd to make an end of him the firſt Night he was there alone; but when it came to the Point, no Man would ſtrike firſt; However we prepar'd for the Execution, and the *Spaniards* advis'd the other Nations to provide Knives to cut him in Pieces: He underſtanding a little of their Language, drew his Dagger, fled, and never came again at Night. This Deſign failing, we thought of another Way, and got ſome *Arſenick* to give him in his Brandy. We know not whether he had Notice given him, but from that Time he never drank any, till he that gave it him had firſt taſted. Theſe Attempts of ours againſt his Life, only ſerv'd to make him the more our Enemy, and to redouble his Cruelty; beſides, that he was put on by the Overſeer, and rewarded by the Governour of the Place, who were earneſt to ſee the Works advance. We complain'd again to the King, who was then in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, by Letter, and that it might not fail of being deliver'd into his own Hands, ſent it by an Expreſs to the Chriſtians, that ſerv'd in his Train of Artillery, who gave it him: It produc'd no Effect, tho' at his Return we again went to pray he would do us Juſtice, and he promis'd it. On the contrary, a few Days after, he with his own Hand kill'd a young *Spaniard*, whoſe Name was *Bartholomew Tio*: He had appointed him Chief of thoſe who ſerv'd in his Stable, and cut off his Head, becauſe he was not quick enough in bringing him a Pail of Water he had call'd for to one of his Companions. Tho' the King refus'd to do us Juſtice on our *Black*, God did it ſoon after, delivering us from him, by means of

of the Plague, which began in the Year 1678, and deſtroy'd the one half of thoſe Barbarians.

Plague in Barbary.

Some of us were not exempt from that Contagion, which ſeiz'd about fifty, of about two hundred we were, the third part of which eſcap'd; for tho' we were all ſhut up together, the others were all well, whereas when it enter'd any *Moor*'s Houſe, it left no living Creature there, which is a plain Demonſtration of God's Goodneſs towards the Faithful. We doubled our uſual Prayers at that time, and for eight Days, ſaid the whole Roſary, inſtead of the third Part we repeated before; beſides other Prayers during the whole time of the Contagion, which laſted three Years.

Charitable Brotherhood.

The firſt Year I was choſen Treaſurer of the Brotherhood, that had been erected under the Title of, *Our Lady of Mercy*. The Deſign of this Brotherhood was to relieve the Sick, and the Fund was rais'd out of a Duty taken for every Kettle of *Aqua Vitæ* we made, and ſold privately to the *Moors*, and what the Brothers begg'd every Night after Prayers. The Charge of the Light in our Chappel was alſo defray'd by the Brotherhood, which conſiſted of a Treaſurer, a Clerk, and twelve Brothers, who were chang'd every Year, and the Treaſurer was accountable to his Succeſſor. This Brotherhood began in the Reign of *Muley Archy*, after the following manner:

That Prince coming one Day to ſee ſome old Walls beaten down, wonder'd that the Chriſtians did ſo little Work, and ask'd the Reaſon of thoſe about him? The *Alcayde Cidon* told him, "That "the Chriſtians being us'd in their own Country to drink Wine "and Brandy, and then reduc'd to only Bread and Water, it made "them weak, and unfit for hard Labour: That if he would have "the Pleaſure of ſeeing them work to the Purpoſe, he need only "order every one of them three or four Glaſſes of Wine, and he "would ſee how they Labour'd. The King ſmil'd, and ſent for the *Clerk* of the *Jews*, whom he order'd to bring four great Pitchers of Wine, which being diſtributed among the Captives, the King went a walking, and at his Return, was amaz'd to ſee, that the Chriſtians had done more in two hours he had been gone, than in three Parts of the Day before. This made him give an Order under his Seal, enjoyning the *Jews* to furniſh every Week ten *Quintals*, or a hundred Weight of Raiſins, and as many Figs, for the Chriſtians to make Brandy; forbidding them, at the ſame time, under ſevere Penalties, the ſelling any of it to the *Moors*. This was at the Time when he made *Don Pedro Lopez*, before ſpoken of, Chief of the Captives, and laid hold of the Pretence of their having tranſgreſs'd his Prohibition, to murder him.

Captives why allow'd Brandy.

Whilſt the King was at *Fez*, the *Jews* continu'd what he had order'd; but as ſoon as he took the Field, they got themſelves off, by means of a Summ of Money they gave *Ardouan*, the *Alcayde* of the Chriſtians. However, ſome *Engliſh* and *French* Captains, and *Don Pedro Lopez*, having furniſh'd Money to buy Figs and Raiſins, they continu'd the making of Brandy, appointing a certain number of Perſons for that purpoſe, and the Keepers, and *Ardouan* himſelf, notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition, for a little Money ſuffer'd it to be ſold to the *Mahometans*: The Profit of it being conſiderable enough, the Brotherhood I have ſpoken of was erected. To advance the main ſtock, the *Spaniards*, who were moſt numerous, and the Directors in all Affairs, ſet up a Table to play at Dice, and another for Cards; and appointed that the Winners ſhould pay the Tenth Penny to the Brotherhood, all which was a great Relief to the Sick; who ſoon after receiv'd it otherwiſe, by means of a Religious Prieſt, the Divine goodneſs ſent them in this manner.

Certain Recolets ſettled at *Morocco* by the Kings of *Portugal*, went one Day to Compliment *Muley Archy*, when he was in that City: They preſented him with a little Portable Organ, which the King took, without conſidering what it was. At his return to *Fez*, looking into that Preſent, and ſeeing it was an Organ which no Body knew how to play on, he ask'd a Captive *Spaniſh* Gentleman, call'd *Don Rafael de Veras*, whether he underſtood any thing of it, becauſe he play'd well on the Harp and Lute? He told him, *He did not; for in his Country none but Church-men play'd on it.* Some of the King's Guards, who were lately come from *Tetuan*, hearing talk of Church-men, ſaid, They had ſeen a Religious Man, who was a Slave in that Town. *Muley Archy* order'd them immediately to go for him. They return'd Eight Days after with the *R. F. Gregory Rippert*, a *Franciſcan*: The King ask'd, Whether he could play on the Organs? And he anſwering, He could not; was immediately ſent to work among the other Slaves with a Chain at his Heels. When the King took the Field, he was exempted from Labour for Two Crowns a Month given to *Ardouan*. He ſaid Maſs every Night, and thoſe who would live like good Chriſtians, had the opportunity of Confeſſing and doing Penance. He continu'd in Captivity till the year 1674, when the Religious *Mercenarians* came to *Sale*, and pay'd part of his Ranſome, which was very conſiderable; the reſt being ſent by his Monaſtery. Two years before his departure, the Recolets of *Morocco* came to ſettle at *Fez*, in our Priſon, and one of them ſerv'd us at *Miquenez* when we were remov'd thither; which continu'd in the ſame manner, till the Religious Bare-

Prieſts among the Slaves.

Barefoot *Trinitarians* of *Madrid* took their Place, in the year 1676, the Recolets returning to *Spain*, whence they afterwards retired to *Almina* of *Ceuta*. Thus from the coming of *F. Gregory*, till my departure in 1681, their never wanted Priests to Administer the Sacrament.

Cruelty to Slaves.

In *May* 1678, the King, to avoid the Contagion, retired with his Wife and Children up to the High Mountains, that run along the River *Meluya*, and are part of the *Atlas*: There it was he meditated to take all the Slaves of private Persons, upon a Report spread abroad, That the Fathers of the Redemption would soon come. In short he took up about Two Hundred, whom he employ'd at his Tents, his Stables, and Artillery, and design'd they should serve as Pioneers, to demolish the Castles of the Barbarians he expected to take. Being one Day near the high Mountain of *Itata*, which is one of the highest part of the *Atlas*, he sent for Forty Christians, who had the Care of the Tents, to put them to the Sword; among whom was my Cousin *Claude Loger la Garde*, and this, because his ordinary Tent was not set up as it us'd to be. They were come to the Place of Execution, and the Blacks were loading their Firelocks to shoot them, when some *Alcaydes* fell at the King's Feet and begg'd their Pardon: He recall'd them, but to satisfy his Rage in some measure, took a Mallet, that serv'd to drive the Tent Pins, and bruiz'd all their Heads, and some of their Bodies. My Cousin avoided being struck, by being close to one that was all over Gore, with which he Blooded his Hands, and daub'd all his Face, so that the King seeing him so Bloody did not strike him. He afterwards sent these Forty Christians, and the rest he had taken from private Persons, to Trading People at *Fez Belle*, who kept them a year, exercising a Thousand Cruelties on them; for being mostly Renegado *Jews*, there is no sort of Torment they do not invent to oppress a Christian. After this, *Muley Semein* set out to return to *Fez*, and thence to *Miquenes*. He pass'd by *Morocco*, but enter'd not, because the Plague was there, which swept away the greatest part of the Inhabitants of that City, the largest and beautifullest in all those Parts. Tho' I have not been there, I have had the Description of the whole Kingdom from Persons of Credit, which I will deliver in this Place.

Morocco City described.

The City of *Morocco*, which gives its Name to all the Kingdom, as does that of *Fez*, is seated in a large Plain, cover'd with abundance of Palm-Trees, bearing very good Dates. According to the *Moors*, it was founded by *Muley Jacob Almanzor Miramamolin*, King of *Arabia Felix*, who Conquer'd *Spain*, by his Generals. It is two Thirds bigger than *Fez* in Compass, and has Sixteen Gates; but is not so Populous as Great, the

Plague and War having deſtroy'd moſt of the Inhabitants. It has a good Caſtle, in which is the *Seraglio* for the King's Women, and the ſtatelieſt in all *Africk*. *Muley Hamet Deibit*, caus'd all the Gold he had to be beaten out into Leaves to cover the Walls and Cielings of the Rooms: The Nails, Hinges, Bolts and Locks were all of Silver Gilt. On the Top of the Great Tower, there are Three very large Golden Apples, ſhot through with Musket Balls in ſeveral Places, and thought to be enchanted. In the *Seraglio* there are ſuch ſpacious Rooms, that they have large Fiſh-Ponds in them, and the Fiſhes may be ſeen Swimming about in the Great Looking-glaſſes fix'd on the Roof. All the Celeſtial Signs are ſo lively Repreſented in one of thoſe Rooms, that the beholders think they look upon the Firmament: The *Moors* believe, that God Condemn'd that *Muley Hamet* who made this Work, to ſuffer the Pains of Hell till the end of the World; for having endeavour'd to imitate him in the Structure of the Heavens. That Magnificent Palace is embeliſh'd with abundance of Columns and Shells of White Marble, with much delicate Plaiſter Fret-work, and Chequers Painted and Carv'd. The Gardens are the fineſt in the World, and full of Orange and Cypreſs Trees. The Caſtle, Palace, and Gardens, are all enclos'd with ſtrong Walls, flank'd with good Towers and Baſtions, but without any Cannon. The Famous Aqueducts, which bring Water to the City, from a large Days journey Diſtance, paſs by the Caſtle, to ſupply it as well as the Town.

This Kingdom contains only Five Provinces, which are *Morocco*, *Tadela*, *Duquella*, *Haha*, and part of Mount *Atlas*: This Country abounds in Corn and Cattle, and is hotter than *Fez*, as being more Southerly. The other Towns beſide *Morocco*, are *Azamor*, *Valadil*, and *Saphye*. There are ſeveral Caſtles where the *Arabs* live in common, as the *Barbarians* do in other Places. The Twin-Rivers call'd *Goudets*, ſwallow up thoſe of *Raſſeleyne* and *Louidin*, coming from the *North-Eaſt* ſide of *Morocco*, with thoſe of *Mephis*, *Mel*, *Lequera*, and *Meſenes*, which fall into the firſt of them; and thoſe of *Fiſtella*, or *Tadela*, *Taſaut*, *Derna*, *Oumana*, *Louet*, and *Sero*, into the other: The *Portugueſes* have the Town of *Mazagam*, on the Coaſt of this Kingdom, and is but Two Leagues from *Azamor*.

Deſcription of Sus.

The Principality of *Sus*, was formerly a part of this ſame Kingdom, from which it is divided by a long Chain of Mountains running from the Edge of the Sea to the *Atlas*: On the *South Eaſt* of it is the Province of *Dras*; the Kingdom of *Sudan* on the *South-Weſt*; the Sea on the *Weſt*, and *North-Weſt*; and the Kingdom of *Morocco* from the *North* to the *Eaſt*. It contains but Two Provinces, which are *Sus* and *Sehel*, the Towns whereof

whereof are *Tarudant*, *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz*, and *Illec*, which was the Capital of the Country, when *Cid Haly* was Prince of it. At preſent *Tarudant* is ſo, where *Muley Hamet Meheres* keeps his Court as Sovereign. The River *Sus* gives its Name to all the Country, which has but one more call'd *Moſa*. This Country is full of ſtrong Caſtles; its Inhabitants are reckned good Soldiers, and the moſt expert at their Weapons of any *Moors*. Their Mountains are fertile in Grain, and produce much Fruit and Wax; beſides they have plentiful Copper Mines, and ſome of Gold; and they only want Wooll. There are Abundance of Lions on theſe Mountains, who in the Day Time withdraw into Caves, whence they Sally at Night to ſeek their Prey. The Barbarians being well acquainted with their ways, lay Snares to take them alive after this Manner.

Lions, how Taken.

They dig a deep Pit, over the Mouth whereof they place a Trap Door made faſt to a Pin, equally poiz'd; and to that Pin or Plug, they tie a Dead Sheep: When the Lion comes down from the Mountain and ſmells the Fleſh, he makes up to devour it, but as ſoon as he ſets his foreſeet on the Trap Door, he ſlips into the Pit, the head foremoſt. On the ſide of this Pit, is another, made like a Ditch, and as deep as the firſt, in which is a great Cheſt like a Mouſe Trap, and in it a Quarter of Mutton: There being a Communication from the one Pit to the other, by means of a Hole or Paſſage made on purpoſe, the open end of the Cheſt is ſet right before that Gap or Opening, to the end, that when the Lion is Hungry, he may go in, where he is taken as a Mouſe is in a Trap. There are great Iron Rings at the Four Corners of the Cheſt, for the Cords it is to be drawn up with to run through, and then to faſten it upon a Horſe, ſo to carry the Lion to the next *Alcayde*, who takes the Pleaſure of Killing him; or if they have a mind to deſtroy him upon the Spot, do it with their Spears in the firſt Pit he falls into.

CHAP. VI.

The Perſecution at Alcaſſar.

THE King, at his return to *Miquenes*, perceiving the Contagion ſtill continu'd, and fearing to loſe all his Slaves, and in them the Ranſoms he expected; caus'd us to be call'd one Day, and ſaid, *He would give all thoſe their Liberty that could provide Money.* Having been inform'd by *F. John de Jeſus Maria*, a *Spaniſh* Religious Man, who liv'd with us, That the Sieur *Meſſonnier*,

The King offers to Ranſom his Slaves.

nier, a *French* Merchant at *Cadiz*, and trading to *Alcaſſar*, had writ him word, that *Don Pedro Catalan*, the *French* Conſul at *Cadiz*, had order'd him to lay out Two Hundred Crowns the ſaid Conſul freely gave for my Ranſom, I appear'd before the King with Thirty Five others, among whom was my Couſin, who offered him, ſome Two Hundred, others Three Hundred, or Three Hundred and Fifty Crowns, He ſent us to *Alcaſſar*, to *Amar Hadou el Hameimin*, Governor and Viceroy of the *Algarves* in *Africk*, for him to receive the Money of our Ranſom: We reach'd that Place on the 15th of *June*, 1680; but *Amar Hadou* reſolving to make his own Advantage, would not let us go for the Summs we had promis'd the King, and demanded a Thouſand Crowns of every one. Perceiving we would not give it, that Barbarian put Two great Chains of Eighteen or Twenty Pounds Weight upon each of us, linking us by Two and Two with another a croſs: In this Condition he ſent us to work at the Common Sewers he was making to carry off the Filth of the Town.

A Cruel Alcayde *ſtops and oppreſſes them.*

For Three Months, he allow'd every one of us but four Ounces of Barley Bread a day; appointing Twelve Guardians, or rather Executioners, who beat us unmercifully, telling us for our comfort, *That if we did not give the Thouſand Crowns demanded, we muſt expect to die under their Cudgels.* When the Sewers were finiſh'd, they made us empty all the Privies, and remove all the Dunghills in the Town, carrying all the Filth in Wicker Baskets, ſo that it ran through and fell upon us. Our Guardians made us go bareheaded moſt of the time, and never fail'd to threſh us if we ſtood one Moment; placing themſelves within Twenty Paces of one another, that we might not Reſt, and laying us on with Rods of Pomgranate or Quince Tree, which are very Weighty, and cut our Legs and Backs: Two *Engliſh* Men died in a few Days, and all the reſt were in a miſerable Condition. The *Alcayde Amar* came often to ſee us at Work, and when we ask'd him for Bread, ſaid, *Eat Stones you Sons of Dogs, for I will not give you as much Bread as is requiſite, till each of you lays me down a Thouſand Crowns.* Being one Day preſs'd with Hunger, we all caſt our ſelves at his Feet, begging he would either allow us Bread or Kill us; but he that ſpoke for us, and was a *Spaniard*, had his Head broken with a Hoe by the *Alcayde*'s Order, and had been Kill'd, were it not for his Brother-in-Law *Hamadou*, who interceded in his behalf. At Night they made us go down a Ladder of Ropes into a deep Dungeon, where we ſuffer'd all ſorts of Miſeries, and had no other Comfort, but the Liberty of Complaining; our Hams were all cut with the Weight of our Chains, and ſome of them as well as mine, were a Finger deep in the Fleſh; yet all this did not move them to Compaſſion.

At

At this time, the Meſſengers ſent by the *Chavalier de Chateau Renaud*, one of the King's Admirals, came to *Alcaſſar* to treat of Peace: *Amar Hadou* would never ſuffer us to ſee them, for fear we ſhould make our Complaints. We had no way to let them hear from us, but by writing a Letter, which I did, and a *French* Captive, who made the Bread thoſe Meſſengers had from the *Jews*, put it into the middle of a Loaf. When they open'd it they found the Letter, which inform'd them what a miſerable Condition we were in, and they offer'd as many *Moors* of *Sale*, they had taken, in exchange for us. Only my Couſin prov'd fortunate, being at the laſt Audience of our Envoys taken out to ſerve as an Interpreter, inſtead of a *Jew*, who had impos'd upon them in all their former Audiences, explaining what they ſaid, quite contrary, to the *Alcayde Amar*. A Merchant of *Marſeilles*, who had his Ranſom, being among thoſe Meſſengers, pleaded ſo well for him to the *Alcayde*, ſhowing how long he had been a Captive, and that it was impoſſible for him to give the 1000 Crowns demanded, that the *Alcayde* at laſt complying, diſmiſs'd him for 200, which the Merchant paid down. He went aboard the *Chavalier de Chateau Renaud*'s Ship, where he met the *Chavalier de Mont-lonet*, who was Son to his Godmother, and furniſh'd him with all he wanted.

A falſe Jew.

The King growing weary of expecting the Money of our Ranſoms, ſent *Cid Celemin Quetip*, his firſt Secretary, to *Alcaſſar*, to receive it; with Orders, that in caſe the *Alcayde Amar* had not yet been paid it, he ſhould lay down 14000 Crowns of his own Money, which was the Summ they amounted to; and *Amar* was fain to comply. The next Day after the Secretary was gone back to *Miquenes*, he ſent us word, *That being now his, we muſt either reſolve to die, or to give him a* 1000 *Crowns a piece*. Then he ſent us a great Days Journey from the Town, to dig Ditches in Fields that were all Scorching Sands, where for Eight Days we had nothing to eat, but what we found by chance. We lay on the bear Ground in the open Field, and tho' we had Bolts on our Legs, and were fetter'd by Two and Two, yet at Night they link'd us all together in one long Chain about our Necks. Our unmerciful Keepers dayly preſs'd ſome Youths that were among us to turn Renegadoes, but in vain; and as it was plain that we could not live in that manner above Three Days longer, having ſcarce any Blood left in our Veins, and the Skin extended on our Backs, we ceas'd not to pray for our Perſecutors, and to reſign our ſelves up to Providence, which did not forſake us in that Extremity; for the Secretary, who came from the King to *Alcaſſar*, having told him what we had ſuffer'd, and were ſtill'd doom'd to endure; *Muley Semein*, who thought moſt of us had been at liberty, was ſo enrag'd, that he immediately ſent Four

The Alcaydes *Inhumanity.*

Blacks

Blacks of his Guards to *Alcaſſar*, to ſeize the *Alcayde Amar*, and carry him to his Preſence in Irons. They arriv'd there on the 14th of *September*, and allow'd him no more time, than to mount a Horſeback, and give orders to go fetch us. We ſet out for *Miquenes* Three Days after him, where being brought before the King, he found us in ſuch miſerable Plight, that he ask'd the *Alcayde Amar*, *Whether we were the ſame Chriſtians he had ſent him?* Then giving him a ſevere Check, he ſaid, *He would not ſend us any more to his Governors to pay our Ranſom; but that, when we had Money, we ſhould have it ſecur'd at* Miquenes, *and he would ſet us at Liberty.* Thus *Amar Hadou* loſt his Money for tormenting us, which was no ſmall Affliction to ſuch a Covetous Man. I have not given an Account of this Perſecution, out of Vanity, becauſe I had ſo much ſhare in it; but to ſhow the Miſeries the Captives endur'd in my Time, and what thoſe who ſtill remain there, are expos'd to; that the Reader may be mov'd to relieve them.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of *Alcaſſar*, having had Time to view it during my three Months ſtay there; for there is no Place I have more cauſe to remember, on Account of my many Sufferings in it. This Town, which is the Capital of the *Algarves*, was founded very long ſince by a Shepherd, call'd *Bacharou Rey*: It ſtands on the *North* ſide of the River *Loucours*, in a marſhy Ground, five Leagues from *Larache*, which is at the Mouth of the ſame River; 30 Leaguesfrom *Sale*, 25 from *Miquenes*, 37 from *Fez*, 25 from *Tetuan*, 20 from *Tangier*, and 7 from *Arzilla*. They reckon it 110 Leagues from *Fez* to *Tafilet*, 100 to *Morocco*, 60 to *Tetuan*, 18 to *Fez*, 12 to *Mequenez*, 35 to *Sale*; from *Sale* to *Azamor* 30 Leagues, to *Valadye* 40, to *Saphye* 60, and to *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz* 90. About *Alcaſſar* there are abundance of fine Meadows; as alſo many curious Gardens on both Banks of the River, which overflows them and the Town, in the very rainy Seaſons. The Walls of it were old and defenceleſs; the Inhabitants are all Straglers brought together, who have no Reſpect for Strangers, and may amount to about 6000. The Houſes are ill built, intermixt with many Cottages of Reeds, in which the Poorer Sort live. There is a conſiderable Number of *Jews* dwelling about Prince *Gayland*'s Palace, which is now a Storehouſe, and the Habitation of the Sieur *Meſſonnier*, a Merchant Trading to *Cadiz*. There is great Plenty of Corn, Butter, Wooll, Honey, Hides, Wax, Fruit and Fleſh. The Rivers of *Taguedar* and *Magazin*, are not far from it to the *Northward*. On the latter of them which falls into the *Loucous*, above *Larache*, *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, loſt the great Battel againſt *Muley Abdelmelec*, King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, in which both thoſe Princes periſh'd, and the prime Nobility of *Portugal* dy'd with their King.

Alcaſſar *deſcrib'd.*

The

The Town of *Alcaſſar* is only conſiderable, for having been the Reſidence of Prince *Gaylan*, who had uſurp'd it and all that Province from *Ben Bucar*, King of *Zaovias*, the rightful Sovereign. He had been that Prince's General, againſt the *Barbarians* of the Mountains of *Tetuan*, who had revolted from him; and whom *Gaylan*, after Conquering and Diſarming them, caus'd to own him for their King. *Ben Bucar* being inform'd of the Treachery of his General, March'd againſt him, with an Army from *Zaovias*; and in a few Days came upon the Banks of the River *Sebou*, where he found *Gaylan*, Encamp'd on the other Side, and expecting him, which oblig'd *Ben Bucar* to return, without doing any thing. It was Prince *Gaylan*, who gave the famous Aſſault to *Larache*, which I ſhall ſpeak of in the Adventures of *Don Raphael de Veras*. He was overcome by *Muley Archy*, after the loſs of which Battle, he left him the Province, with the Towns of *Alcaſſar*, *Tetuan*, and *Arzila*, retiring to *Algier*, where he liv'd as a private Perſon, till the Year 1672, when he was recall'd by the People of the Country. This was at the time when *Muley Semein*, King of *Fez*, was buſy at the Seige of *Theza*. He was receiv'd with much Joy; but *Muley Semein* marching againſt him with an Army, they baſely forſook him in Time of Battle, where he was ſlain after having given Proofs of an invincible Courage, and 5 Horſes kill'd under him. His Head was cut off by a Black, who preſented it to *Muley Semein*, and he immediately ſent in to his Brother *Muley Achen*, Victory of *Fez*, as an authentick Teſtimony of his Victory. Thus ended that brave Prince, after many Heroick Actions perform'd. He was by Birth an *Andalouz*, that is, deſcended from the *Moors*, who came out of *Spain*, after the Conqueſt of *Granada*; as to his Perſon, well ſhap'd, his Countenance pleaſant, and his Behaviour affable to all Men; wearing large fair Whiskers, was a good Soldier, and brave Commander, of the noble Family of the *Zegris*, ſo renowned in the Civil Wars of that Kingdom, on Acount of their Oppoſition to the *Aben-Cerrages*, thier irreconcileable Enemies.

Chap. VII.

Containing the Story of Bernard Bauſſet, *who was expos'd to four hungry Lions, on the 15th of* February 1681.

THO' it may ſeem incredble, I cannot forbear inſerting in this Place a moſt wonderful Accident, which happened ſome Months after our Return from *Alcaſſar*, which the incredulous may perhaps look upon as fabulous; yet having been my ſelf an Eye Witneſs to it, and got it atteſted by ſo many more then preſent, as will appear at the End of the Chapter, it may ſeem authentick to ſuch as can be ſatisfy'd with any thing they have not ſeen themſelves; there being nothing in it impoſſible tho' it may be reckon'd improable; but let every one believe as he pleaſes, the Truth of the Fact is this.

Bernard Bauſſet *who he was*

There was, among the other Captives, one *Bernard Bauſſet* a Youth about 25 Years of Age, of the Family of the *Bauſſets*, ancient Conſuls of *Marſeilles*, and born in the Town of *Aubaigne*, in *Provence*. He had the keeping of the Kings Pages Cloaths, and Arms, and of the Stores laid up at the firſt Gate of the *Serraglio*; beſides which, he taught two of the King's Children to ſpeak *Spaniſh*. That Prince having taken a liking to, and deſiring to raiſe him higher, than the Chriſtian Religion would allow of; he try'd all poſſible Means to oblige him to become a *Mahometan*, and perceiving he could not prevail by fair Means, very often had Recourſe to Severity, and ill Uſage. Being one Day highly provok'd at his Conſtancy, and laying hold of the Pretence of two, or three Bits of Straw he ſaw lying before him, and of *Bauſſet*'s neglecting to cauſe the way between the two Gates of the *Serraglio* to be ſwept; he caus'd him to be ſtripp'd ſtark Naked, and two Blacks, with each of them a handful of Leather Straps to give him above 500 Stripes, ſo that his Body was all over as black as a Shoe. In this Condition, he ſent him with two heavy Chains to be cur'd in our Priſon, and ſeveral Days after call'd for, and ask'd him, why he ſtay'd in the *Bitte*, ſo they call the Slaves Priſon, whilſt his Meal was ſtolen. It ſeems that Day a Sack had been taken out of one of the Magazines, that are near the Gate of the *Serraglio*. Sir, ſaid *Bauſſet*, I ſtay'd there ever ſince you ſent me, and durſt not come away, without your Orders.

Orders. Hereupon the King ſtruck at him with a Spear, and hurt him under the right Eye, and then order'd his Guards to caſt him into the Lions Walk. That Walk is like a Court, between four high Walls, joining to the Caſtle, and was parted from our *Bitte*, or Priſon, by a Wall, but three Hands in Thickneſs, which the Lions once undermin'd and had like to get in to us.

Caſt among Lions.

The Youth hearing that Sentence pronounc'd, ran to the Ladder that went up to the Place, intending to throw himſelf in, before any other came to do it. The King diſmounted from his Horſe, and went up after, bidding him change his Religion, or he ſhould be immediatly Devour'd by the Lions. *Bauſſet* reſolutely anſwer'd, He was not at all concern'd at it, ſince that was the way to make him happy; for they could take but one Life from him, which would end Glorioufly, and he had rather the Lions ſhould devour his Body, than that his Soul ſhould become a Prey to Devils. Hereupon the King drew near the Edge of the Wall, to caſt him down headlong; but *Bauſſet*, who obſerv'd him narrowly, perceiving his Deſign, leap'd himſelf amidſt 4 Lions, of a monſtrous Size, who had not been fed in three Days. Thoſe Creatures beholding their Prey, roſe up, and roaring put themſelves in a Poſture to fall on him, whilſt he offer'd up his Prayers to Heaven. But they as if with-held by ſome ſecret Power, preſently lay down again. Yet ſome of them ſoon after got up, and made towards him, and when near paſſed by, without touching him. Among the reſt, one that was moſt Ravenous came up to him ſeven Times, and paſs'd by as often. Thus the Captive, like another *Daniel*, prais'd God amidſt thoſe fierce Creatures, which had not the Power to hurt him.

Who do not hurt him.

The King, who withdrew, as ſoon as he fell in, ſent twice to ſee whether he was Devour'd, and in Caſe he was not to offer to take him out, if he would turn *Mahometan*; but he return'd them the ſame Anſwer, he had given to the King himſelf. We were all at our Prayers to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance upon him, and having made ſome Holes through the Wall, that parted us from the Lions, to ſee, we encourag'd to him be reſolute and dye, rather than Renounce his Religion, which he zealouſly promis'd us.

Spaniſh *Women in Favour.*

In the mean while, a *Spaniſh* Woman Captive went to petition the King for *Bauſſet*'s Deliverance. She was call'd *Mary* of the *Conception*, born at *S. Lucar de Barrameda* in *Andaluſia*; came to *Mamora*, to carry home her Husband, who was baniſh'd, and they were both taken returning into *Spain*. Having abundance of Wit, without

the leaſt Immodeſty, ſhe had gain'd the King's Affection, who granted her whatſoever Favour ſhe ask'd, either for *Moors* or Chriſtians. She was call'd the common Mother of all Perſons in Diſtreſs, for ſhe never thought much to ſue for them. Her Husband, whoſe Name was *John de Carmona*, and ſhe, had the Charge of the King's Pigeons, and fed the Lions. The King having a Kindneſs for *Bauſſet*, was pleas'd ſhe ſhould intercede, and gave Orders immediately to have him taken out. No ſooner had he ſpoke the Word, than all the Pages ran, ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt, and left the King alone, at the firſt Entrance into the *Serraglio*, which ſo highly offended him, that he call'd them back, and laid eight of them on the Floor, all bloody and wounded with his Cimeter.

Inhumanity.

However, when his Wrath was appeas'd, the Captive Woman redoubled her Intreaties ſo earneſtly, that he could not refuſe her, but order'd that ſhe ſhould go with her Husband and one *Prieur*, a Surgeon of *Poitiers*, to take *Bauſſet* from among the Lions; which was accordingly done, when he had been there five Hours; for he leap'd in at four, and came out at nine. Some Days after, the Lions ſhew'd not the ſame Reſpect to three *Fequers* or Doctors of the Law of *Mahomet*, who took upon them to reprove the King for his Cruelty, and were therefore caſt into the ſame Place, and immediately torn in Pieces by the Lions.

Mahometans devour'd.

I thought this Accident well worth having an Authentick Atteſtation made of it, the Original whereof was brought into *France*, which I put into the Hands of the Reverend Fathers, the *Mercenarians* of *Paris*, to ſatisfie ſuch as may call the Truth of it in Queſtion. It was taken at *Tetuan* in *Africk*, on the 18th of *April*, 1681, and ſign'd by *Bernard Bauſſet* of *Aubagne* in *Provence*, Brother *Bernard Monel*, a Religious *Mercenarian*; Brother *Ignatius Bernede*, a *Mercenarian*; *Touſſaint Boyer*, Merchant of *Tetuan*; *Nicholas Boyer*, Merchant; *G. Mouette*; *Noel Pinot* of *Canalle*; *Marc. Baudouin*, of the ſame Place; *Nicholas Gaillard*, of S. *Malo*; *Peter Havort* of *Rouen*; *M. Milland* of *Rochelle*; *N. Blaquetot* of *Rouen*; *M. de Romigni* of *Nantes*; *C. Penamen* of *Audierne*; *C. Lanurel* of *Breſt*; *Joſſeline Mingard* of *S. Malo*; *Paul le Vaſſeur* of *Pontoiſe*; *John Le Comte* of *Rouen*; *Francis Paſquier* of *Harfleur*; and *Julian Chevalier* of *Paris*. Thoſe who have ſign'd after me, were all Captives at *Miquenes*, when the thing happen'd. *Bauſſet* was eight Days after deliver'd with us by the RR. FF. the *Mercenarians*, and ſince my Return, I have been inform'd by *F. Moncl*, that he had deſir'd to take the Habit, in a Monaſtery of their Order, which was promis'd to be given him, as ſoon as he return'd from Monſieur *Amand*, the Kings Embaſſador to him of *Morocco*, who took him for his Interpreter.

CHAP.

Chap. VIII.

Of the Miſeries of the Slaves in general.

THE Story abovemention'd, and moſt of the Contents of this Book, plainly ſhew the miſerable Condition of the Slaves in *Africk*, and the Dangers they are daily expos'd to of renouncing their Faith, or periſhing by the Cruelty of their Maſters and Keepers. Nothing can be more deplorable than their Caſe; for the greateſt Penalties inflicted in *France* on the worſt of Criminals, can ſcarce equal the Sufferings of thoſe innocent Creatures. Our Galley Slaves are nothing near ſo unfortunate as thoſe who work in the Caſtle of *Miquenes*. The Dungeons of *Sale*, *Alcaſſar*, and *Tetuan*, are worſe than the darkeſt and moſt loathſome of our Priſons; and the Puniſhments the Law appoints in *France* for Murtherers and Aſſaſſins, are not to compare to thoſe the Moors invent, either to make the Captives renounce their Faith, or to ſatisfie their own Malice. *Miſeries of Captives.*

They are no better us'd in Sickneſs than Health. The common Allowance to the King's Slaves, is only a Porringer of black Meal, and a little Oyl. No Reſt is allow'd them, till they ſee they are not able to wag Hand or Foot; for their mercileſs Keepers, encourag'd by the chief Overſeers of the Work, who are for advancing apace, never excuſe them from the daily Labour till they cannot riſe thro' Weakneſs, and as ſoon as they can go, they are oblig'd to do like the reſt. All the Favour ſhewn them, is that at firſt they put them upon the leaſt toilſome Employments, as making of Mortar, ſweeping the Streets, and ſerving in the Stables. If any dye, they value it not; for thoſe who have the Charge of them, only give the King an account, at the Year's End, that ſuch a Number is dead, and both he and his Subjects being Predeſtinarians, believe they could not have liv'd any longer, tho' never ſo much Care had been taken of them. *Uſage of Sick.*

When in Health, they never have any Reſt, but ſeven Days in the Year, which are the three firſt of *Mahomet*'s great Feſtivals. The firſt is call'd *Eide Serein*, being the Day after their *Ramadan* or Lent ends. The ſecond, which is two Moons and ten Days after the other, they call *Eide Cubira*, or the Great *Eaſter*, when they ſacrifice as many Sheep to *Mahomet*, as there are Male Children in every Family, in Commemoration of *Abraham*'s Sacrifice. The third call'd *Moulut*, or the Birth of *Mahomet*, is three Moons *Three Mahometan Feſtivals.*

and.

and two Days after the ſecond. All theſe Feſtivals are moveable, and ſo go round the Year, which with them conſiſts but of 12 Moons. As for the other four Days, which are *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and the *Nativity* of our *Lady*, we begg'd them to ſerve God, ſinging Pſalms and Hymns, and they were granted us. The reſt of the Year, whether Summer or Winter, they muſt work inceſſantly, unleſs prevented, as has been ſaid, by extreme ſickneſs, or too much Rain in Winter, when the Earth is too ſoft to make any thing of it; and even when that happens, that the Captives may not be idle, they make them clean the Streets, carry Stones, and the like, alledging that if they were not employ'd, they would think of nothing but of making their Eſcape, whereas being always haraſs'd, they do not mind to attempt it.

Contrivances of Slaves to eſcape.

As to the Particular of running away, I have known above a Score venture it every Year; to which purpoſe, they gather'd as many Bits of Bread as they could, and dry'd them in the Sun: When they had got enough, we bury'd thoſe Perſons in Ditches, along the Walls, without the Caſtle of *Miquenes*, all but their Heads, which we cover'd with Weeds, that they might breath, and then all of us went to eaſe our ſelves round about them, that the *Moors* might loath to come near the Place. At Night they ſet out, recommending themſelves to God, *Fridays* being the propereſt Days to do this; becauſe then the *Moors* that work'd with us, went at two in the Afternoon to the *Moſques*, to their *Sala*, or Prayer, leaving only one of the Keepers with us; and whilſt thoſe who intended to fly were bury'd, two or three kept him in Diſcourſe, gave him Tobacco, or told him ſome Story, ſo that no Notice was taken till Night, when they counted us.

Diſmal Death of two.

One Day two *Spaniards* bury'd themſelves alive after this manner, in a Pit or Dungeon behind the *Seraglio*, and out of the Way. One of their Comrades, who alone was privy to it, cover'd the Pit over with a Board, and Earth upon it, leaving a Hole to give them ſome Air; but the Weather being exceſſive hot, and the Air that came in not ſufficing, it weaken'd them ſo much, that when they would have come out, their Strength fail'd, and falling back, they were ſtifl'd in the Place. The next Day their Comerade went to ſee whether they were gone, and perceiving the Hole half open'd by them, concluded they were fled, without looking down. Eight Days after, another Chriſtian looking for Wood to boil his Pot, and ſpying the Board, pull'd it off, and ſmelt a terrible Stench, and drawing near to ſee whence it proceeded, diſcover'd thoſe two Carcaſes, cover'd with Rats and Worms. He gave notice of it to the R. F. *John* of *Jeſus Ma-*

ry,

ry, a *Spaniſh* Religious Man of the Order of the Bare-foot *Trinitarians* of *Madrid*, who liv'd with us, and thought fit they ſhould be left in the ſame Place, filling it up immediately with Earth, that the *Moors* might know nothing of it, for fear if they did, they might ſearch all ſuch Places for the future, when any happen'd to be miſſing.

When any Slave fled, the Governour preſently ſent Horſemen to ſcour the Country, and order the *Arabs* and Governours of the Places near thoſe the Chriſtians poſſeſs, whither they muſt of neceſſity repair, to ſtop and examine all they found making towards them. Thus ſo many Sentinels were poſted in all Parts, and the Ways ſo ſtrictly guarded for a Fortnight, that it was a ſort of Miracle when any eſcap'd; and generally they were retaken in ſight of thoſe Chriſtian Towns, becauſe there the ſtricteſt Guard was kept. As ſoon as taken, they were brought back to the Place from whence they fled; and tho' the King would not have thoſe ill us'd, who endeavour'd to get their Liberty, and commonly pardon'd all ſuch as were brought before him; when he was not there, the Governour who had charge of us, and was oblig'd to pay the King for any that eſcap'd, would cauſe thoſe Wretches to receive two hundred Baſtinadoes, in the Preſence of us all, for a Terror to us, then he put two great Chains on their Feet, and an Iron Bar fix'd to thoſe Chains, betwixt their Legs, which did ſo obſtruct their going, that they would be commonly a Quarter of an Hour advancing twenty Paces, and yet they were put to the hardeſt Labour. I have ſeen Chriſtians at *Sale*, who had their Ears cut off for attempting to get away; and at *Fez*, Don *Raphael de Veras* and ſeveral others, had Pieces of dead Fleſh taken from their Backs, as big as a Man's Fingers, occaſion'd by five hundred Baſtinadoes they had receiv'd. To ſhew how difficult it is, even for Renegado Slaves to make their Eſcape out of that Country, I will here give an Account of the Flight of two I knew in the Caſtle of *Sale*, when I was there, how they were retaken, and the Puniſhment inflicted on them.

Search after Fugitives.

The Names of theſe Renegado's were *Ramadan* and *Abdalla*; the firſt a *Spaniard*, and the other, tho' brought out of *Spain*, a *Moor* by Birth. He had in his Youth been taken by the *Spaniards*, with his Father and Mother, and having been ſome Time in *Spain*, was inſtructed in Chriſtianity, and Baptiz'd. He belong'd to an Inhabitant of *Gibraltar*, who had put him into a Farm, near the Sea. The *Moors* of *Tetuan* making deſcents on thoſe Coaſts frequently, by Night, they went to this Farm, where there were but 4 *Spaniards*, this *Moor* become a Chriſtian, and two Women, who were all taken, after a vigorous Reſiſtance, and wounding ſeveral *Moors*, who carry'd them to *Tetuan*,

Renegado's attempting to Eſcape their hard Fate.

Tetuan. The two Women were preſented to *Muley Archy*, and the Young *Moor* bought by *Muley Mimon Ambarque*, the King's Unkle. That Prince underſtanding, that he was the Son of a *Moor*, and had been known by certain blew Marks thoſe People give their Children in their Infancy, which never wear out, becauſe they are cut in the Skin, and colour'd with Indigo, and particularly the Women adorn their Neck, Chin, Stomach and Arms, down to the Elbow, mixing this Embelliſhment with that I have mention'd elſewhere; that Prince (I ſay) never gave over tormenting him, till he was oblig'd to become a *Mahometan*. When he had Renounc'd Chriſtianity, he gave him to *Checque Amar*, Brother in Law to *Muley Archy*, who ſent him to the *Alcaide*, my Maſter, to put him aboard the Pyrats, for his Advantage. Being as great a Maſter, of *Arabick*, as the *Arabs* themſelves, he ſoon got Acquaintance, and knowing all the Avenues to the Town, the great Inclination he had to return into *Spain*, made him diſcover himſelf to *Ramadan*, who was a *Renegado*, as well as he, having ſome Months ſince fled from *Mamora*, to become a *Mahometan*, and with whom he lay at Night, in an Apartment my Maſter had given them. They agreed to make their Eſcape to *Mazagam*, a Town belonging to the *Portugueſes*, on the Coaſt of *Morocco*, two Leagues from *Azamor*. When they had ſecur'd Proviſions and obſerv'd where they might get Horſes, they ſtole two from the *Jews*.

Having travell'd 4, or 5 Nights, for Fear of being diſcover'd, they came within Sight of *Azamor*, where of Neceſſity they muſt paſs the River *Marbea* in the Ferry, becauſe its Rapidity, equal to that of the *Rhoſne*, hinders the ſwimming of it. After conſulting together it was reſolv'd, that *Abdalla*, who ſpoke *Arabick* well, ſhould go over to *Azamor*, to buy what Proviſions they wanted, and ſee on the other Side of the River, whether there was no Poſſibility of croſſing it, without going in the Ferry. *Abdalla* paſs'd without being taken Notice of, and after walking about the Town, bought Bread, a roaſted Hare, and ſome Dates. Returning towards the River he met a *Moor*, with whom he fell into Diſcourſe, and told him, he had a Companion, on the other Side of the River, who was a *Turk*, that was going to *Morocco* to make ſome Complaint to the King of *Fez*, but durſt not come to paſs the Ferry, becauſe he ſpoke no *Arabick*, and was afraid he might be affronted; if therefore he would go along, and help them to paſs the River in Safety, they would leave him two good Horſes they had. The *Moor* pretended to agree, and went along with *Abdalla*, to *Ramadan* who as ſoon as he ſaw him was frighted, and told his Companion

They are betray'd.

Companion they were loſt, if they did not kill him. *Abdalla* appeas'd him, ſaying he had ſwore to him by the *Alcoran*; that no Harm ſhall come to them. They refreſh'd themſelves with what *Abdalla* brought, and then went to the Ferry, to croſs the River. As ſoon as they were in, the *Moor* told the Ferry Men, thoſe two were the Renegado's that fled from *Sale*, which he ſpoke by Gueſs, for as ſoon as a Chriſtian, or Renegado flies Expreſſes are ſent all about to give Notice of it, as has been ſaid before.

In ſhort, they were ſeiz'd, carry'd to the Caſtle of *Azamor*, and thence ſent back to *Sale*. There the *Alcayde* Order'd his Soldiers to beat them, then ſindg'd their Faces with Wiſps of Straw, and *Ramadan* crying out in *Spaniſh* upon the Bleſſed Virgin; ſome *Anduluzian Moors* that were by, inform'd the Goverour, what he ſaid, who believing before, they had fled only to make themſelves the King's Slaves, and now perceiving they had Chriſtian Thoughts and deſign'd to return to *Spain*, not ſatisfy'd with what they had ſuffer'd, caus'd them to be kick'd about the Ground for above 50 Paces, after which they were deliver'd up to the Boys to be tormented, who us'd them ſo barbarouſly, that they were left for Dead in the Street. At Night there being ſome Life in them, they were caſt into our Dungeon, and continu'd there above two Months, without any Relief, but what we could afford them, and muſt have ſtarv'd, had not they been brought out, when my Maſter ſent us to *Fez*, after *Muley Semein* had taken away his Government. At *Fez*, their Maſters preſented them to the King, who put them into a Baſtion on the Eaſt South Eaſt of *Fez Belle*, whence they deſerted to Prince *Gayland*, at *Alcaſſar*, and *Abdalla* endeavouring to make his Eſcape to the *Spaniſh* Garriſon at *Larache*, was taken and brought back to *Gayland*, before whom he boldly own'd he fled to Embrace Chriſtianity. Neither Threats nor fair Means prevailing to alter his Reſolution, he was burnt on the Bridge that is before the Market of *Alcaſſar*, in *April* 1673. His Companion *Ramadan* fled to *Tetuan*, and thence to *Algier*.

One burnt the other eſcapes.

To return to the Chriſtian Slaves, thoſe that belong to private Perſons, being moſt Seafaring Men, in the Towns along the Coaſt, are generally put aboard the Pyrates, where they continually abuſe them, and expoſe their Lives, employing them in Time of Fight on the Maſts, and Yards, to hand the Sails, and ſplice any of the Riggings, that is cut. Thoſe that ſtay at home, are always Grinding Corn for the Family, carrying Water, Working in Gardins, and Vineyards, cleaving Rocks, to make Lime, and have ſlender feeding. I have ſeen Slaves in *Sale* harneſs'd,

Employment of Slaves at Sea Ports.

neſs'd, with Mules and Aſſes in Carts, and forc'd for Hunger, to eat Barley, with thoſe Beaſts, being ſhut up 15, or 20 together at Night, in Dungeons. Theſe Dungeons, which they call *Mazmorras* are dug under Ground, round, four, or five Fadom Diameter with a very narrow Mouth, which they ſhut up with an Iron Grate. They generally go down into them by a Ladder of Ropes, and draw it up every Night. The Beds are of Mats, made of Ruſhes, and have ſuch a noiſome Scent caus'd by the Dampneſs of the Earth, that the Place becomes intolerable, when all the Slaves are in, and it grows warm. Some of the moſt fortunate have a Sheep's, or a Goat's Skin, which ſerves inſtead of a Quilt. They lye all round, with their Heads to the Sides of the Dungeon, and their Feet in the Middle, where commonly there is no more Space left, than to hold an Earthen Veſſel, to eaſe themſelves in, cover'd with a Lamp. In theſe Places every Man tells, what he endures under his Maſter, or what News he hears from *Europe*. Beſides theſe little Dungeones, which are on the South Side, there is a great one at an Inn, on the North Side of *Sale*, where they ſhut up all the Captives of the Town. It is made like a Cellar, with two Rows of Brick Pillars to ſupport it. In this the Chriſtians for the moſt part, cannot lye on the Ground, as they do in the others, becauſe there is Water in it knee deep, ſix Months in the *Year*, and therefore they make a Sort of Hammacks, or Beds of Ropes, hanging by great Nails one above another, in ſuch Manner, that the lowermoſt almoſt touch the Water with their Backs. Sometimes the uppermoſt drops down, and then he and all under him certainly fall into the Water, where they muſt continue the reſt of the Night.

Dungeons for Chriſtians Deſcrib'd.

Eſcape of Slaves.

This Dungeon was undermin'd by the Slaves, in the Year 1673, in Order to make their Eſcape, and 75 Chriſtians got out of the Town, making for *Mamora* and had all gone off, but that a *Dutch* Man, getting down from the Town Wall, unfortunately broke his Leg and cry'd out. Being near the Sea, ſome Fiſhermen ran to ſee what was the matter, and being told, what had happen'd, they gave the Alarm, and all the Inhabitants made ready. Some of them Mounting a Horſeback, ſuch Care was taken, that all the Chriſtians were ſecur'd, except 12 that went out firſt, and got to *Mamora*.

Extravagant Cure.

Private Men's Slaves have this Advantage over the Kings, that they are better look'd after, when Sick, becauſe their Maſters, who buy them for their Profit, are afraid to loſe them. Yet the Medicines they uſe are very ſtrange; for if the Slaves complain of any Pains in their Body, they have Iron Rods, with Buttons of the ſame Metal at the End, as big as Walnuts, which they make

make red hot, and burn the wretched Patient in ſeveral Parts, as we do Horſes, which they force him to endure; and for this Reaſon, they are often very ill, before they dare complain for Fear of that Cure, which the *Moors* reckon as wholeſome, as it is Cheap.

When there happens to be a Wedding, they take ten of theſe Slaves of private Perſons to carry the Bride about in her Litter, which is made like a little Throne, cover'd with Silk, and thus they bear her on their Shoulders through the Streets, with Drums beating, and Hautboys playing. The Bridegrome, attended by all the Gueſts, goes at the Head of them behind his Spouſe. Then they carry her Home, where all the Women, Friends and Relations on both Sides are met. Theſe Women ſhut themſelves up in a Chamber and come not out till ſome Hours after, during which Time, the Husband receives his Wife, and conducts her into the Apartment ſhe is to poſſeſs. Then he returns to the outermoſt Door, to treat his Friends with a ſmall Collation, which they take between the Doors, and that ended, withdraw. When they are gone, the Husband returns to ſee his Bride, and try whether he finds her as Chaſt as ſhe is repreſented by the Articles of Marriage. After which, having given his Female Friends, who are at the Door a Signal, that he receives her for his Wife, they ſpend the reſt of the Night in Dancing and Singing, at the ſaid Door, whilſt the New Marry'd Couple lyes abed. If he finds her not a Maid, he takes off the Cloaths he has given her, and without ſeeing her Face, reſtores her to the Kindred, who conduct her back to the Father, and it is in his Power to Strangle her, if he will go to the Rigour. When the Matches are among Relations, thoſe Ceremonies are ſeldom practis'd, for Fear of diſgracing the Family; but for ſaving of the Formalities, the Husband kills a Pigeon upon a Pair of Drawers, which he throws out, and then unveils his Wives Face, to take the Satisfaction of admiring her Beauty. As for the Slaves that carry'd the Bride, as ſoon as they have left her at home, every one has a white Loaf, and a Porrenger of Soupe and Fleſh given him for his Pains.

Mooriſh *Wedding.*

Chap. IX.

Of the Food allow'd the Slaves, their Habit and Beds.

Food and Habit. TO conclude with what belongs to us the Kings Slaves, our Food, as has been ſaid, conſiſted in a ſmall Porringer of black Meal, and an Ounce of Oile each every Day, both in Sickneſs and in Health, and great, or ſmall. Our Habit, was a woollen Sack, with a Hood to it, and Sleeves like an Anchorites Habit and this ſerv'd us for a Cap, Shirt, Coat and Breeches, with four Pair of wretched Pumps, which in eight Days working among Lime and Mortar, were worn and burnt away, and conſequently our Feet for the moſt part gaul'd, yet nothing muſt be abated of the Work, on that Account. We made Bread of our Meal, and one in 30 of us was allotted to go to the Stores for the Meal, to make the Bread, Bake and Diſtribute it. All that were of the ſame Nation herded together, the better to help one another. We *French* had 3 Bakers, the *Spaniards* and *Bread.* *Portugueſes* 6, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* 4. Our Bread was made into little Cakes, half Bak'd; becauſe the Oven was heated only with Bean Straw, or ſmall Reeds. Our Bakers brought us the Bread thus bak'd to the Works, where we devour'd it hot, for it was often 10 of the Clock before we broke our Faſt, expecting the Bread, and having none left from the Day before, for in that Country they Bake every Day. We generally eat ten or twelve together, and ſold our Oil, to buy ſomething to to make us Pottage at Night, which was commonly the Fat of Salt Beef, or ſome ſmall matter of Meat and Herbs. We had *Cooks.* two Cooks, the *Spaniards* two, and the *Engliſh* two. They were like the Bakers, allow'd by the King, at our Choice, continu'd in their Poſts, as long as they behav'd themſelves well, and when they were faulty we appointed others. It was the Duty of the Cooks, to ſweep the *Bitte*, or Priſon, to keep the Pitchers full of Water to drink at Super, and dreſs the Pottage, againſt we came at Night. Thoſe poor Cooks were ſubject to be affronted by all the Gang, becauſe ſometimes the Pot was too Salt, or too Freſh, or not well Boil'd, and every one had ſomething to ſay to vex them, ſo that ſometimes, no body would ſerve the Office.

Our

Our Beds were made of thick Canes interwove together, on which we laid ſome Mats and Sheeps-Skins, inſtead of Quilts. The Rooms we lay in being very lofty, and terraſs'd at the Top, we made four of theſe Bed-ſteads or Ranges, one above another. For my part, I was one of the beſt accomodated; for when we came into the new *Bitte* at *Miquenes*, there were but 35 *French-men* of us, and they gave us a Chamber, in which there was Room enough for above 60. One *John Colombet* and I plac'd our ſelves at the very Top, and made us a little Chamber, reſting on a ſubſtantial Piece of Timber I brought, with ſome other Bits of Wood, ſo that we laid a good Floor, and had a Trap-door to it, and made our ſelves corded Beds, which were ſofter than what the others had. That little Room, which coſt me much Labour and ſome little Money, ſav'd me ſeveral Days Work, keeping my ſelf up cloſe in it, with ſuch of my Comerades as I thought fit to let in; for when the Door, which our Keepers did not know, was ſhut down, there did not ſeem to be any or the leaſt Separation. Beſides I had a Communication by a Window into the *Spaniards* Quarters, whether I withdrew whilſt they ſearch'd ours, and return'd as ſoon as they had done. *Beds.*

There were Chriſtian Surgeons among us, who look'd to the Sick; Bleeding, and giving them Phyſick; and moſt of thoſe that were taken at Sea, being ſent to the King, we never wanted. I was particularly oblig'd to one above the reſt, a good, virtuous, and charitable Man. He got Money enough by his Practice to give conſiderable Alms, and pay Part of his Ranſom. His Name was *William*, now *Joſeph Caſſel*, generally belov'd by all Men, for his Goodneſs and Charity. He work'd ſome time among the reſt, till having perform'd ſeveral conſiderable Cures, and particularly one upon *Abdrahaman Fillely*, the King's firſt Secretary, whom *Muley Mimon Amborque*, Uncle to *Muley Archy* had made an Eunuch, becauſe he lay with a Maiden he committed to his Cuſtody; he gain'd the Favour of the King and all the Great Men, and was exempted from the Work. When *Muley Semein* made his firſt Campaign in *Morocco*, after his Brother's Death, he attended him, as Surgeon to the Army, and ſaw all that happen'd, whereof he afterwards gave me an Account. He was ranſom'd by the Fathers of the Redemption in 1676, and got off in time from *Sale*, or elſe he had been brought back, and never obtain'd his Liberty, *Abdrahaman Fillely*, then Prime Vizier and Viceroy of *Fez*, being angry that he had been diſmiſs'd, and ſending after to ſtop him, but by good Fortune he was gone. Returning to *France*, he left the World, and enter'd himſelf into the Religious Order of the *Mercenarians*, to labour for the Redemption of thoſe he had left behind *A good Surgeon.*

Religious Redeemers. kind, as he did very effectually. I cannot here but admire the Charity of that Religious Order, whoſe Members endure ſo many Toils, and run ſuch Hazards, both by Sea and Land, out of meer Charity to redeem thoſe unfortunate Captives in Diſtreſs, without knowing any thing of them. So great is this Charity of theirs, that when their Money falls ſhort, they often remain themſelves as Hoſtages for the Ranſom of ſuch Perſons as they underſtand may be in danger of renouncing their Faith, or upon other Occaſions. During that time they are ſubject to all the Miſeries of the Slaves, being often loaded with Chains, made to work, and ſometimes upon falſe Accuſations of the Renegadoes, who are their mortal Enemies, they have ſuffer'd Death.

CHAP. X.

The RR. Fathers Mercenarians *come into* Barbary, *they redeem the Captives. The Author's Return into* France, *and Deſcription of* Miquenes.

Friers come to ranſom Slaves. ON the 19th of *February* 1681, the RR. FF. *Bernard Monel*, *Bernard Mege*, and *Joſeph Caſſel*, *French Mercenarians*, arriv'd at *Miquenes*, and were preſented to the King, bringing conſiderable Preſents, without which nothing would have been done. They had a favourable Reception, and were put into the Hands of *Amar*, *Alcayde* of *Alcaſſar*: He with much Haughtineſs ask'd them, how much Money they brought; to which they anſwer'd, 10000 Crowns: Next he inquir'd whether that Money was given by the King of *France*, or collected by Charity; for if given by the King, his Maſter he would afford them a good Reception, and ranſom the Slaves they deſir'd; but that he could not believe ſo Great a King would beſtow ſo ſmall a Sum, conſidering how many Slaves he had formerly deliver'd from *Algier*. *F. Monel* boldly reply'd, That the King of *France* did not give Money to ranſom his Subjects, but did it with his Canon, and that the Money they brought was all rais'd by Alms. After ſome other Diſcourſe, he ſent them to lodge at a *Jew*'s Houſe, that was hung with Cobwebs, where I went to viſit them, with two of my Comerades, and was inform'd that the Biſhop of *Chartres*, a ſpecial Friend to our Family, had promis'd to allow a Sum of Money, if they could procure my

my Liberty, which he paid the next Day after my Arrival in *France*. On the 23d of *February*, in the Afternoon, the King came on Horſeback to our Priſon, where he ask'd the Fathers, what was their Requeſt? Who anſwer'd, they came to ranſom Captives, if he pleas'd. He call'd our Keeper, and ask'd him what Number of *French* Slaves there was? Who told him 130. Then he demanded of the Fathers whether they would buy them all? And they reply'd, they had but 10000 Crowns in ready Money; but if he would releaſe them all for 20000, they would leave one of their Number, as a Hoſtage for the other 10000, whilſt they went to *France* to raiſe them. The King demanded 30000 Ducats, as the *Spaniſh* Redemption Friers had given for 200 of their Nation. After much Haggling it was agreed they ſhould have 50 Slaves for their 10000 Crowns. His Guards were ſent to bring the *French* from the Works, and being drawn up in a Line, he choſe himſelf ſuch of us as God directed him, deſigning to part with thoſe that were moſt unfit for the hard Labour he put us upon: But *Benecha*, whom he had by him on purpoſe, becauſe he had taken moſt of us, pick'd out ſeveral, who he told the King were Captains and Merchants, and able to pay a greater Ranſom. Perceiving he did not take me out to be ranſom'd, I made bold to creep on my Knees to his Horſes Feet, kiſſing the Ground, letting him know that I had been 11 Years in Captivity, and was of a longer Standing than any in the Company, and being poor could expect no Relief, but from God and himſelf. He heard, yet order'd me to be put away; yet I return'd again in the ſame Manner: Then he call'd the Keeper, and ask'd him what I did? Who told him I ground Colours and ſometimes made Plaiſter for the Painters. What, ſays the King, has he learn'd no other Employment in 11 Years, he is a Dunce, a new one will do as much in a Week. Go thy way, ſaid he to me. I kiſs'd the Ground to return Thanks, and went over to thoſe he had cull'd out before. Preſently after he came to me again, and order'd his Guards to take off a Handkerchief I had put on my Head, becauſe it was cold, and I had but little Hair, and then order'd me to be carry'd back among thoſe that were to ſtay; yet I falling down again before his Horſe, he again ask'd ſome Queſtions about me, and then let me go.

Fraud of the King.

When the King had pick'd out thoſe he deſign'd to part with, he made us walk before him to the great Gate of the Caſtle, and counted us over again, being but 45, tho' he had promis'd 50, and then play'd a pleaſant Game, tho' it put me into a Fright, to ſave parting with any more. He ſet by 5 of us who had begg'd moſt earneſtly, of which Number *Bernard Bauſſet* was one; and ſaid to the Fathers; Reſtore me theſe 5 Slaves I have made over to you,

you, and are the eldeſt, and I will give you 10 others for them, to make up the 50 I promis'd. The Fathers knowing this was a Wile, to avoid delivering any more, told him they would be ſatisfy'd with us, ſince he was ſo pleas'd. Hereupon he quitted us, after asking *Bauſſet* to ſtay, and he would make his Fortune; for which he return'd Thanks, and ſo he and we went with the Fathers. The next Day the King refus'd to releaſe ſome others that had been well recommended to the Fathers, under 500 Crowns a Man; and ſeveral of thoſe that were left behind, being in Deſpair, treated thoſe Religious Men very rudely. We departed *Miquenes* on the 25th of *February* 1681, with Father *Monel* and Brother *Caſſel*; F. *Mege* going with *Beneſcha* to *Sale*, where he ſtay'd a Month to ranſom 16 Slaves, whom he afterwards carry'd to *Tetuan*. Before we depart *Miquenes*, I will give an Account of the Condition I left it in.

Miquenes *deſcrib'd.* *Miquenes* is 12 Leagues from *Fez*, 3 from the high Mountains of *Serhon*, which lie North from it; 6 from thoſe of *Safaro*, being Part of the *Atlas*, and South from it, and 25 from *Sale*, which is to the Weſtward. The Soil is fertile, and abounding in all ſorts of Grain, Cattle, Olive Trees, and Gardens. The Air is temperate, and much more healthy than at *Fez*; for which reaſon *Muley Semein* now reigning, has built cloſe to the City a Caſtle, a Palace, and *Seraglio*, after the Model of thoſe at *Fez*. They are adorn'd with ſeveral Stately Square Towers, cover'd with green Tiles, which make the Proſpect very delightful at a Diſtance. This Caſtle on the North Eaſt Side has 3 Walls; the firſt is 6 Handfuls broad, and above 6 Fathom high without, flank'd with ſquare Towers with Battlements: Between this Wall and the ſecond is a large ſquare Spot of Ground, call'd *Roua Mezir*. The ſecond which is 30 Handfuls thick upon the Level, is 8 Fadom high and made with a *Talus*, ſo that at the Top it is but 10 Handfuls thick, and on the Edges of it there are 2 little Walls, 3 Handfuls thick each, and above the Height of a Man, and ſerving to cover the Blacks of the Gariſon, who live in the Towers, both within and without, ſo that they may walk round the Caſtle without being ſeen. The third ſerves for a Wall to the *Seraglio*, and is much higher than the others, being at leaſt 12 Fathom, and having Battlements and Embraſures, and the Eunuchs ſtand Sentinel at Night. The other Sides have but one Wall 6 Handfuls over, flank'd all about with ſtrong, lofty and ſquare Towers, and two Baſtions on the Eaſt and South Eaſt. There are 3 Gates: The greateſt, which is on the South Eaſt Side, they call *Bebe-El-Cala*, or the *Field Gate*, on the Sides whereof there are 2 lofty ſquare Towers and on each of them 3 *Flower de Luces*, ſet up there by us in the Year 1677

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the Burial Place being right before them. The ſecond call'd *Bebe-le-Hajar*; that is, the *Stone Gate*, becauſe made of ſquare Stone, goes out to *Roua Mezir*. And the third opening to the City bears the Name of *Bebe-del-Medina*, or the *City Gate*. They are all guarded by Blacks, except the great one, which the King commits to the Care of his Renegadoes, when he is not in the Field. This Caſtle is not ſo broad as long, and much narrower on the South Weſt Side than on the North Eaſt. Here are bury'd the Treaſures of *Muley Semein* and *Muley Archy*, being very conſiderable. On the *South Eaſt*, beyond the burial Place is another ſmall Caſtle, built in the Year 1680, and call'd *Ludeya*, the Walls whereof are ſix Handfuls thick, flank'd with ſquare Towers, having Battlements on them.

Miquenes City.

The City of *Miquenes* is directly under the *North Weſt* Side of the great Caſtle, about the bigneſs of *Chartres*, and ſtands in a very delightful Plain, in the Province of *Aſceis*, as well as that of *Fez*. Its chief Trade is in Corn, Hides, and Wax, of which Sorts the Inhabitants have great Stores, as alſo of Wool. The People are very Peaceable, and more Loyal to their Princes than thoſe of *Fez* and *Sale*. The River *Beth*, which is ſix Leagues from it, on the Way to *Sale*, and that of *Bouamaire* running about a Muſket Shot North Eaſt from the City, mix their Waters in a Lake, on this Side the Province of *Algarve*, near the *Sebou*. Cloſe by, on the Side next to *Fez*, is a pleaſant Wood of Olive Trees, with abundance of Gardens on both Sides of the River, which employ the People in looking to them, and produce Plenty of the following Fruit and Plants. Oranges, Pomgranates, ſweet and ſower Lemons, and Citrons, Quinces, Nuts, Almonds, Olives and Figs, grow without any trouble, becauſe they need no Watering; as do the Pear, Apple, Plumb and Apricock Trees, as alſo Cabbage, Coleworts, Turneps, Carrots, Raddiſhes, Purſlane, Parſley, Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, Onions, Beans, Peaſe, Garlick, and other ſorts too tedious to mention. The Neighbouring high Mountain of *Serhon*, produces abundance of Raiſins of the Sun and Olives, which are the principal Commodities the *Barbarians* inhabiting three or four Villages at the Foot of it, drive a Trade with at *Miquenes*.

The Emperor Muley Semein

Whilſt we are ſtill at *Miquenes*, where the King's Court is, it will not be improper to ſpeak a Word concerning that Prince's Perſon, whom I had but too much leaſure to obſerve, as alſo his Train. *Muley Semein el Heuſenin*, King of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Taſilet*, is thirty ſeven Years of Age, indifferent tall, but very ſlender, tho' his Cloaths make him look more ſpread. His Face, is of a bright Cheſtnut Complexion, longiſh and the Features not amiſs.

He wears a long Beard, a little forked. His Aſpect, tho' ſeemingly mild, is no Token of his Goodneſs, for he is cruel to ſuch a Degree, that his own Subjects ſay, they never had any Prince like him; beſides that he is one of the moſt Covetous that ever reign'd, and takes himſelf an Account of the Horſe-ſhooes, Nails, Spice, Drugs, Butter, Honey, and other inconſiderable things that are in his Stores, more like a poor Trader than a great Monarch. In other Reſpects, he is well Skill'd in War, brave in his Perſon, always marches at the Head of his Troops, draws them up himſelf, is always the firſt at charging his Enemies, and never flyes. He is extraordinary undaunted in Adverſity, and tho' he has been ſeveral times upon the very Brink of loſing all his Dominions, he never ſaid any thing when talk'd with concerning his Misfortune; but, that if God had appointed him to be a King, and to have a long Reign, no Man could obſtruct it. He has a peculiar Dexterity in mounting a Horſeback, and managing a Spear, and I have ſeen him ſeveral times, run a long Carrier, holding one of his Sons in one Arm, with a Spear in the other Hand, without ſuffering his Horſe to commit the leaſt Fault. There are always above two hundred Perſons about him, as well *Cherifs* as *Alcayds*, handſomly clad in the Faſhion, who attend him a Horſeback Night and Morning, when he rides out, beſides 4000 Blacks that are his Guards, and live in Tents about *Miquenes*.

Extortion at Tetuan. To continue our Journey, *F. Mege* having joyn'd us again at *Tetuan*, where *F. Ignatius Bernede* had ſtay'd with the Money, belonging to the Redemption; it was there deliver'd to *Mahomet Lehache Tomin*, Lieutenant to the *Alcayde*, *Hali Ben Abdalla el Hamemin*, Governor of that Town, who was this Year the Kings Embaſſador at *Paris*. When we had ſtaid there three Weeks, and bought up all the *French* of the Governor, that wicked Man kept us all Priſoners, and would not releaſe either Fathers, or Captives, till we had paid him the Duty of the Gates, after the Rate of 26 Crowns a Head. Having receiv'd that Money, he banniſh'd us to a Place on the Shore, call'd *Martin*, above a League from the Town; forbidding both Fathers and Captives to return any more upon Pain of being made Slaves. Thus were we expos'd for 20 Days to the Inclemency of the Weather, without any Shelter againſt the Rain, which then fell in abundance, but only Huts cover'd with Graſs, which were wet through in a Moment, and all that time, we had no other Suſtenance, but a very little Bread. This covetous Governour, who is Brother to *Amar Hadou*, came one Day to demand of the Fathers 300 Crowns, for 3 Months they had been in the Country; which they refuſing he made us immediatly go on Board a ſcurvy Veſſel, and the Tide being out and an Eaſt Wind coming

coming up on a ſudden, we muſt have been loſt upon the Bar, had we gone out, which oblig'd the Fathers to give him the 300 Crowns he demanded, to ſave us from periſhing.

I was one of the firſt aboard the Bark that was to carry us off, where a *Jew* ſent by the *Alcayde*, ſeeing me take ſome Notes, he went away and told the Governour what he had ſeen, perſwading him I muſt be ſome Perſon of Note, that could give a greater Ranſom. Hereupon I was brought before the ſaid Governour who examin'd me, and finding I had been 11 Years a Captive, and there was nothing to be expected, he left me and I return'd aboard. We departed *Tetuan* on the 13th of *May*, of which Place I will give ſome Account before we leave it. *Tetuan* is built on a Rock along the Side of a Hill, the Walls are not very ſtrong of themſelves; but the Rocks they ſtand on render them more Defenſible than they would otherwiſe be. The Town is in the Shape of a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, and the Caſtle ſeated on the midſt of the Hill to the Weſtward, has full Command over it. The Inhabitants are Wealthy, both on Account of their following Piracy, and the Trade they drive in the Kingdom of *Algier* and the Towns of *Tangier* and *Ceuta*. Below the Town is a curious Plain, about 5 Leagues in compaſs, enclos'd with high rocky Mountains, fruitful at the bottom, as bearing all Sorts of Fruit, and in the Plain there are many Gardens and Vineyards. A conſiderable River runs through the midſt of it, into which their Brigantines, Frigats and Galliots draw up. From this Town great Quantities of Wax, Leather, and Raiſins of the Sun are tranſported into *Europe*; and in the middle of it is a large *Mazmorra* or Dungeon, which ſerves to ſhut up the poor Chriſtian Captives, and has always a conſiderable Number of them. The Inhabitants are for the moſt part thoſe they call *Andaluzians*, being the *Moors* expell'd *Spain*, with many *Jews*, who live towards the Sea Gate. Being 2 Leagues from the Sea, when any Ships appear on the Coaſt, the Inhabitants have notice given them by Beacons, or Fires made on Towers, that they may Arm and come down to the Shore.

Tetuan Deſcrib'd.

The next Day after our Departure, we arriv'd at *Malaga* on the Coaſt of *Andaluzia*, where we made the uſual Proceſſion of Thankſgiving, being receiv'd in triumphant Manner by the RR. Fathers *Mercenarians* and all the *Spaniards* in general, and after being well treated, we ſet Sail again for *France*, on the 15th and came to *Marſeille* on the 26th of the ſame Month. After our private Proceſſion, we met in the great one of *Corpus Chriſti* Day, where there were above 2000 People with lighted Tapers, the Sighs and Tears of thoſe who had any Friends or Relations in *Barbary* afflicting us amidſt ſo much Joy. In fine we travell'd

thence to *Paris*, which City we reach'd on the 19th of *July*, 11 Years bating two Months, ſince I departed thence. All the way we were entertain'd by Biſhops, Religious Orders, and other charitable Perſons. After the Proceſſion made in *Paris* and returning Thanks to God for our Deliverance, we were Conducted to *Verſailles* to ſee the King, whence I return'd to *Bonelle*, where I was born and found all my Relations alive and in Health.

CHAP. XI.

The Story of a French *Captive, who after ſeveral Turns of Fortune, fled from* Tripoly, *diſguis'd like a* Morabite *or falſe Anchorite, was taken at* Morocco, *ſent to* Fez, *and made his Eſcape to* Tangier.

HAving given an Account of the Sufferings that were common to me with all the other Slaves, I will now deliver the Adventures of ſome particular Perſons, as I had them from their own Mouths. In order to it, the Reader is to underſtand that after *Muley Archy* had made himſelf Maſter of the high Mountains, being a Part of the *Atlas*, he ſent a conſiderable Preſent to the *Cheque* of a Part of them call'd *Zaimby*. This Preſent conſiſted of 8 Chriſtian Slaves, and ſeveral Pieces of Engliſh Cloth, ſome of it Scarlet, and this to aſſure him of his Friendſhip. Among thoſe Chriſtians there was a *Spaniard*, the Son of a *Gaſcon*, who had been Naturaliz'd at *Cordova*. This Man was the *Cheques* Miller, an Employment not over laborious; however the eaſieſt Servitude being diſagreeable, and all Men having a natural Deſire to return to their own Country, the *Spaniard* reſolv'd to attempt making his Eſcape, which he thought would be the eaſier, in regard that having liv'd 10 Years in thoſe Deſerts he was perfectly acquainted with the ways.

A Spaniard Miller to a Cheque.

One Day, as he went up to his Maſters Caſtle, which was at ſome diſtance from the Mill, thinking on what he intended to do, he met hard by the Caſtle a *Morabite* or Hermit, who was railing in *French* at ſome Dogs that would have bit him. The *Spaniard*, who underſtood that Language indifferently well, as being the Son of a *Gaſcon*, was ſurpriz'd to hear it ſpoken in thoſe Parts, and by a Man that did not look as if he had learnt it there. To end all Doubts, he ask'd him why he offer'd to beat his

his Maſter's Dogs, and what made him go in that Diſguiſe. The *Morabite* believing him to be ſome Renegado, was a little daunted but ſoon recovering himſelf from the Fright conceiv'd, becauſe he had been heard to ſpeak any Language but *Arabick*, anſwer'd in theſe very Words, *A ben queleb liache t'queta lia, anan Morabite*, That is, *Thou Son of a Dog, how durſt thou affront me who am an Anchorite.* No ſuch Matter, anſwer'd the *Spaniard*, in *French*, you muſt not think to lurk under that Diſguiſe; I know what you are, and unleſs you own it frankly, I'll cauſe you to be puniſh'd. You do not know who I belong to, ſince you call me Son of a Dog; but you muſt underſtand that the *Checque* of the Mountains is my Maſter, who upon a Words ſpeaking of what I have ſeen, will put you to Death: Confeſs you are but an Impoſtor, that wander about in that manner to deceive the *Moors*; and if you do, I promiſe on the Faith of a Chriſtian, as I am, that no Harm ſhall come to you, which if you fail of, you ſhall certainly die. The *Morabite* was overjoy'd to meet with a Chriſtian in thoſe Deſarts, and having recover'd himſelf and look'd about, for fear that any Body ſhould hear, declar'd to the *Spaniard* that he was a Chriſtian, and then they embrac'd. After ſome other Queſtions on both Sides they agreed to ſpeak *Spaniſh*, and to tell one another all their Adventures; for the better doing whereof, the *Spaniard* conducted the falſe *Morabite* to his Mill, gave him to eat and drink, and after ſome Repoſe, led him into his little Garden, deſiring he would proceed to his Relation, which he did to this effect.

The falſe Morabite

Sir, ſaid he, I am a Chriſtian by the Grace of God, as I told you upon our firſt embracing, and was born at *Bourdeaux*, where I ſpent my Youth in the Study of Humanity. At 18 Years of Age, my Father who was a Merchant, and would breed me up to it, ſent me to live at *Malaga* in *Spain*, where I ſtay'd a Year, and then went to *Granada*; in which Place, during my 7 Years abode, I had a great Affection for a beautiful Widow, but it ended unfortunately. That young Lady who had more Wit than Wealth, tho' of good Quality; and knew that I wanted not a Fortune, firſt expreſs'd a Kindneſs for me, and knew ſo well how to manage my Heart, that ſhe gain'd an entire Aſcendant over it, being before altogether diſengag'd. For a long time we had no Communication but by Letters; for ſhe being cloſely obſerv'd by her Kindred, and particularly by *Don Emanuel Manrique*, her Couſin German, I could never get Admittance into her Houſe. She never went abroad but to Church, and that with *Don Emanuel's* Daughters, and therefore made uſe of a *Mooriſh* Woman Slave to convey her Letters to me, and receive my Anſwers. To be ſhort, the Intrigue went on ſo far, that it coſt the poor Lady her Life, and

The Morabites *Story.*

and I to ſave mine was forc'd to fly to *Cartagena*, where meeting no *French* Ship, I went aboard an *Engliſh* Fly-boat that was to touch at *Malta*, and then proceed to *Marſeilles*. We arriv'd ſafe at *Malta* in 15 Days, and being grown no wiſer by my late Eſcape, I there began an Amour with my Landlady, and engag'd ſo far in it, that the Fly-boat having diſpatch'd what it came about, ſail'd away, and left me behind. Soon after a Veſſel of *Provence* call'd *le Cheval marin*, or the *Sea Horſe*, happen'd to come into the Road, being bound for *Alexandria*; and I having a Curioſity to ſee *Grand Cario*, went aboard her. We had an indifferent Paſſage, and in a few Days reach'd our deſir'd Port, where our Conſul oblig'd me to lodge at his Houſe, and walk'd about to ſee what was remarkable in the City, with the *Sieur Barthelemy*, an honeſt Youth of *Marſeilles*, his Secretary, who ſhew'd me a very tall Pillar which ſeems to be made of caſt Pebbles, and we ſtruck Fire againſt it with a *German* Steel. Next we went to to ſee the Baths, which are generally under Ground, for the greater Conveniency. Half the Rooms in the Houſes are alſo under Ground, becauſe of the exceſſive Heat, which reigns for the moſt part at *Alexandria*. When we came into the Baths, two clever young *Turks* met and conducted us into a large Room floor'd with ſquare Tiles, varniſh'd and painted of ſeveral Colours, in the midſt wh reof there were two large Pieces of Marble, for thoſe that bath to lie on. There we took off our Cloaths, which were given into the Cuſtody of a young Lad, who was in a little Chamber cloſe by, and I making ſome Difficulty to let mine be out of my Sight, the *Sieur Barthelemy* aſſur'd me, that thoſe People might be ſafely truſted with any thing, ſo that I needed not to fear. Thoſe Baths being always hot, by reaſon of the continual Fire in them, we began to ſweat that it ran down in great Drops, and then the two young *Turks* coming with clean Towels, made us lie down on the Marble Tables, where they ſtretch'd the Sinews of our Hands and Feet ſeveral times, which I thought extraordinary pleaſant. Next they rubb'd all our Bodies over very well with their Towels, and being throughly cleans'd, we went into a Tub of Luke-warm Water, which concluded our Bathing. When dreſs'd again, we gratify'd each of them with a Quarter of a *Piaſtre*, which is half a French Crown. Thoſe *Turks* who did not uſe to be ſo well paid, conducted us back out of the Bath with abundance of Ceremonies, and I was not a little ſurpriz'd, to ſee ſo much Civility among a People we look upon as Barbarians.

Alexandria *in Egypt.*

A Bark being loaded with the Commodities our Ship had brought to go up to *Grand Cairo*, I took leave of the Conſul, and went aboard her. This famous River divides it ſelf into ſeveral Brant

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ches, which appear in ſailing up it, departing from the main Body, to fall into the Sea in different Places, and contribute much to fertilize the Country, helping the Inundation, which happens every Year. Having no Acquaintance at *Cairo*, I went to the Conſul's, who was then *Monſieur de Berume*. Two Days after my Arrival, *Oſman Baſſa*, coming to ſucceed *Amurat*, then removing to be Governour of *Aleppo*, made his publick Entry into *Cairo*. All the Troops and *Janiſaries* with Colours flying and Martial Muſick, went out to meet him, about a League from the City: The *Turks* ſhut up their Shops, and made Lanes in the Streets he was to paſs through, to expreſs their Joy for his Coming, becauſe he had the Reputation of a good Man, whereas *Amurat* was covetous and cruel, for which they hated him. I ſaw this Solemnity and thought it very Gallant, all the *Turks* being finely clad. When *Oſman* came to the Palace Gate, he diſtributed ſome Bounty, and the *Turks* continu'd beſtowing Bleſſings, and wiſhing him a happy Government.

Nile River.

Entry of a Baſſa.

The following Days I walk'd into the Gardens that are on the Banks of *Nile*, in which there are whole Woods of Palm, Orange, Lemmon, Fig, Olive, Almond, and Pomegranate Trees; and I went a hunting the Wild Boar with the Conſul's Secretary. The fourth Day after the *Baſſa's* Arrival, the Conſul attended by all the *French* Merchants, among whom I made one, went to the Palace to welcome and make him the uſual Preſents. The *Baſſa*, who was a Man of a good Preſence, receiv'd us courteouſly, and after ſome Complements we all return'd to the Conſuls, who treated us. Before I leave this City, I will ſpeak a few Words of it in my Way: I ſhall not pretend to give an ample Deſcription either of the Lakes or Palaces, which ennoble and make it one of the moſt conſiderable in the World; it may ſuffice to let you know it, is divided into three Towns with a ſlight Encloſure, but ſo large, that one of them contains 80000 Houſes: That in the middle, ſeated on an Eminency, is call'd *Caire* or *Maſſar*; one of the others is according to ſome the ancient *Memphis*, or in the Opinion of others *Babylon* in *Egypt*; and the third, that formerly call'd *Babucum*. This City, which for many Ages had been the Capital of the *Egyptian* Empire, was reduc'd under the Obedience of the *Turks*, by the Emperour *Selim* the firſt, after three bloudy Victories gain'd over the *Mamalucks*, in which two of the *Sultans* periſh'd, the laſt whereof was *Thomun Bey*. After the Conqueſt, the *Ottoman* Monarch made it a *Beglerbegſhip*, which is a general Government over ſeveral *Sangiacks*, who are ſmaller Governours. This was the Poſt *Oſman Baſſa* came to take Poſſeſſion off, inſtead of *Amurat* remov'd to *Aleppo*.

Cairo City.

Our

Our Bark being ready, I return'd to *Alexandria*, and aboard our Ship, which ſail'd with a fair Wind till we were in Sight of *Candia*. Then the Boy at the Topmaſt Head gave notice, that 7 Sail which had lain under the Iſland, were making directly towards us. It was not queſtion'd but that they muſt be Rovers of *Tripoly*, and therefore all things were made ready for Fight. They came up, and after ſome Broadſides, which carry'd our Maſts by the Board, enter'd us, when we held out till 55 out of 100 of us were kill'd, and abont 20 wounded. When taken, the Enemies Admiral diſtributed thoſe that were unhurt among his Ships, leaving us that were wounded in our own Veſſel, which he furniſh'd with Maſts, and gave the Command of her to an *Engliſh* Renegado. who carry'd us to *Tripoly*. When cur'd of our Wounds we were ſold, as you know is practis'd in *Barbary*. *Mahomet Bey*, Governour or *Checque* of the remoteſt *Arabs*, in the Kingdom of *Tripoli*; bought, and carry'd me into thoſe Deſerts, where I had much Trouble to make the Place familiar to me; but being the only Chriſtian, and oblig'd by Neceſſity to ſpeak *Arabick*, that they might underſtand me, I learnt the Language ſo perfectly, that all Men take me for a Native.

The falſe Morabite a Slave.

By Degrees I gain'd my Maſter's Favour, telling him our way of Living, and Form of Government, which he much delighted in, therefore I was employ'd in carrying his Spear after him, and ſo continu'd 5 Years together, without any thing to do, but to eat and drink, and walk after him. A Black, who was my Maſter's Steward happening to dye then, my Maſter gave me that Employment, by which I had the Liberty of going into his Tents, to know what was wanting, and conſequently of ſeeing, and talking to his Women. He had 30 large Tents, making a half Moon, at ſome Diſtance from one another, and encompaſs'd with a great Ditch. The *Bey*'s Wives, and Kinſwomen liv'd in the ſtatelieſt of thoſe Tents, which were lin'd with red Velvet, and Brocard, and ſome Widows of his Kindred, liv'd in the leſſer with only their Daughters. In one of thoſe Tents, was a Widow that had a Young and Beautiful Daughter, who took a kindneſs to me. As often as I paſs'd by, ſhe call'd me to do ſomething; and I being no Enemy to that Sex, was very willing to go and obey all her Commands, and being my ſelf ſubdu'd by her Charms, I one Day told her, how much I ſuffer'd for her Sake. Being acquainted with my Inclination, ſhe advis'd me to renounce my Faith, that I might Marry her, and I never flatly denying, ſhe often allow'd me ſome private Liberties.

In Love.

Being one Day in her Tent, when her Mother was gone to ſee one of the *Bey*'s Wives, that lay in, and he to *Tripoly*, to carry the

the Tribute, I drew near to make much of her, to which ſhe readily conſented, and allowing me to hold my Mouth to hers a conſiderably time. Whilſt we were in this Poſture, a pleaſing Silence beſt expreſſing our Affections, a black Woman coming in ſurpriz'd and put us out of Countenance. We earneſtly intreated, and brib'd her, not to make any Diſcovery; but as ſoon as ever ſhe had got what ſhe came for, and receiv'd two Ducats in Gold I gave her, ſhe ran to the *Bey*'s Aunts, to tell the Widow the Poſture ſhe had found us in. That Woman taking her Leave of the Company, came away in great Haſt, and meeting me by the way, threatned no leſs, than that I ſhould be burnt alive, when the *Bey* return'd. Being come to the Tent, ſhe pull'd down her Daughter by the Hair of the Head, trampled on and beat her till ſhe was left for dead. At the ſame time, ſhe writ a Letter to the *Bey*, acquainting him with what had happen'd, and demanding Juſtice. Her Daughter proteſted, we had been guilty of no Crime, but a loving Kiſs, owning ſhe had a Kindneſs for me, in Hopes I might change my Religion and Marry her; but the Mother, would not believe her, and reſolv'd to be reveng'd, at the Expence of my Life. Conſidering therefore, that it would fall heavy upon me, when the *Bey* return'd, I reſolv'd to fly for Safety. *Betray'd.*

By good Fortune the Pilgrims of *Tafilet*, *Fez* and *Morocco* came within a League of our Tents, in their Return from *Mecca*, I ſent them the Refreſhments the *Bey* us'd to allow, and being my ſelf perfect in the *Arabick*, and all their ways, bought the Habit of a *Morabite*, or Hermit, for a Sack of Dates, and taking Proviſion along with me, and all Neceſſaries to ſtrike Fire, travell'd after them four Days alone, without meeting any Creature. The fourth Night I overtook the Pilgrims, who flock'd about to kiſs my Hand, and ask'd my Bleſſing. I ſaid a ſhort Prayer; as I well knew, and then they conducted me to the chief Tent, where their *Alcayde* ſaid to me, Father, ſo they call the *Morabites*, how dare you travel theſe Deſerts alone, are not you afraid of the Lions? The Lions, ſaid I, will not meddle with me, and in *Egypt*, where I was born, and in great Reputaion, I made one of them ſerve a poor Woman, inſtead of an Aſs of hers, he had devour'd, and which carry'd Wood for her to *Maſſar*, that is *Cairo*. This mov'd the *Baſſa Amurat* to build me an Hermitage, two Leagues from the City, by the Name of *Cede Boiſa*. (Then I deſcrib'd a place I had ſeen when I went a Hunting there, with the Conſuls Secretary) *Oſman Baſſa*, viſited me every *Friday*; but I deſpiſing thoſe Honours, rather choſe to wander about as you ſee. I added more Fables about my Travels, ſaying I was going to viſit the *Pilgrims.* *His Flight.*

Tombs of *Mahometan* Saints, which made all that heard the Story look upon me as one of the holieſt Men upon the Earth. The *Alcayde* thought it an Honour to treat, and lay me by him in his Bed; and the next Day they mounted me on a Camel, on which I was carry'd to *Tafilet*, always talking to them of ſpiritual Affairs. The Viceroy met and conducted us to his Palace, where being told who I was, he kiſs'd my Hand, and ask'd my Bleſſing. Here I fell ſick, and was carefully attended by the Viceroy and Pilgrims, till being recover'd, I retir'd into a Grove of Palm Trees, which having yielded little Fruit for ſome Years, and being very full at this Time, it was attributed to my Sanctity, and my Reputation rais'd ſo high, that all the great Men carry'd me to bleſs their Families, and therefore, for Fear of being diſcover'd, I reſolv'd to go away to *Morocco*, thence to make my Eſcape to ſome Chriſtian Sea-Port Town. I have now rambl'd 2 Months through the Territories of *Loudega*, *Gueriſy*, *Sedrat*, *Terquela*, *Hadet*, *Mougouna*, *Magaram*, and others on Mount *Atlas*, where we now are.

The *Spaniard*, who had liſtned attentively entertain'd the falſe *Morabite* at Supper, telling him his own Adventures, and they reſolv'd to go away together to *Morocco*, as they did accordingly. The Mountainiers they met were extremly Courteous, and they arriv'd at *Morocco* in a few Days. Entering the Gate the *Spaniard* was known by ſome Mountainiers of the Guard, who ſaluted him civilly, and would have ſuffer'd him to paſs, had he anſwer'd them in the ſame manner; but he pretending not to know them, they conceiv'd ſome Suſpicion, and carry'd both him and the *Morabite* before the *Cady*, who hearing them both ſpeak *Arabick* ſo perfectly was at a ſtand, till they ſearch'd whether they were Circumcis'd, and finding they were not, the *Cady* carry'd them himſelf to *Muley Hamet*, before whom the *Morabite* gave an Account of his Adventures, and they were both put to ſerve in his Stables. The King of *Fez* afterwards taking that City made them Gunners. The falſe *Morabite* coming to *Miquenes* told me all this Story, which I have deliver'd from his own Mouth. There he was ſet to the Works, among the Reſt, which he miſliking, made his Eſcape to *Tangier*, where a a drunken *Iriſh* Soldier of the Garriſon, ſhot him in the Shoulder, as we were inform'd by a Deſerter, who left him in that Condition, his life being deſpair'd of at the firſt dreſſing; but whether he recover'd, or no I did not hear. This Story, and thoſe that follow are inſerted to divert the Reader, after the diſmal Relations of the Sufferings of the Captives in *Barbary*.

Is taken and flyes again.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

The Captivity of Don Raphael de Veras, *a* Spaniſh, *Gentleman, and the amorous Intrigue between a* French *Captive Surgeon, and a Lady of* Sale.

Don Raphael de Veras was Born at *Toledo*, where his Father had been three times *Corregidor*, or Chief Magiſtrate; but having ſome Difference with the Marquiſs *de Aitona*, and a Son of that Nobleman hapning to be murder'd ſoon after, *Don Lewis de Veras*, Father to *Don Raphael*, was accus'd of the Murder, ſpent all he was worth in Law, and at laſt dy'd in Priſon. After his Death, *Don Raphael* being left Fatherleſs, at 15 Years of Age was Page to the Cardinal of *Aragon*, who gave him to his Brother's Wife. There he became perfect in all Exerciſes becoming a Gentleman, and being himſelf a graceful Perſon was admir'd by the Ladies, and particularly by an Heireſs of one of the Prime Families, who declar'd her Affection, and reſolv'd to Marry him privately. This Secret was betray'd by one of her Maids to a Duke ſhe was deſign'd for by her Kindred, who all conſpiring together ſeiz'd *Don Raphael*, and ſending him down to the Sea, he was thence carry'd over to the Garriſon of *Larache*, on the Coaſt of *Africk*.

He found Means there to convey a Letter to the Lady, who us'd all poſſible Means to get him enlarg'd, but in vain; yet on her Account the Governour gave him all the Liberty, and good Uſage the Place would allow of; ſix Months after his arrival there, Prince *Gayland*, hearing the Garriſon was weak, thought to ſurprize it; but was ſo vigorouſly receiv'd, that after two reſolute Attacks he drew off, with the loſs of above 2000 Men. *Don Raphael* behav'd himſelf very bravely in this Action, and was wounded, whereof he ſent an Account to his Lady, who made Application to the King for his Diſcharge, without the intended Effect, becauſe many great Men oppos'd it. Finding no Poſſibility of obtaining his Liberty that way, ſhe writ a Letter adviſing him to deſert to *Gayland*, and ſhe would give his Weight in Gold for his Ranſom. *Don Raphael* having receiv'd this Letter, readily obey'd, and ſwimming over the River in the Night, was ſhot in the Thigh, from a Tower, as he reach'd the other Side. The *Moors* there dreſs'd and ſent him to *Alcazar*, where *Gayland* being defeated by *Muley Archy* King of *Fez* and *Tafilet*, he was taken among the reſt of that Prince's Slaves, and ſent to *Fez*, without any Hopes of being ranſom'd.

At firſt they put him to work with the reſt, till *Muley Archy* being inform'd that he could play well on ſeveral Inſtruments took him to Court, to divert him at his Meals and other leiſure times, which was then all his Employment.

Here he receiv'd a Letter from his Ladies Steward, with the Account of her Death, occaſion'd by Grief, for his Misfortunes, and that there was now no Hope of ranſoming him. He was much concern'd at this News, and reſolv'd to attempt making his Eſcape; to which purpoſe, the King often giving him Money, he diſcover'd himſelf to a Renegado, he had known at *Larache*, promiſing him 100 Crowns for a Horſe, Arms, and Cloaths. The Renegado agreed, and having receiv'd the Money, furniſh'd what he had promis'd; but went and gave notice at the Gates to ſtop him as he went out. *Don Raphael* was accordingly taken and carry'd before the King, who ask'd him why he fled, and who had furniſh'd him with the Horſe and Arms. He knowing the Renegado had betray'd him, accus'd that Wretch, who by the King's Order was immediately hung upon the Iron Hooks at the Place of Execution. *Don Raphael* had no hurt done him, but continu'd as before till the Death of *Muley Archy*. His Brother and Succeſſor *Muley Semein* being advanc'd to the Throne, and having Conquer'd *Morocco*, he gave *Checque Amar*, General of his Horſe eight Chriſtian Slaves, for his good Service in that War. *Ardovan*, then *Alcayde* of the Captives allow'd him his choice, putting *Don Raphael* among the reſt, becauſe he had attempted to make his Eſcape. *Checque Amar* carry'd him to old *Fez*, where he liv'd ſome time eaſy enough; but the City being beſieg'd, and he continually working at the Mines carry'd on, to take a Cattle that did the Town Harm he thought to fly to new *Fez*, and was taken and brought back to his Maſter.

Amar being a mercileſs Man order'd he ſhou'd receive 300 Baſtonadoes in his Preſence, and 100 more every Morning for 3 Days following, ſo that the dead Fleſh came off ſeveral Parts of his Body in bits, like the top of a Mans Finger. Then they waſh'd his Sores with Salt and Vineger, and ſometimes with Brandy to prevent a Gangrene, there being no Surgeon, or other Medicines. When he was better, *Cheque Amar* ask'd him one Day in Deriſion, whether he would run away again, and he not valuing his Life, boldly anſwer'd, That ſince he had us'd him ſo barbarouſly for ſo ſlight a Fault, God who was juſt, wou'd let him ſee himſelf reveng'd. This prov'd Prophetical; for *Amar* was kill'd, and cut in Pieces by the King's Blacks the laſt Campaign at *Morocco*, where *Don Raphael* then was.

After

After the Rebellion of *Fez* was ſuppreſs'd, *Don Raphael* fell into the Kings Hands, and was with others employ'd in the Train of Artillery, where he ſuffer'd very much, there being a great Scarcity in the Army; but he ſtill deſigning to make his Eſcape, and *Mazagam*, a *Portugueſe* Garriſon being but 6 Days Journey off, he communicated his Intention with a *Portugueſe* Captain, who was alſo in the Army, and being to Travel at Night and both ignorant of the Way, *Don Raphael* perſwaded a *Moor* whom he had known in *Spain*, and who was willing to return thither to be their Guide. The *Moor* agreeing, for the greater Expedition undertook one Night to ſteal ſome Horſes in the Camp, but being taken in the Fact was cut in Pieces by the Blacks of the King's Guard. This did not diſcourage *Don Raphael* and his Companion, who left the Camp the next Night, and went to hide themſelves at the Foot of a Mountain 6 Leagues off.

There were ſeveral Caves with the Mouths to a Brook, in one of which they reſted themſelves, where hearing ſome Noiſe and fearing it might be made by Soldiers ſent after them, they went farther in; at which time a Fox that kennell'd within, being frighted, leap'd over their Heads, they filling all the Space below. *Don Raphael* went out to ſee what that might be, and ſpy'd the Fox near the Brook, whereupon he went in again, and they reſted till Sun ſet, when they travell'd on again without meeting any thing remarable that Night. The next, they diſcover'd by the Light of the Moon, a Place where the Kings Army had encamp'd on its March, and found ſeveral Granaries under Ground full of Corn. Going a little farther they heard a Lion roar, that was ſeeking his Prey directly before them, and therefore they ſtruck off to the left, and had not gon 40 Paces before they heard another on that Side, which ſo frighted them, that they thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves in ſome of thoſe ſubterraneous Granaries they had left behind. The Lions purſu'd, and they both leap'd into the ſame Place, that they might help one another out again. The Mouth of it was cover'd with a thick Buſh, about which the Lions walk'd and roar'd till Morning, when they heard no more of them. However their Fright ceas'd not, for all the Day they heard People moving about, Horſes Neighing, Tents Pitching, Sheep Bleating, Cows Lowing, and Men and Women Singing; which made them ſuſpect, that ſome Herd of *Arabs* was come to encamp there, and they ſhould ſoon be diſcover'd. Whilſt they were in this Fright, a young *Arabian* Maid that Sang very well, came near the Buſh that clos'd the Mouth of the Cavern Singing ſome Couplets, and complaining to one of her Companions, that her Parents would not beſtow her on a Kinſman ſhe was paſſionately

ately in Love with. Then they diſcours'd of the News, that *Muley Semein* would take *Morocco*, and laſtly ſhe ſaid, two Chriſtians were fled from the Camp, and there was ſearch made after them. When they had ended their Diſcourſe, a Flock of Goats drew near theſe Maids, who vaniſh'd in a moment; and as they brouz'd on the Buſh, one of the He Goats fell into the Cave and Skipp'd out again, as if he had flown, which made them believe, the *Alcayde Benjauja* had practis'd ſome Piece of Sorcery on their Cloaths ſince they left the Camp.

Practice of Sorcery. It is to be obſerv'd, that when any Chriſtian runs away, his Maſter ſends for a *Talbe*, that is, one of their Prieſts, who is Conducted to the Place where the Slave us'd to lye, or has ſome Garment brought him, that he frequently wore. He mutters over the Place, or Cloaths, then takes two Yards of Packthread, on which he makes ſeveral Knots, muttering on all the while, and nails it down to the Place, or faſtens it to the Chriſtians Garment, who they ſay is thus bewitch'd and can never get away. Several Captives againſt whom this has been practis'd have travell'd all the Night, and found themſelves the next Morning in the ſame Place they ſet out from. This made *Don Raphael* and his Companion believe, that all they had heard the Night before and that Day was a mere Illuſion. Having therefore recommended themſelves to God, *Don Raphael* look'd out, and perceiving all was clear they help'd one another up, and travell'd all the Night till break of Day. Having been two Days without Water, they were neceſſitated to drink their own Urine; but paſſing by a Caſtle, they there ask'd for ſome Drink. The *Arabs* directed them to a Spring they would find on their way, where they only ſtay'd to quench their Thirſt, and fill a Bottle they had for that Purpoſe, and then haſted out of the way, which was well they did, for the *Arabs* believing they were Deſerters purſu'd to ſtrip them. Travelling very faſt, the *Portugueſe*, who was beſide himſelf with Fear, dropp'd the Bag their Bread was in, and having ſtill three Nights Journey before they could reach *Maſagaon*, they were two Days without eating any thing, but ſome Palm Tree Roots, which they could ſcarce get out of the Ground, by reaſon of their Weakneſs.

Hunger obliging them to travel by Day, they found ſome Relief, meeting with a Flying Party of *Muley Hamet*'s, that was abroad to Plunder the Convoys going to the King of *Fez*'s Camp, then about *Santa Cruz*. Thoſe Soldiers being told they were Deſerters from *Muley Semeins* Camp, and had eaten nothing in 3 Days, gave them ſome Raiſins and Dates, and let them proceed on their Journey. That ſame Night meeting ſome *Moors* of *Azamor* going to *Saphia*, they

they were diſcover'd to be Chriſtians, ſecur'd, and carry'd to the Governour of *Saphia*, who put them into the Dungeon of Criminals, where they liv'd 11 Months upon Bread and Water; being taken but 4 Leagues from *Mazagaom*, after ſo much Fatigue endur'd to no purpoſe. *Muley Semein* having again taken *Morocco*, the Governour of *Saphia*, at his going to Court carry'd the 2 Captives along with him. The King forgave them, knowing they only fled to get into their own Country, and being put in among their Companions, they ſoon recover'd their Strength, and prepar'd to fly again. They did ſo, and *Ben Jauja* who was their *Alcayde* ſent Soldiers after, who travell'd with them ſome time before they knew them, till perceiving they endeavour'd to ſhun their Company, they began to enquire whether they travell'd. The Captives anſwer'd, they were *Moors* of *Tremezen* and had their Captains Diſcharge, intending for *Sale* to go a Privateering. The Soldiers demanded to ſee their Diſcharge, and none appearing, carry'd them back to *Morocco* as Deſerters. At the City Gate *Don Raphael* confeſs'd they were the Chriſtians that had fled from the Camp. You told us you were of our Religion, anſwer'd the Soldiers, and now you declare your ſelves Chriſtians again, you muſt go before the *Cady*. Having given that Judge their Reaſons for what they had ſaid, he diſcharg'd them, telling the *Moors* there preſent, that all Chriſtians who declar'd themſelves *Mahometans*, and had not made a publick Profeſſion of that Religion, but did it to ſave their Lives, or gain their Liberty, ought to be allow'd to recant within three Days, and therefore thoſe could not in Juſtice be puniſh'd. The *Cady* having given this Judgment, ſent the Captives to the Camp, where thoſe who conducted them, gave the King an Account of all that had happen'd, and he order'd the *Alcayde Ben Jauja* to keep them in Irons Night and Day, till the Army broke up. That Barbarian made them endure much Hardſhip, and more they muſt have gone through, had not the King, who was going to *Fez*, caus'd them to be unchain'd. When that Prince fought the Barbarians of *Zaouias*, who had revolted, the *Portugueſe* Captain, and a *Spaniard* were kill'd by the burſting of a Cannon, and *Don Raphael* returning to *Miquenez*, had the good Fortune to be one of thoſe the *Spaniſh* Redemption Friers ranſom'd in the Year 1680.

The *African* Women are generally incontinent, either naturally or becauſe they have but one Husband to ſeveral of them. Yet it is very difficult for them to have any Intrigues with *Mahometans*, becauſe the Men being extraordinary jealous, never ſuffer them to go abroad. However they find more Conveniency with their Slaves, whom the Husbands do not ſo much ſuſpect, either that

that they think the Chriſtians blind, or believe that Burning, which is the Puniſhment inflicted on them, when taken with *Mahometan* Women, is ſufficient to deter them from attempting any ſuch thing. Thus they take all poſſible Precautions on the one Hand, and none on the other, carefully avoiding the leſs Danger, and eaſily fall into the greater, as will appear by the following Story.

Intrigue of a French Captive.

Mahomet le Maraxchy, who was one of the Prime Men of *Sale*, and the Kings Secretary for Marine Affairs when I was there, had a very beautiful Daughter call'd *Fatma*, marry'd to *Mahomet Abdalla Tonſy*, a wealthy Inhabitant of the ſame Town. This Woman was of a very amorous Diſpoſition, and had us'd all her Endeavours before ſhe was marry'd, to debauch a young handſome *Gaſcon* Captain, who was her Father's Slave. The Captive being proof againſt all her Allurements, and ranſom'd ſoon after, ſhe ſtill held on her lewd Inclination, and tho marry'd prov'd never the more continent. It is true her Husband *Tonſy* was to blame; for tho' good natur'd and complying with every thing ſhe requir'd, yet he was too fond of Boys and Wine. This caſt *Fatma* into ſuch a Fit of Melancholy, that it turn'd to a languiſhing Diſeaſe, which it is thought would have kill'd her: However ſhe was perfectly recover'd by a *French* Surgeon, who was Slave to *Cantillo Reys*, her Husband's Brother in Law, and had been ſent for to her, having before given good Proofs of his Skill. The Surgeon was a handſome young Man, likely to pleaſe any Woman leſs amorous than *Fatma*, and therefore no Wonder that ſhe ſoon took Fire.

He coming one Day to viſit her, and inquire whether ſhe felt any Remains of her Diſtemper, ſhe told him her Obligations to him were ſo great, for the reſtoring of her Health, that ſhe could requite him with nothing leſs than her ſelf; adding that her Eyes had before declar'd her Affection, and bidding him now ſhew himſelf worthy of the Eſteem ſhe had for him. The Captive, tho' he had gueſs'd at ſomething before, was a little ſurpriz'd and at a ſtand, conſidering the Danger he expos'd himſelf to; but Love prevailing above Fear, he reſolv'd to comply with *Fatma*, and accordingly after many Acknowledgments of the Favour ſhe did him, declar'd ſhe might abſolutely diſpoſe of his Perſon. This was ſufficient to conclude the Match; and from that time forward *Fatma* entirely devoted herſelf to the Captive. He viſited her frequently when the Husband was abroad, without the leaſt Suſpicion on his Side, becauſe he had a Kindneſs for the Man, on account of the Cure he had effected on his Wife. No Jealouſy had perhaps enter'd into his Head, but that ſome *Jews* who had Shops near his Houſe, ſeeing

ſeeing the Slave go in moſt Days, acquainted him, that every time the Surgeon came, a black Woman Slave of his Wife's ſtood Sentinel at the Street Door. Hereupon *Tonſy*, the next Day, inſtead of going abroad, hid himſelf in a Cloſet which was divided from his Wife's Chamber by a Wainſcot, thro' the Crannies whereof he could ſee all that was done; but the Black Slave, who was privy to her Miſtreſs's Offence, happening to hear ſome Noiſe in that Place, and ſuſpecting what it might be, gave *Fatma* timely Notice.

When the Chriſtian Captive came, *Fatma* inſtead of careſſing him as ſhe was wont at other times, ſaid, ſhe thank'd him for his Care in coming to ſee her, but that ſhe fear'd her Husband might think ill of it, and therefore he would oblige her in coming only when he was ſent for: That her Obligations made her very unwilling to diſmiſs him in that manner; yet ſhe could do no leſs for fear of diſguſting a Husband that was ſo dear to her. The Captive who by a Wink ſhe gave him, underſtood all the Cheat, anſwer'd accordingly with the greateſt Reſpect, and went away. As ſoon as he was gone, *Tonſy* came out, and embracing his Wife, begg'd her Pardon for giving ſo much Credit to ill Tongues, as to ſuſpect her Vertue, and declar'd he was now fully convinc'd of it, and therefore the Slave might come as often as ſhe pleas'd, without giving him the leaſt Umbrage. She pretended to be angry that he ſhould entertain any ſuch Thoughts of her, and he adding many more endearing Expreſſions, they were perfectly reconcil'd. Two Days after, ſhe told the Captive all that had happen'd, and he having learn'd the Names of the *Jews* that had rais'd the Jealouſy in *Tonſy*, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, and compaſs'd it thus: He deſir'd his Maſter *Cantillo* to give him leave to take ſome things of Value out of his Houſe, and ſell them to thoſe *Jews*, whom he would afterwards impeach for receiving of ſtolen Goods; and *Cantillo* complaining to the Governour, they would be fin'd and baſtinado'd; and this he ſaid he did to be reveng'd of them, for an ill Turn they had done him. *Cantillo* conſented, and the Goods being found with the *Jews*, they receiv'd 200 Baſtinadoes, paid 100 Crowns each as a Fine, and were ſent to Priſon for 3 Months: Thus were they puniſh'd for going about to interrupt the Captive's and his Miſtreſs's Pleaſure, who held on their Intrigue, till in the Year 1678 they both dy'd of the Plague.

Chap. XIII.

The Strange Adventures of the Sieur de la Place, *a Gentleman of* Normandy, *and how Juſtice is adminiſtred in* Barbary.

THE *Sieur de la Place* was of the Dutchy of *Longueville* in *Normandy*, and being of a haughty Temper, could not endure that his Father ſhould ſhew more Kindneſs to his Elder Brother, who was more diſcreet and better qualify'd. His Father ſent him very young into *England*, and he at his Return finding his other Brothers ſtill preferr'd, had ſeveral Quarrels with the Elder, whom he one Day unfortunately Shot, as they were abroad a Sporting; for his Piece only flaſhing in the Pan, when he levell'd it at a Hare, it went off as he reſted it on his Arm to prime again, his Brother ſtanding juſt before the Muzzle. Tho' this was meerly accidental, he durſt not return home, for Fear his Father ſhould think it had been deſign'd, and therefore fled to *Diepe*, where his Uncle who was Deputy Governour, put him aboard the ſame Ship I deſign'd in for *America*, when taken by the *Sale* Men, as I ſaid at the Beginning of this Work. When we landed at *Deal*, his wild Temper prevailing, he ruſh'd into a Room where he heard ſome Women ſinging, and beginning to be as familiar with them, as if he had known them to be fit for his Turn, their Brother who was preſent, drew and wounded him, and the Women crying out, ſo many more came in, that had he not got aboard by the Help of our Sailors, he might have there been torn in Pieces. In fine, he was carry'd with us to *Sale*, where in the Year 1671, *Muley Archy* took him from his Maſter, and gave him to the *Alcayde Abdalazize Araſe*, by whom he was carry'd to *Morocco*. Being a good Performer on ſeveral Inſtruments, and having an excellent Voice, *Lella Rahema*, his Maſter's Wife, us'd often to call him into her Chamber, when her Husband was at Court, to hear him play, and to make her perfect on the Lute, at which ſhe had already ſome Skill. She often treated him with Dates, Raiſins of the Sun, Honey, and white Bread, and gave him Money to buy Linnen, that he might appear the better, and perſwaded her Husband to give him a Suit of Scarlet, with a green Silk Girdle, and not to put him to do any thing but carry his Spear, when he went abroad with *Muley Hamet* the Viceroy of *Morocco*.

A Kinſwoman of *Rahema*'s call'd *Zayda*, marry'd to her Huſband's Secretary, was generally with her, and liv'd in a Houſe cloſe by. This Woman who was young, beautiful, and very witty, being charm'd with the *Sieur de la Place*'s Voice, one Day deſir'd him before her Kinſwoman to come ſometimes to her Houſe, and teach her to play on the Guitar. He having nothing elſe to do, and being willing to be treated when Opportunity offer'd, told her, He thought himſelf happy in being a Slave, ſince it enabled him to do Service to the moſt beautiful Ladies in *Morocco*. *Rahema* ſmil'd at the Compliment, and modeſtly ſignify'd ſhe was well pleas'd with his good Opinion. One Day he went to wait upon *Zayda* at her Houſe as ſhe had deſir'd, ſhe acquainted him with her Affection, that he might make a ſuitable Return. He anſwer'd with his uſual Gaiety, that ſhe ſhould always find him ready to ſerve her; but that he fear'd her Husband who was old, would grow jealous of their frequent Viſits; yet if ſhe could contrive it, he would not fail to pay his Reſpects to her every Day. *Zayda* being willing, told her Husband what a great Value the *Alcayde Abdalazize* and *Rahema* had for that young Man, on account of his excellent Qualities: That he had taught his Miſtreſs to play on the Lute and Guitar, and ſhe was willing to learn, that ſhe might divert him; but that having propos'd it to him before her Couſin, he anſwer'd he would not do it without his Conſent, leſt he might in time conceive ſome ill Opinion of them. The *Moor* believing his Wife was real, commended her for deſiring to learn to play on the Lute, and to oblige her the more, went himſelf immediately to invite the *Sieur de la Place* to his Houſe the next Day.

Matters being thus order'd, they had the Opportunity of being as familiar together as they pleas'd. However, on a Day when *Zayda* was affording him all the Favour ſhe cou'd, the Black Woman Slave that us'd to ſtand Sentinel at the Door, happening to go into a Neighbour's Houſe, to ſpeak to one of her Acquaintance, the Husband came in, and catch'd them in the cloſeſt Embraces. He ran immediately for his Scimetar to revenge that Wrong; but whilſt he brought it, they had the Opportunity of eſcaping; *La Place* getting out of the Houſe, and *Zayda* on the Top of it, to go over that Way to the *Alcayde*'s. The *Moor* purſued the Chriſtian with Sword in Hand; but not being able to overtake him before he got into his Maſter's, he return'd home, where meeting the Slave as ſhe went in, and believing ſhe was privy to the Lover's Crime, he cut her in Pieces. In the mean while, the *Sieur de la Place* and *Zayda* having made their Eſcape, as has been ſaid, told *Rahema*, that as they were ſinging, the Husband ruſh'd in

with a Dagger in his Hand, and would have ſtabb'd them; but that the *Sieur de la Place* holding his Hand, ſhe got over the Houſe, and then he fled Home, where they were both come for Sanctuary againſt his undeſerv'd Fury. *Rahema*, who was ready to burſt with laughing at this Account, ſtill held her Sides, when the *Alcayde* came in and ask'd the Occaſion of her Mirth. She told him, and he not being altogether ſo credulous as his Wife, ſent for his Secretary to be better inform'd; but the Meſſenger brought word he was not at Home, and he ſaw none but the dead Black all bloody. *Zayda* told the *Alcayde* that her Husband had certainly taken too much *Opium*, which is frequent among the *Moors*, and diſturbs their Senſes. Then the *Alcayde* believ'd what was told him, not queſtioning but that the *Opium* had turn'd his Secretary's Brain. Juſt then came one of the *Cady's* Officers, to bring him the News that his Secretary was before the Judge, publickly demanding Juſtice againſt his Wife, whom he ſaid he had taken with his Chriſtian. *Abdalazize* admiring his Folly, mounted on Horſeback to go hear what he had to ſay, and found him in Court, telling the *Cady* before all the Company, that he was a Cuckold, and had catch'd a Chriſtian in his Wife's Arms. The *Alcayde* could not forbear laughing to hear how earneſtly the Old Man ſpoke thoſe Words, and calling him by his Name, ſaid; *Zabiney*, What are you doing here? Sir, anſwer'd *Zabiney*, *Behold here a Cuckold, the Son of ſixteen other Cuckolds* (this is an Expreſſion the *Moors* uſe when in a Paſſion) *who am come to complain to the* Cady, *and demand Juſtice, and if he refuſes it, I'll right my ſelf. Zabiney*, reply'd the *Alcayde*, you are certainly miſtaken; the *Opium* you have taken this Morning has diſturb'd your Brain. Your Wife is too honeſt, and my Chriſtian too diſcreet to be guilty of ſo baſe an Action, after the Liberty you have allow'd him. Believe me, do not mind thoſe Fancies, and forbear *Opium* for the future. Then *Abdalazize* told the *Cady*, how the Black had been kill'd, which made him conclude the Man was mad, and diſmiſs'd him as ſuch. Afterwards the *Alcayde* and *Rahema*, made up the Buſineſs; and thus the Secretary was deceiv'd, and believ'd he had been miſtaken.

Adminiſtration of Juſtice in Barbary.

Since we have been before the *Cady*, who is the chief Judge, and I could not find a fitter Place to inſert what I am about to ſay, it will not be improper to give an Account how the *Moors* decide Law Suits, and how Criminals are puniſh'd among them. When any Difference ariſes between two Perſons or more, whether in Civil or Criminal Affairs, the Plaintiff by Word of Mouth ſummons his Adverſaries to appear at a certain Hour that ſame Day, or the next, before the *Cady*, the Governour of the Town, or

or the *Haquem*, who are three diſtinct Judges. The *Cady* tryes all Matters relating to the Law. The Governour decides in Civil and Criminal Caſes, which regard the King's Edicts, or Laws; and the *Haquem*, in what concerns *Municipal* Laws, or the Duties of Families. If they have any Witneſſes to examine, they are alſo ſummon'd by Word of Mouth to appear at the ſame Time, and when that is paſt, the Judge ſends his Officers for ſuch as fail, and condemns them to receive 200 Baſtinado's, which are beſtow'd on their Backs; unleſs they can plead ſome lawful excuſe. In matters of *meum & tuum*, when there are Witneſſes, or any thing under Hand, the Debtor is immediately order'd to pay what he owes, within a certain Time, if demanded; and when that is expir'd, if he has not diſcharg'd the Debt, he is caſt into Goal till he ſatisfies the Creditor. If there be neither Witneſſes, nor Writing, the Judge ſends the Defendant to make Oath, in the *Moſque*, and if he ſwears he owes nothing, is diſcharg'd without Coſts, for none are allow'd. If the Controverſy be about any Affront, either the Plaintiff or Defendant, as the Caſe appears is adjudg'd to be baſtinado'd, to ſuffer Impriſonment, and to pay a Fine, which belongs to the Judge.

Debtors.

Affront.

Theives for the firſt Offence, if it be of Value, have their Right Hand cut off; for the ſecond, the Left; and for the third, which muſt be done with the Teeth their Head. Robbers, as ſoon as taken, and brought before the Judge, are beheaded, or dragg'd by Mules. Adulterers are Ston'd, and Murderers ſuffer Death. Common Whores, and Drunkards are baſtinado'd, impriſon'd, fin'd, and even ſuffer Capital Puniſhment, if found guilty in the Time of the *Ramadan*, which is their Lent. Traitors are either dragg'd, or beheaded, or impal'd, or hung upon Iron Hooks, which are purpoſely ſet in the Walls of Capital Cities; and the Bodies of all theſe Wretches are expos'd to be devour'd. This is what concerns the two firſt Judges.

Criminals how puniſh'd.

As for the third, which is the *Haquem*, and takes Care of Shopkeepers that have falſe Weights, or Meaſures, he ſtrips the Offender naked to a Pair of Drawers, puts ſome of the Goods he cheated in about his Neck, and with his Hands ty'd behind his Back, is walk'd by the Hangman through all the Streets of the Town. The Executioner makes him proclaim his Crime, at every croſs Street, where he often Flogs his Back, with Pomgranate, or Quince Tree Rods, or with a Handful of Leather Thongs. Then he is brought back to the *Haquem*, who ſeizes all there is in his Shop, for the King, and then ſends him to Goal, where he continues 3, or 4 Months, and is not diſcharg'd till he has paid a good Fine. I have often ſeen ſuch Shopkeepers walk, and it is certainly

False Weights & Meaſures.

certainly a good Cuſtom, to prevent Frauds. The Butchers, and thoſe that ſell Oil and Butter, are oftneſt taken; and the Price being daily ſet upon the Fleſh, the firſt of them are oblig'd to have the Rates appointed by the *Haquem* expos'd before their Shops to publick View, and this is in Scores, or Streaks, each Stroke ſtanding for a *Felou*, or Farthing; ſo that if there be Nine Scores on the Paper, it is worth ſo many Farthings a Pound, more, or leſs, according as it is in Goodneſs. It often happens that the Fleſh of the Day before has been better, and conſequently valu'd higher, then they put out the Rates of that Day, which are very often found out, by ſuch Perſons as the *Haquem* ſends on purpoſe to examine them. Every buyer may cauſe his Meat to be weigh'd by another Tradeſman, and if he finds it ſhort, he may make his Complaint, and the Seller will be puniſh'd upon the Evidence of him that weigh'd it. This *Haquem* ſets the Price on Corn, and on all Proviſions ſold by Retail, according to the Seaſon of the Year, and the Plenty, or Scarcity there is of every Sort. This may ſuffice as to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, let us return to our Lovers.

Tho' they came off ſo well, The *Sieur de la Place*, and his Miſtreſs durſt not continue their Amours, notwithſtanding both were inclinable enough; and as they never came together, but in the Preſence of *Rahema*, who was very modeſt, they durſt not expreſs their Affection before her. Some time after *Muley Hamet*, Viceroy of *Morocco* revolting againſt his Unkle *Muley Archy*, the *Alcayde Abdalazize*, retir'd to *Fez*, with all his Family. After that Prince's Death, *Muley Semein*, his Succeſſor, ſent him to govern the Province of *Algarve*. He took all his Family along with him to *Alcaſſar*, except the *Sieur de la Place*, whom he left in his Father the *Alcayde Mahomet Araſes* Palace, who had ask'd for him to look to his Stores. That old Man had 3 Beautiful Daughters, a and fourth Marry'd to *Muley Archy*. Theſe Ladies had been inform'd of all that happened at *Morocco*, in Relation to the Lovers, by their Siſter in Law, the Wife of their Brother *Abdalazize*, who highly commended the Slave. They were eager enough, to learn of him, to play on the Lute, and ask'd Leave of their Father, who conſented, and the *Sieur de la Place* had nothing elſe to do for 14 Months, the War between the two Towns of *Fez* laſted. Thoſe Ladies going every *Friday* into the publick Baths of the City, to divert themſelves there, with the other Women; that they might have the more Sport, they took along with them the *Sieur de la Place*, diſguis'd in Woman's Apparel, who whilſt they went alone into a ſeparate Bath, remain'd among the other Women, that bath'd ſtark Naked before him, whilſt

whilſt he play'd on the Guitarre, expecting the Return of his Miſtreſſes. If any thing more particular happen'd in this Recreation, it never came to my Knowledge.

Liberty allow'd Chriſtian Captives.

It is here to be obſerv'd, that the Chriſtian Captives after Leave once given them, are free to go into all Parts of their Maſters Houſes, the Law of the Country being no way againſt it. The greateſt Men do not diſſallow of it, and ſhould their Wives, or Daughters happen to be in any indecent Poſture, when they come in, they would not offer to hide themſelves; alledging, that the Eyes of our Bodies are blind, as well as thoſe of our Souls, and therefore it ſignifies not much if we ſee them in any Poſture.

When *Muley Semein* had pardon'd the Inhabitants of *Fez Belle*, and releas'd the *Alcayde Abdalzize*, whom he had confin'd, during the War, becauſe his Father and Brothers were concern'd in the Rebellion, the *Sieur de la Place* return'd to his Houſe, where he continu'd till his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1675. After his Death *Muley Meherez*, the King's eldeſt Son, being inform'd by ſeveral Perſons, of his good Qualities, took him into his Service, and grew fond of him, ordering he ſhould do nothing but carry his Spear, when he went abroad. That Young Prince being Viceroy of *Fez*, had him decently clad, and gave him a Room in the Apartment of the Chriſtians, that ſerv'd at the *Seraglio* Gates, which is in the Eunuch's Quarters. That Apartment is old and ruinous, very dark, with great Holes in ſeveral Parts of the Walls, through which they may go out upon the flat Roof of the *Seraglio*. At Night, when the *Arifas*, which are the Governants, under the Queens, had ſhut up their Apartments, and all was huſh'd, they came by Conſent over the Tops of the Palace, to paſs the reſt of the Night with our Slaves, who had always *Roſa Solis* to treat them, and ſome of the beſt *Brazil* Tobacco, which they are very fond of. Thoſe *Arifas*, who never go out of the *Seraglio* were glad to meet the Slaves, being generally Young handſome Fellows, and ſhe that took to the *Sieur de la Place*, had Charge of the Young Prince, and govern'd his Mother's *Seraglio*. Had their Intrigues laſted any longer, they muſt certainly have been diſcover'd; but the King ſending *Muley Meheres* Viceroy to *Tafilet*, that Young Prince took the *Sieur de la Place*, and 10 other Slaves along with him. He writ a Letter to me from thence, which I receiv'd a Month before my Departure from *Miquenez*, wherein he acquainted me that all his Comrades had renounc'd their Faith; but for his Part, he was reſolv'd to do Penance, and perſevere in Chriſtianity.

CHAP.

Chap. XIV.

Of two Renegadoes, whereof the one was burnt alive at Tetuan, *and the other at* Sevil.

TWO *Spaniards*, the one 29 Years of Age, born at *Murcia*, the other 24 Years old, of a Farm near the Town of *Tarifa*, which is upon the Mouth of the Streights, were for ſome Offences baniſh'd to the Fortreſs of *Pennon de Velez*, in the Province of *Riffe*, near *Tetuan* in *Africk*. Soon after they agreed to deſert to the *Moors*, and renounce their Faith. Being both one Night upon Sentinel, they put their Deſign in execution, and went over to the Enemy. In the Morning being found by the *Barbarians*, they were carry'd to *Tetuan* to be ſold. The Governour caus'd them to be brought before him, as well to get ſome Information of the Condition the *Spaniſh* Garriſon was in, as to know what they intended. Having inquir'd after the State of the Garriſon, he ask'd them what they meant to do, how they deſign'd to beſtow themſelves, and whether they came to work, or become *Moors*.

He that was born at *Murcia* being the moſt extravagant, impudently told him, that he was come purpoſely into that Country, to renounce God, his Baptiſm, Kindred, Friends, and Country, and to embrace the Law of *Mahomet*. When he had done, the *Alcayde* ask'd the other whether he ſaid the ſame: But he being more conſiderate, anſwer'd; He was come to follow the Law of the *Alcoran*, and to renounce Chriſtianity, which he was weary of. As ſoon as he had ſpoken, the Governour ſtood up, and looking furiouſly on the other, ſaid; *Thou Villain! How could'ſt thou be ſo wicked in my Preſence, ſo freely to renounce thy Creator, but for whom thou hadſt never had a Being, and who is ſtill ſo good as to permit thee to live, after uttering ſuch Words againſt his Adorable Majeſty, and the Sanctity of his Prophet? Do you think the* Moors *do not own God; and that* Mahomet *is his Prophet? Since you renounce the firſt, who is Author of all things, to follow the ſecond, who, according to your Saying, can be no better than an Impoſtor; if it be as you teſtifie by your Words, and that only the Chriſtians have the Advantage of adoring him you renounce: Why do you, wretched Creature, forſake their Religion, which muſt needs be Holy, to embrace another you are a Stranger to, and which you do not think has God for its Object? You are a miſerable Soul; for there*

A Moor's Zeal for God.

is

is no Puniſhment on Earth ſevere enough to chaſtiſe the Crime you have committed: Yet do not believe it ſhall paſs unpuniſh'd; for I will be the Avenger, that your Example may inform ſuch as may come hither hereafter to embrace our Law, that we believe in one God, without any Trinity of Perſons, whoſe Power we adore, and that Mahomet *is his greateſt Prophet.*

The *Alcayde* having ſent for the *Cady*, who came to him, gave him an Account of the whole Matter, whereof he was Judge; and after examining the Criminal, it was decreed by way of Satisfaction, that they ſhould ſpit in his Face; that he ſhould be dragg'd about by the Hair, till it all came off; that he ſhould be led about all the Streets of the Town; that 12 burning Tapers ſhould be faſten'd on his Shoulders and Breaſt, and then he ſhould be conducted to the *Soc* or Market-place, aud there burnt alive. The Sentence was executed as ſoon as pronounc'd, and all the People vy'd in carrying Wood to the Place of Execution to puniſh his Impiety.

Honour done to a Renegado.

After this Execution, which was not very long performing, the *Alcayde* caus'd the other Renegado, who ſtill quak'd to ſee what was become of his Comrade, to be richly clad, to mount on Horſeback, and to ride all about the Town, and round the Walls; attended by the Drums, Hautboys, and other Muſick going before, and all the Horſe following. When heal'd of the Circumciſion, the *Alcayde* kept him near his own Perſon, gave him conſiderable Poſts, and caus'd him to be inſtructed in all the principal Points of his Religion. When the Kings Taxes were gather'd, he was always ſent about, and got conſiderably, ſo that he grew very rich. His Maſter dy'd at that time, when he had gather'd much Wealth, and not only left him his Freedom but alſo a fine Houſe to live in. After his Death, being entirely at his own Diſpoſal, he joyn'd in Partnerſhip with ſome Inhabitants of *Tetuan*, to build a Frigat, to go abroad a Pirating. When ſhe was fitted, and the Command beſtow'd on him, he put to Sea, and acquir'd much Treaſure and great Reputation by the many Prizes he took, and the frequent Deſcents he made in *Spain*. All Men reſpected, and the Prime Perſons in the Town deſir'd to be ally'd to him. When it was known that he intended to marry, ſeveral good Matches were offer'd him, and among the reſt, one with the beautifulleſt Maiden in *Tetuan*, who had rejected divers good Offers, being of a very haughty Temper. He deſir'd of thoſe that mention'd her to him, that he might ſee her walk in ſome Garden, being himſelf in the next to it, diſguis'd like a Woman, the Law forbidding the ſeeing of her any other Way. This was accordingly done, and the Gardens being

parted but by very thin Hedges, he had a full View of her, and was highly pleas'd. Next he ſent her a Compliment by his Pilot's Wife, whilſt he ask'd her of the Father, who gave him a Promiſe, provided ſhe conſented, and afterwards made her ſeveral conſiderable Preſents, till ſhe at laſt ſent him word it was all in vain, for ſhe would never marry him by her own good Will; and if ſhe was forc'd to it, he ſhould always have a mortal Enemy by his Side; and yet the Pilot aſſur'd him all this was only to try his Conſtancy.

Some time after this Anſwer, he went out a roving towards *Almeria*, on the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Granada*, in *Spain*, where he landed and took ſeveral Shepherds he found in Huts, by their Flock, among whom there happen'd unfortunately to be two Women that came the Night before with their Daughters, to ſee their Husbands. Having put them all aboard, he return'd Home with his Prize conſiſting of 10 Perſons, and immediately ſent the handſomeſt of the two Maidens to ſerve his Miſtreſs as a Slave. All the Thanks ſhe return'd was bidding the Meſſenger tell him, that ſhe could not believe him to be ſo much in Love with her as he pretended, or that he was a real *Mahometan*, unleſs he gave her ſome undeniable Proof of his Sincerity, without which he muſt never expect to gain her Favour. As ſoon as the *Renegado* receiv'd this Declaration, he ſent the ſame Perſon back to aſſure her, he was ready to perform whatſoever ſhe ſhould command. Well, ſaid that Devil of a Woman, tell my Lover he muſt never expect to enjoy me, unleſs he brings me his Father, Mother, and Siſters, who I know are ſtill living, that they may be our Slaves when we are marry'd: If he does ſo, he may aſſure himſelf I will refuſe him no Satisfaction, the very next Day after his Return, without which he is to expect nothing from me.

Barbarous Propoſal of a Mooriſh *Woman.*

Having receiv'd theſe Commands he fitted out his Frigat, putting into her 100 of the beſt Men in the Town, and ſet ſail four Days after; taking the Advantage of a Fog, that he might not be diſcover'd from *Ceuta*, which is but 7 Leagues diſtant, and where there are always Sentinels looking towards *Tetuan*, to obſerve whether any Pirate comes out, that they may ſend their Galliot after them. He ſtood over for the Coaſt of *Spain*, which he reach'd at Night, and anchor'd at ſome Diſtance to prevent Diſcovery. He cloath'd himſelf and 10 more that promis'd to ſtand by him, in the *Spaniſh* Habit, and landing cloſe by the Place where his Father liv'd, took four of the Men with him, leaving the other ſix to ſecure the Boat. When they had travell'd about half a League, he hid the four Men among the Rocks there were by the Way that led to his Father's Farm, and went up to it alone.

Being

Being come to the Door, he declar'd who he was, that they might open it to him. His Father who was then abed, overjoy'd to have his Son again, whom he tenderly lov'd, and had continually lamented ſince he became a Renegado, had not Patience to put on his Cloaths, before he ran to receive and embrace him: His Mother and Siſters ſhed ſuch Tears of Joy as would have mollify'd the moſt inhuman Heart. After many falſe Embraces, the better to deceive them, and Promiſes of amending his Life for the future, he deſir'd his Father to diſmiſs the Servants, becauſe he had ſomething of Moment to impart.

Villany of a Renegado.

When they were gone, he told him he had made his Eſcape from *Tetuan*, with 4 Captives in a Boat, which brought ſeveral Bags of Gold and Silver, and ſome Bales of Silk he had left them to unlade; and deſir'd they would aſſiſt him to conceal them there by, leſt the King's Officers or thoſe of the Inquiſition ſhould ſeize them, on pretence of his being a Renegado. His Parents ſuſpecting nothing after ſo many Expreſſions of Repentance, agreed to follow him; the Father haſting forwards with him, and leaving the Mother and Siſters to follow. When the Renegado came to the Place where his Men lay conceal'd, he caus'd them to bind his Father, ordering he ſhould be carry'd to the Boat, and murder'd if he offer'd to make the leaſt Noiſe that might diſcover them; and then return'd himſelf to bring on his Mother and Siſters. The Father, tho' his Life was in ſuch imminent Danger, yielding to his Sorrow gave full Scope to his Voice, rending the Air with Cries, which reach'd the Ears of ſome Shepherds, that were abroad with their Flocks.

It is to be obſerv'd that in *Andaluſia* and ſome other Parts of *Spain*, the Flocks and Herds of Sheep, Kine, Goats, and Swine, lye out in the open Field Day and Night, by reaſon of the Temperature of the Air, all the Year about; and the Swains that look to them, make Huts in the Plains, where they lye at Night all together, to be the better able to defend them, either againſt the Wolves or Robbers, as alſo to ſecure themſelves from the *Moors* of *Tetuan*, who often land on thoſe Coaſts. Theſe Shepherds being alarm'd by the old Man's Cries, laid hold on their Firelocks and Swords, and ſhot towards the Place whence the Noiſe came. Soon after, they heard the *Moors* who were loath to kill their Captain's Father, dragging him along, and threatning to kill him if he continued to cry out. At firſt they believ'd them to be Robbers that were ſtripping Travellers, or raviſhing ſome Maid they had ſtollen from *Tarifa*, and having enclos'd them on all Sides, drew near and ſecur'd them, before they could make any Oppoſition.

The Old Man overcome with Joy. for his Deliverance, could not ſpeak at firſt; but, as ſoon as recover'd, told them, how his own Son had betray'd him, and was gone back to conduct his Mother and Siſters to him, that they might all end their Days in miſerable Captivity, in *Barbary*. The Shepherds, who knew him, deſir'd he would be ſilent, and ſome of them lay down flat on the Ground, whilſt the others led the *Moors* bound to their Cottages, where they left them under a Guard of their Fellows. It was now paſt Midnight, when the Renegado, believing his Father was aboard, preſs'd his Mother and Siſters to make Haſt, that they might remove all the Booty, before it was Day; but was much ſurpriz'd, when a little beyond the Place where he had deliver'd up his Father, he was ſeiz'd and put himſelf into the ſame Condition. Thoſe who had conducted the *Moors* to their Cottages returning, they went all together, without any Noiſe, to the Shore, where they found the other *Moors* lying on the Sand, to wait for their Comrades, and believing they had now brought their Prize, inſtead of making to their Boat, they deliver'd themſelves up to the Shepherds.

Thoſe that were in the Frigat, perceiving the Day drew near, and that their Companions did not return, ſet Sail for *Tetuan*, fearing they had miſcarry'd. As ſoon as ſhe came into the Road, all Men ran down to the Shore, believing ſhe had made a good Prize, and the Muſick came to receive them in Triumphant Manner, but when they underſtood what had happen'd their Joy was turn'd into Sorrow, and even the cruel Fair, who had occaſion'd the Misfortune, could not but lament the Loſs of a Man, who had ventur'd all, to gain her Favour. The Tide being out, when the Frigat came into the Road, ſhe was oblig'd to Anchor, till the Flood; during that Time the Sentinels at *Ceuta* having diſcover'd her, the Galiot of that Place ſet out and ſoon came up with, and endeavour'd to board her. The *Moors* defended themſelves bravely, for about two Hours, when having loſt above 30 Men, they cut their Cables, and ran a ground. The *Spaniards* ſlew many more, as they got to Shore, and reach'd ſome of the Townſmen, who came to ſee the Fight, rather than aſſiſt them. This done the Galiot return'd, without being able to do any more.

The Shepherds, who had return'd to their Cottages to ſpend the Reſt of the Night, as ſoon as it was Day carry'd the *Moors* and Renegado to *Tarifa*, where they deliver'd them to the Inquiſitors. Theſe being only ſubſervient to the great Inquiſition at *Sevil*, gave Notice to the Chief Inquiſitor at that City, who ſent a Guard to conduct them to his Court. The *Moors* that appear'd to be ſuch, and no Renegado's, as they had been ſuſpected to be, were

were ſent to the Gallies; but the Renegado was kept in Order to his Converſion, or Puniſhment. That Wretch continu'd ſo Obſtinate, that notwithſtanding his Parents Tears, and the Perſwaſions of the Inquiſitors, he declar'd, he would dye a *Mahometan*, for the Sake of one of the beautifulleſt Ladies in *Africk*. Then he revil'd his Father, Mother, and the Inquiſitors, which oblig'd them to deſiſt from all Hopes of his Converſion, and to condemn him to be burnt alive. Thus ended that miſerable Apoſtate, as unhappily as his Companion had done about 10 Years before at *Tetuan*. This Story I had from ſeveral *Spaniards*, and a *French* Man, call'd *James Teſſon*, born at *Havre de Grace*, and who had liv'd 20 Years at *Tetuan*, during which Time all that has been ſaid happen'd. The Names of the *Spaniards*, who had been there near as long, were *Francis Garcia*, of *Tarifa*; *John de Oſſuna*, of *Gibraltar*; *Matthew Vaſquez*, of *Xerez de la Frontera*; *James Morales*, of *Cadiz*; *Dominick Diaz*, of *Ceuta*; and *Francis Ortiz Ximenez*, of *Malaga*, who were alſo Captives at *Tetuan*, when this was done. They were afterwards carry'd to *Fez*, by *Muley Archy*, when he overthrew *Gayland*, and oblig'd him to fly to *Algier*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Trade of this Country.

Ports of Morocco *and* Fez,

Barbary being one of the Fruitfulleſt Countries in the World, and the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, the richeſt Part thereof, and where Trade may be beſt ſettled, I believe it will be very acceptable to give an Account of all that relates to Trade, as being an Affair of ſuch great Conſequence, and Advantage. But before I ſpeak of the Commodities exported from thoſe Kingdoms, and imported from abroad, it will be proper to mention the Sea Port Towns, to which Ships reſort, and where our Merchants reſide, and to declare what Precautions are to be us'd, as well in regard of the Governours, as of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Places.

Tetuan.

I will begin with *Tetuan*, which lyes upon the *Mediterranean*, 7 Leagues from the Streights of *Gibraltar*. They go up to it on a little River, call'd *Martin*, the Mouth whereof is barr'd with a Dangerous Bank of Sand, to go over which Barques, and ſmall Veſſels muſt unlade, greater Veſſels lying out in the Road, whence the

the East Wind obliges them to retire to *Gibraltar*, or *Tangier*, for Shelter against its Violence.

Arzila. *Arzila* is a small Town, built on a Rock, at the Edge of the Sea, and at the Foot of it is a small Creek, that serves instead of a Harbour, to receive some Fishing Boats, and small trading Vessels that resort to it.

Alcassar. *Alcassar*, which is 7 Leagues distant, stands on the Bank of the River *Loucous*, 5 Leagues above the Town of *Larache*, the Mouth of the said River being secur'd by the *Spanish* Garrison in the last Place. The River *Taguedart* running 12 Leagues to the Northward, and carrying 12, or 13 Foot Water at the Flood, brings the Country Barks, and other Vessels trading to the Town, whence the Goods are brought on Camels, or Mules.

Mamora. *Mamora* is at the Mouth of the River *Sebou*, built on an Eminence, and was taken from the *Spaniards*, by *Muley Semein*, in the Year 1681. It is the most commodious Place for Trade, in the whole Kingdom of *Fez*, and can receive laden Vessels, of 300 Tun Burden. For the better settling of Commerce there, the King of *Fez*, as I was told by some Servants of *Hache Mahomet Tummin*, his Embassador, was building two Towns, on the two Sides of the River; as also that it might be a place of Retreat for his Pyrates, because they will be there near a great noble Forest, and the Province of *Algarve*, which abounds in all things necessary for the Support of Life.

Sale. *Sale* is the Place where the *English*, *French* and *Dutch* Consuls reside, with the Christian Merchants, and such *Jews* as come from *Europe*. In this Town has hitherto been the chief Trade of the Kingdom, and the Entrance into the River *Guerou*, on which it stands, is indifferent, tho' there be a Bank of Sand, which often removes, especially when the Wind blows stormy, at West, and North West. The Consuls, and Merchants I have mention'd, chiefly grow rich with the Prizes the Corsairs take from Christians, of whom they buy them at a very inconsiderable Rate, and send them back into *Europe*, where they get four hundred *per Cent.* I mean those things that are not of Use in the Country, as are most of the Commodities sent into *America*, Wines, Brandies, Beer, Oranges, Oil, Salt Fish and Flesh, and the like. These Merchants for the most Part trade with the Ransoms sent them to deliver Slaves, which is so certain, that I have known Renegado's, who have assur'd me, some of those Merchants had receiv'd their Ransoms above three Years before they renounc'd their Faith, and never told them of it, till after they had become *Mahometans*. That then they were forc'd to have Recourse to the Law to get their Money, with which they purchas'd their Liberty; for those

Cheat of Merchants

thoſe wicked Men rather chuſe to be thus compell'd than to return the Money to thoſe that ſent it, becauſe by that means they avoid paying Intereſt for the time they have kept it, and get ſomething over and above promis'd them by way of Aſſurance, and then they tell the Kindred of the Renegadoes, that they renounc'd their Faith, only to get the Money into their Hands.

In regard that the ſame thing is ſtill practis'd to the Detriment of the poor Captives, in favour of whom I have compil'd this Work: And becauſe I know the abominable Methods thoſe Merchants uſe among themſelves, I am glad to have an Opportunity to lay it open in this Place; becauſe the thing is frequent, and practis'd to the Diſhonour of Chriſtianity; to the end that thoſe who ſhall hereafter happen to have any Friends in *Barbary*, may uſe thoſe Means I will here preſcribe, and take the neceſſary Precautions to have them ſpeedily redeem'd. When any Men conſiderable, or of wealthy Families fall into the deplorable State of Captivity, they preſently write home for their Ranſom, which their Kindred or Friends immediately pay to Merchants that have a Correſpondence in thoſe Parts: Thoſe Merchants lay out the Money on Goods, and ſend them to their Factors at *Sale*, *Tetuan*, *Algier*, or other Seaport Towns, where the ſaid Captives are. The Factors being for the moſt part poor Scoundrels or Bankrupts, diſpoſe of thoſe Commodities and buy others, which they ſend to *Spain* and *Portugal*; and whilſt they drive a Trade with it, write to their Correſpondents, that they uſe all their Endeavours to redeem the Captives; but muſt act leiſurely, and not ſeem too haſty, for fear the Maſters ſhould inſiſt upon greater Sums. The Merchants in *Europe*, who are conſenting with their Factors, and ſhare the Profit with them, ſhew the Letters they receive to the Kindred of the Captives, to ſatisfie them that they uſe all poſſible Endeavours for their Deliverance. The Relations thus impos'd upon, write back often to the Captives, to encourage and acquaint them that they have ſent their Ranſoms by ſuch and ſuch Merchants as they name; but the Letters being deliver'd to thoſe ſame Merchants, they ſuppreſs them, that the Captives may not know they have their Ranſoms; and do the ſame by thoſe they ſend back to their Kindred, ſo to conceal their Frauds and baſe Practices. Whilſt they drive this unjuſt Trade, the poor Slaves overcome by their many Sufferings often deſpair and renounce their Faith. This is moſt frequent among the Merchants trading to *Barbary*. I knew ſeveral that us'd this Method when I was there, and among them the preſent Conſul of *Sale* has got an Eſtate by this, and buying of Prize Goods, having kept in his Hands for above 2 Years the Ranſoms of my Couſin

Couſin *Claude Loyer de la Garde* and the *Sieur Paul le Vaſſeur* of *Pontoiſe* without owning them; notwithſtanding the R. F. *Lartigues* a *Mercenarian*, and Superior of the Monaſtery of *Marſeilles*, who ſent them, told it to other Captives that had been ſet at Liberty, and they writ to acquaint them with it, by the Way of *Tangier* and *Ceuta*. It will therefore be convenient to do the ſame upon the like Occaſions, and to write to the Captives by thoſe or ſuch Ways, that theſe Frauds may not be practis'd for the future: For preventing whereof, thoſe who pay Money to Merchants, ought to contract with them for a certain time, more or leſs, according to the Diſtance of Places, wherein they ſhall be oblig'd to deliver the ſaid Captives, in the Place where the Money is laid down; and that in caſe of Failure they ſhall pay Intereſt for the ſaid Sums, unleſs they produce Letters from the Captives themſelves, teſtifying that they have us'd their Endeavours for procuring of their Liberty, and the Fault lyes not at their Door. This will be an effectual Method to prevent their Trading with the Captives Ranſoms; and it is but reaſonable that ſuch Precautions ſhould be taken with them, ſince they gain conſiderably by their Bills. What I have ſaid is not deſign'd to leſſen the Reputation of any honeſt Perſons trading in thoſe Parts, but to lay open the Frauds of the Wicked, and warn thoſe concern'd to beware of them.

Azamor. *Azamor* is 30 Leagues South from *Sale*, on the Mouth of the River *Marbea*, has no great Trade, becauſe of a Bank of Sand, which almoſt ſhuts it up without, ſo that only Barks can enter.

Saphya. *Saphya* is ſtill 30 Leagues South from *Azamor*, and ſtands on the very Edge of the Sea, at the Mouth of the River *Goudet*, and not inferior to *Sale* for Trade.

Santa Cruz. *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz*, belonging to the Principality of *Sus*, and under the Dominion of *Muley Hamet Meheres*, ſurpaſſes all the others; becauſe the Commodities brought from thence, are more choice and have a better Vent in *Europe*.

Inland Trade. Theſe are the Ports our Merchants ſettle in, and where they have their Warehouſes to ſell their Commodities by Whole-ſale to the *Moors* and *Jews*, who ſend them to their Correſpondents at *Fez*, *Miquenes*, *Morocco*, *Tarudant*, and *Illec*, the Capital Cities. They tranſport a great Quantity into the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom of *Taffilet*, as *Sara*, *Dras*, and *Touet*, whence they bring Dates, Oſtrich Feathers, Indigo, and Gold Duſt, which they call *Tibir*. The *Arabs* of thoſe Provinces, trading into the Kingdoms of *Sudan*, *Guinea*, and *Tombouton*, make uſe of Dromedaries, which are Creatures of an incredible Swiftneſs, whom they load with white

white Salt, to trade with thoſe Blacks for Gold Duſt. Their Way of Dealing is very odd, and it being forbid to ſpeak a Word, I will here deſcribe it, as told me by divers *Moors* of *Dras* and *Taffilet*, who had been there ſeveral times.

Manner of bartering with the Blacks.

When the *Arabs* have paſs'd the Sandy Deſarts that divide the Kingdoms abovementionʼd, and are come upon the Frontiers of the Blacks, they travel along them till they come to one of thoſe Places, where the Meetings usʼd to be for Trade. That Place is generally about a Cannon Shot from the Dwelling of the *Alcair* or Commanding Officers on thoſe Frontiers: There they meet an *Arab*, who is kept by the *Alcair*, and who only has the Privilege of Speaking, to inform them what they are to do, and how they are to trade, without ſpeaking to the Blacks. This *Arab* writes down the Names of all the new Comers, and what Quantity of Salt they bring, that thoſe who come firſt may ſell before the laſt. The Exchange is made twice a Day, Morning and Evening, the Sun being too hot all the middle Part of the Day. At the appointed Hour the *Alcair* ſends ſome of his Guards, who walk along ſome Mats that are laid on the Ground to put the Salt on. The Sellers make ſeveral Heaps, greater and ſmaller, on thoſe Mats, and then draw back at a Diſtance, that their Chapmen may come up: Then the Blacks draw near the Mats, and having viewʼd the Heaps, leave the Quantity of Gold they think fit by thoſe they like, and then retire in their Turn. If the Heap of Salt does not pleaſe them, however they lay down their Gold by it, and by a Sign underſtood among them, the *Arab* who owns it, comes up to add or diminiſh. When they are agreed, the *Arab* takes a Handful of Salt, and lays it by the Gold: Then they make a Signal to the *Alcair*'s Officers to come and meaſure the Salt, who take the twelfth Part of it for the *Alcair*, and an Ounce out of every Pound of Gold. This Barter is carryʼd on without ſpeaking a Word, or the leaſt Diſorder committed on either Side. If it happens that the Blacks are guilty of giving any Offence, the *Alcair* cauſes them to be puniſhʼd immediately, hanging them by the Chin on very ſharp tall Poles, where they remain for an Example to others, till their Limbs drop off. The *Arabs* are adjudgʼd to loſe their Salt and Beaſts of Burthen, which are forfeited to the *Alcair*, beſides 500 Baſtinadoes the *Checque* orders them to receive on their Buttocks, after the Manner of their Country. Theſe *Arabs* returning home ſell their Gold Duſt to *Mooriſh* or *Jewiſh* Merchants, who ſend it with other Goods to *Morocco* and *Tarudant*, and theſe convey it on to *Santa Cruz*, *Saphya*, and *Sale*.

Beſides theſe Commodities of Gold Duſt, Oſtrich Feathers, Dates and Indigo, they ſend down to the Sea Ports abundance of tann'd and raw Hides, of Raiſins of the Sun, of Copper made in Pigs like Bricks, of Wax, of Tin and Wool; as alſo Goat Skins to make *Morocco* Leather. Trading for Corn, Horſes, or other Cattle is forbid in theſe Kingdoms, unleſs there be Arms, Powder, or other Warlike Stores given in Exchange. Theſe are the Commodities that come from *Tetuan*, *Alcaſſar*, *Arzila*, *Sale*, *Azamor*, *Saphya*, and *Santa Cruz*; in return for which our Merchants carry out of *Europe*, *Spaniſh* Plate, fine Silks, as Brocades, Velvets, ſtrip'd and plain Taffeties, Silk Scarves, fine *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Woollen Cloths, *Dutch* and *French* Linnen, Muſlins to make Turbants, fine red and black Caps, ſuch as the *Moors* and *Jews* wear; raw Silk, all ſorts of Spice and Drugs, Cotton, *Braſil* Tobacco, Sugar, Logwood, Tartar, Allum, Brimſtone, all ſorts of Colours, Cocheneal, and other Dyes; all ſorts of Paper, Steel, Iron, Lead, Iron Work; Pedlars Ware, as Knives, Scizars, Pins, Needles, Padlocks, Looking Glaſſes, and ſmall Tooth Box and Ivory Combs: There are ſeveral other Sorts of ſmall Wares, too tedious to mention; all which, except Plate, the Duty whereof is but two in the Hundred, pay 10 *per cent.* either imported or exported, to the King, and 2 *per cent.* to the Conſul. I ſhall not ſpeak of Arms offenſive and defenſive, and other Martial Stores fit to arm and equip the Pirates, which are daily imported, notwithſtanding the Cenſures of the Church, and the Prohibitions of Princes: For at this time not only Merchants, but almoſt all Mankind, has regard to nothing but Intereſt, and care little how ill their Wealth is gotten, provided they may keep up ſome Shew of Reputation in the World.

Having ſaid enough of the Seaport Towns and Commodities, I will add ſomething concerning the Merchants reſiding there, that ſuch as deſire to go thither to Trade, and are not acquainted with the Cuſtoms of the Country, may know how to behave themſelves, ſo as not to be diſturb'd by the Governours or People, or have any Controverſy with them about paying for their Goods, or upon any other Account whatſoever.

Directions for ſuch as go into Barbary.

The firſt thing they are to do the very Day, or the Day after their Arrival, is to go and viſit the Governour of the Town, and make him ſome handſome Preſent, according to the Cuſtom; and afterwards to pay him frequent Viſits to gain his Friendſhip; for the *Moors* are very vain and ambitious of Honour, eſpecially when they are in conſiderable Poſts, as that of a Governour. They muſt complain to him whenſoever they have the leaſt Difference, either with *Moors* or *Jews*; becauſe that turns to his Pro-

fit

ſit, by levying ſome Fine; and to the End that theſe Baſe People may not deſpiſe, nor offer them any Wrong; for when the People perceive that the Merchants have ſome Intereſt with the Governour, and that he eſpouſes their Quarrels, no Man dares preſume to offend them. When ſummon'd by the Governour, to appear before him, or by any other, they muſt not fail to be there at the time appointed; becauſe, if they ſtay till the Governour ſends a ſecond time, they will undergo the Penalty of the Law, which is 200 Baſtinado's, Impriſonment, and a heavy Fine, for not paying the due Deference to Juſtice.

They muſt take Care to gain Friends among the Governours Kindred, and moſt familiar Acquaintance, who may ſerve them upon ſeveral Occaſions, and particularly in obtaining any Favour of him. They muſt be ſure not to give any reviling Language, or offenſive Anſwers to *Moors*, before Witneſſes, much leſs to lift up a Hand to ſtrike them, or to ſpit in their Faces, or even in their Preſence, when they are in a Paſſion; for it is much better to complain to the Governour, than to do themſelves Right, thoſe Men being very jealous of their Authority. They muſt not rely too much on the Countenance a Governour may ſeem to ſhew them, becauſe they are all Dogs that bite, at the ſame time that they fawn; covetous Fellows who promiſe more than they deſign to perform, and grow rich by parting with Nothing; regardleſs of their Word, or Promiſe, eager at receiving, and ſure to do no good. When any Perſon Complains of their Breach of Faith, they ſay, they are not Chriſtians, to think it inviolable; that they are noted for it, and therefore none ought to rely on them.

They muſt never go from one Town to another, without the Governour's Leave, which if they did, he would become their implacable Enemy. They muſt never truſt either *Moors*, or *Jews*, with their Goods, under three, or four ſufficient Sureties; becauſe they are very apt to break, and when that is done, they have nothing left to pay, having no real Eſtates, beſides their Houſes, and ſome Gardins of very ſmall Value. Nor muſt they take up any Goods upon Credit, or keep any Book Accounts with them, for as much as they always ſet down a third or fourth more than they deliver; according to the Maxim in Vogue among them, that they will never be rich, unleſs they have ſomething of others among their own. Other Men, among the *Jews*, are the *Chriſtians*, *Turks*, *Moors* and *Pagans*, whom they may cheat, or rob, with a ſafe Conſcience, when they have an Opportunity; provided they give ſome Part of the Gain to raiſe the Fortune of ſuch of their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep

their poor from begging. In this particular their Charity is wonderful; for when a Man has loſt all he had, they will ſet him up again three times, that he may live of himſelf, and if Fortune ſtill frowns on him, he is maintain'd among the other poor; but the wicked ways they find to ſupport them, will convince any Man how little Reaſon he has to rely on their good Management.

When the *Jews* deſign to get in what they have enter'd on their Books, they take Care to pre-ingage the Judge, who is generally the Governour of the Town, making him a Preſent, or elſe promiſing him half the Value of the Cheat, if the Cauſe goes on their Side, and it happen'd in my Time, that ſeveral Merchants at *Tetuan* and at *Sale* were begger'd by truſting to their Honeſty, and relying on their Books. The *Moors* are ſomething honeſter than the *Jews*; but the ſafeſt way is to believe them as ſharp, and deceitful as the others.

The Governours to gain their Prince's Favour, often preſent him with Pieces of Fine Linnen and Wollen Cloth, which they take up of the Merchants; and they being frequently recall'd, or put to Death, and having no real Eſtates, care muſt be taken to truſt them with as little as may be, ſhowing them the Worſt, when they want any ſuch Commodities, that they may take the leſs; they being generally wretched Fellows, who have nothing to ſubſiſt any longer than their Favour laſts.

The Merchans are particularly to avoid growing too familiar with the Slaves, both becauſe it is obſtructive to their Liberty, as cauſing them to be look'd upon as Merchants, and richer than they really are, and in Regard, that if any one happens to make his Eſcape, thoſe Merchants are ſuſpected to have adviſ'd them to it, and corrupted ſome *Moor* to be aſſiſting, and conſequently they will make them pay there times the Price they coſt. At the ſame time, to the End the Slaves may not complain that they deſpiſe them, on Account of their Misfortune, they are to be charitable to, and relieve them in Sickneſs, and their other Wants, as being ſtarv'd by their Maſters; and even to make them come to their Houſes on the principal Feſtivals of the Year, as was practis'd by the *Sieur Anthony Raymond*, of *Marſeilles*, formerly Conſul at *Sale*, who not ſatisfy'd with treating them plentifully on any ſuch Day, gave them Money over and above; and this is ſince done by the *Sieur Touſſant Boyer* of *Caſſis*, reſiding at *Tetuan*, where his Charity is ſo great towards the Chriſtian Slaves, that he keeps many of them in his Houſe, and is anſwerable for them to their Maſters.

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I hope this Relation will be ſatisfactory to the Reader, and divert him, with the Variety of Adventures I have mention'd among the Captives; and that it will excite him to beſtow his Charity for the Relief of ſo many unfortunate Wretches, as ſtill remain in Bondage, many of them very Young, and continually expos'd to the Danger of renouncing their Faith, to be deliver'd from the Cruelty of their Maſters, who uſe them barbarouſly on that very Account.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EMPIRE of *MOROCCO.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Moors.

HAving run through my own, and the Adventures of other Chriſtian Captives, I will now give the beſt Account I am able of the State of thoſe Kingdoms, as far as I could learn, by my own Experience, and by frequent converſing with ſome *Talbes*, who are the Prieſts, and Doctors of their Law, and will begin with their Religion.

Articles of Faith.

The *Alcoran* appoints Five principal Articles of Faith, without believing which none can be ſav'd. Firſt, that there is but one God, without any Trinity of Perſons, as it tells us, the Partiarchs, the Prophets, and the *Jews* believ'd, till the coming of *JESUS CHRIST*, whom thoſe Barbarians call *Roho Alla*, ſignifying, the Soul of God, believing he was born of a Virgin call'd *Mary*, and wrought an infinite Number of Miracles. They ſay, he brought the-

the true Religion into the World, that he was the Holieſt of all Men, that ever were before him, that his Incarnation was as we believe it, and declar'd by *Gabriel*, the Archangel, God's Embaſſador; but that he did not dye as we think; for that when *Judas* would have betray'd him to the *Jews*, God took him up into Heaven, where he is in Soul and Body, and left his Reſemblance upon one of his Diſciples, who was crucify'd in his Stead, and is the ſame they fancy we adore. They further believe, that this ſame *Meſſiah*, is to come again, and live 40 Years upon Earth, to reduce all Nations to one Law and Religion; after which he ſhall be bury'd in the Tomb *Mahomet* caus'd to be erected on the right Side of his own; that all thoſe who follow'd his Doctrine till the coming of *Mahomet*, whom they call God's great Favourite, and the Interpreter of his Will, ſhall be ſav'd; but that the Doctrine we now hold, is not the ſame he taught; for as much, ſay they as he Prophecy'd, that *Mahomet* would come after him, to perfect that which he had not time to compleat, by reaſon of the Perſecution of the *Jews*.

Their Second Article of Faith is, that the Books of *Moſes*, *David's* Pſalms, the Holy Goſpels, which they have Tranſlated by *Sergius*, for their Purpoſe, and after their Faſhion, and the *Alcoran* are Holy Writ, brought upon Earth by Angels; that they are the ſure Rules of Truth, to lead Men to happy Eternity; and that whoſoever does not believe, and obſerve them is an Infidel.

The Third is the Reſurrection of the Dead, on the Day of Judgement, when God is to give to every Man, according to his Works; that there is a Hell, for the Reprobate, where they ſhall burn for all Eternity; and a Paradiſe where thoſe who have been Faithful Obſervers of God's Law, and Commandments, ſhall be eternally Rewarded, with the beatifical Viſion of God, his Angels, and *Mahomet*, and the enjoyment of 70 Virgins, whom they ſhall inceſſantly enjoy, and yet they not loſe their Maidenheads; that they ſhall have all Sorts of delicious Dainties they can imagine, or wiſh for, and whole Rivers of Milk, Honey, and Roſe Water, to waſh in, when they have had to do with thoſe Virgins; and that the Excrements of the Body ſhall all evaporate in pleaſing Sweats; and to conclude, that they ſhall live in delightful Houſes, built with precious Stones, and Pearls.

The Fourth is, that ſuch as do not profeſs the Law of *Mahomet*, ſhall ſuffer everlaſting Pains.

The Fifth and Laſt, that the 30 Days of *Ramadan*, or Lent are to be obſerv'd, on which they do not eat, from two Hours before Day, till the Stars appear, and obſerve it ſo ſtrictly, that I have

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ſeen ſome drop down Dead in the Streets, rather than break their Faſt.

Waſhing away Sin.

Theſe Articles are the Fundamentals of their Law, whence are deriv'd all the other Ceremonies they practiſe, as the Circumciſing of Infants at no limited time, their Prayers by Day and Night at certain Hours, the continual Waſhing of their Bodies, for cleanſing of their Sins: For whenſoever a Man has had to do with his Wife, or committed any Sin, he cannot go into the *Gemme* or *Moſque* till he is purify'd by bathing and waſhing all Parts of his Body, none excepted. Thus they become clean, provided they utter theſe very Eſſential Words of the Law; *La illa illenla* Mahamet *Dara Soulla:* Which ſignifie; *There is but one God, and* Mohomet *his Meſſenger.*

Friday *Sabbath.*

They keep Holy the *Friday*, which is to them as *Sunday* to us; and on it, at two in the Afternoon, they repair to their chief *Gemmes* or *Moſques*, to make the *Sala*, that is, *Prayer*; being ſummon'd by the *Talbes*, who are their Prieſts, and call them from the Tops of Towers, built for that Purpoſe. Thoſe *Talbes* are marry'd, and live upon the Revenues of the *Gemmes*; which are much enrich'd with the Gifts of Devout dying People. Theſe alſo make Foundations for the Maintenance of ſmall Hoſpitals, for ſick Strangers, and for burying the Poor. They muſt not go into the *Moſques*, without taking off their Shoes and even their Drawers, if they have worn them above a Day. They muſt not have any Images or Statues either in them or in their Houſes.

Feſtivals.

They have three great Feſtivals or *Eaſters*, to be kept Holy for 7 Days following, and during the which they buy and ſell as on other Days, as they do alſo on *Friday*. The firſt of theſe call'd *Leide Serere*, falls on the firſt Day of the Moon, after the *Ramadan* or *Lent*; the 2d nam'd *Leide Cubir*, is 2 Moons and 10 Days after that of *Ramadan*, when they offer a Sacrifice to *Mahomet*, of as many Sheep as there are Male Children in every Family; and this in Memory of the Sacrifice offer'd by *Abraham*, the Father of *Iſmael*, and firſt Parent of the *Sarazen Arabs*, from whom they believe *Mahomet*'s Mother was deſcended; the third call'd *Le Moulout* is 3 Moons and 2 Days after the 2d, which they keep in Honour of the Birth of their falſe Prophet, and on the firſt Day whereof they eat Pap, in Memory of that which *Mahomet* eat. The Night before it they carry Abundance of lighted Lamps and Tapers into their *Moſques*, and all their *Talbes* ſing his Praiſes inceſſantly till Break of Day.

All theſe Feſtivals as well as the *Ramadan*, fall ſometimes in one Seaſon and ſometimes in another, by reaſon that their Year conſiſts of 12 Moons. They have another Feſtival call'd *Lachora*, when

when they are oblig'd to give their Prince the 40th Part of their Money: It lasts but one Day; and all the Morning they throw a great deal of Water at one another. On the 24th of *June*, according to the ancient Calendar, they keep the Feast of Saint *John Baptist*, by the Name of *Lansera*, going into the Gardens to make Bonefires and much Rejoycing, burning on the Night of the Eve abundance of Frankincense about the Fruit-trees, for obtaining of the *Barqua*, that is, *God's Blessing*.

Mad Notion. All those who have committed any Sins that deserve Hell, if they call upon *Mahomet*, will see him come out of Heaven and descend into Hell in the Shape of a Lamb; and the suffering Souls will be converted into Fleas, that they may hide themselves in his Wool: Then he shall again ascend into Heaven, where God will ask him, whence he comes, as if he did not know it; and he will answer, He comes from Hell, where he has deliver'd some Souls that implor'd his Protection, and have hid themselves in his Wool; because the Angels that guard Heaven Gates, would not have suffer'd them to pass; which said, he will beg Mercy for them of his Divine Majesty, and God for his sake will grant it.

Salvation under 15 Years of Age certain. They further believe that all such as dye before they come to 15 Years of Age, whether their Parents be Christians, Jews, or Idolaters, go directly to Heaven; because they are still innocent, and have not yet attain'd the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and consequently are exempted from Eternal Pains; but that as soon as they are past that Age, without owning *Mahomet* for God's Favourite, they are lost for ever; excepting only those Maidens that are not *Mahometans*, and dye Virgins; who are preserv'd to make up the Number of the 70 Virgins, every one of them is to have to do with in Heaven, there being no sufficient Number of those that have profess'd the Law of *Mahomet*.

War to be made on Infidels. The *Alcoran* directs that such as will not voluntarily receive it, shall be compell'd; and that War be made on Christians, because they adore *JESUS CHRIST* as Son of God, whereas he is but a Prophet, and refuse to follow *Mahomet*. It declares that all such as dye fighting against them, go directly to Heaven; and if they have kill'd any, they deserve infinite Rewards, and that the very Horses kill'd upon some Occasions, bear them Company in Heaven. It allows of Polygamy; and they may marry 4 Wives, to whom they assign Dower; besides Concubines, of which sort they may have as many as they can keep, legitimating the Children born of either. *Polygamy.* They may be divorc'd when they find them faulty or in case they prove so ill natur'd that they cannot agree, paying their Portion to those they have marry'd, and selling their Concubines,

Concubines, which are their Slaves, to others, but keeping their Children.

The *Alcoran* further enjoyns that all Idiots and half-witted Perſon' be look'd upon as Saints, which is religiouſly obſerv'd, and they are Canoniz'd whilſt living, as are thoſe who underſtand any thing of Sorcery, who they ſay have the Spirit of their Prophet; and they build little Chappels, which they call *Ronda*, in Honour of the latter, after their Death, to which they go in Pilgrimage; and their Tombs afford Sanctuary to all Criminals that have deſerv'd Death, and ſuch as fly to them from the King's Wrath; for he cannot take them away by Force, but hinders any Suſtenance being convey'd to them. Theſe conjuring Saints are well known in that Country, as well as the *Morabites* or Hermits, and I could bring ſeveral Inſtances of amazing things they have done by Diabolical Art, which I omit, becauſe they would be look'd upon as fabulous. The Sorcerers generally live in Towns among the reſt of the People, where they are highly reſpected; the others where they think fit, but for the moſt part in Woods, or on high Mountains, like our Anchorites. Their Garments are made up of an infinite Number of Rags of ſeveral Colours, carrying Staves in their Hands, and great Strings of Beads about their Necks. *Fools and Sorcerers, reputed Saints.*

The *Alcoran* forbids playing at all ſorts of Games that depend upon Chance, for Money; and if any play, they muſt do it in very private Places, or by Night; for were the Magiſtrates acquainted with it, they would be impriſon'd, baſtinado'd, and ſeverely fin'd; and if he who loſes his Money will complain, it will be reſtor'd him, and the Winner muſt undergo the Penalty of the Law. It alſo orders thoſe to be honour'd, who have been in Pilgrimage at *Mecca*; and they, as a Mark of Diſtinction to be known by, for ſome time are allow'd to wear green Turbants, which is *Mahomet*'s Livery. *Gaming forbid.*

All *Chriſtians* and *Jews* that go into their *Moſques*, or are taken with *Mahometan* Women, or ſpeak ill of their Prophet, are to be burnt alive, unleſs they become *Mahometans*.

Chap. II.

Of the Kings, People, Women, and Children.

Kings elective.

THE Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco* are not Heriditary, the People having a Right to raiſe him to the Throne, whom they think the moſt virtuous, and worthieſt to command them, which for the moſt part is ſome *Morabite*: However, it often happens that Ambitious Men ſeize the Crown, either by Treachery or Force; and there being nothing ſo perfidious but what they will do to reign, without regard to either Duty or Nature, they afterwards meet with others who are as falſe, and have as little Regard to them. The Son ſpares not the Father, nor the Uncle the Nephew, nor one Brother another; they trample indifferently on the Heads of their neareſt Relations, to aſcend the Throne.

Legal Revenue.

The Kings that are ſuch by Election, cannot raiſe any Taxes or impoſe new Duties, but ſuch as are granted by the Laws of the Land, which allow them only the Tithe of Corn, of Cattle, of Butter, of Honey, and of Oil, with a certain ſet Sum of Money. Thoſe who have ſeiz'd the Crown by Force, exact other heavy Taxes, which their Governours collect, and oblige ſuch as are not able to pay, to work it out at the King's Houſes. When the Elective Kings go to the War, they are not oblig'd to give their Soldiers any thing but their Food; and theſe are to repair to their Colours, and to follow them upon the firſt Sound of Trumpet. It muſt be own'd they are very ill ſerv'd; and being all Uſurpers pay them, and they get more under any ſuch, as ſoon as one ſtarts up, they all baſely forſake their Prince, and go over to him.

Order of Battel.

When they are to give Battel, they draw up after this manner: The Cavalry is divided into two Parts, and plac'd on the Wings; the Infantry is in the Center, drawn up in a Half Moon. When the Engagement is in a Plain, they make but two Ranks, that is, they are but two deep, but if it be on Mountains, more, for want of Room. They firſt give a great Shout, which is follow'd by ſome ſhort Prayers to beg Victory. The Horſe that are always about the King's Perſon, are arm'd with Firelocks, and Cymiters; being generally made up of Blacks arm'd with Firelocks, and the reſt with Croſs-Bows, Slings, Clubs, Half Pikes, and Scimitars. The King of *Fez* can raiſe 10000 Horſe and 20000 Foot, to War upon another *Mooriſh* King, as thoſe of *Taffilet* or *Morocco*, who can raiſe near as many: But if it were to make War upon

upon *Chriſtians*, every Man is ambitious of going to gain Pardon of his Sins, and conſequently his Army will be infinitely more numerous. All the *Arabs* or *Barbarians*, thro' whoſe Territories the Army is to march, are oblig'd to have a ſufficient Quantity of Wheat, Barley, Meal, Butter, Oil, and Cattle to ſubſiſt it, on the Place appointed to incamp; and upon Failure, they are in danger of ſeeing all they have plunder'd, and being cut in Pieces themſelves.

King's Power.

The Kings are abſolute in Spirituals and Temporals. The Clergy is as ſubordinate to their Laws as the People. They appoint the *Cadys*, two of whom, *viz.* thoſe of *Fez* and *Morocco* are Superior to all the other *Cadys* and *Talbes* of the *Gemmes* or *Moſques* in thoſe Kingdoms; and theſe two are Judges of, and diſpenſe with all things that concern the *Alcoran*. When the Kings enact any Laws, the Governours cauſe them to be proclaim'd in all the Markets throughout their Governments, that none may be ignorant of them.

Governours Judges.

As for the Political Part of the Kingdom, the Governours are Judges above Appeal, and they ſoon decide all Controverſies; for as ſoon as they have heard both Sides and their Witneſſes, they give Judgment, except it be of Death. The Puniſhments inflicted on Thieves, Robbers, cheating Shopkeepers, Drunkards, Whores, and Adulterers, are mention'd in the 13th Chapter of the Captivity, and therefore need not be repeated: Only the Horrid Sin of *Sodomy*, tho' publickly committed, paſſes unpuniſh'd. No Criminal can be put to Death, unleſs the Viceroy has expreſs Orders from the King. Thoſe Princes are not ſatisfy'd with having as many Women as they pleaſe, but take a Pride in *Sodomy*. When they are in the Field, the *Checques* of the *Arabs* and *Barbarians* take it as an Honour to preſent them with their Daughters Maiden heads, whom they bring on Camels, when they paſs thro' their Lands, by that means to obtan ſome Favour: They alſo carry along with them their Favourite Women, attended by a great Number of Eunuchs, going ſome before and ſome behind them, and ſending out Forerunners, to oblige all Men to go out of the Road: Thoſe Women ride on Mules, in a ſort of Tabernacle or Cupboard, cover'd with Linnen, to keep the Sun and Weather off them: When big with Child, they are ſent back to the *Seraglio* they came from, and others return'd in their Places: They have a Camp apart from the Mens, which none is admitted into but the King and the Eunuchs; and thus they are expos'd to all the Hardſhips and Fatigues of a troubleſome Journey. This puts me in mind that *Muley Semein* being once ſhut in by the Snow, between the Mountains of *Zaimby* and *Guilava*, and making his

Sodomy *practis'd.*

Eſcape in the Night, many of his Women were forc'd to travel a foot, as well as ſome of his Sons, one of them falling as he climb'd was loſt in the Snow, and never more heard of.

Kings' Horſes. The Kings delight in having Abundance of fine Horſes, which bear the Names of their Sires, as Men do of their Families, and there are ſome ſo highly honour'd, for having been at *Mecca*, that they afford Protection to ſuch as fly to them, as a *Morabite* might do. When any of them dies, he is bury'd as ceremoniouſly as a Man, and thoſe Princes greateſt Satisfaction is to view, and ſee them feed. Their uſual Exerciſe is Hunting, Morning and Evening, and riding a Tilt, with their Princes and great Men, who attend them back to the Palace, where they take their Meals.

Manner of Eating. Their Manner of Eating is thus. Their Tables are of painted, or Gilt Leather, round, laid on the Floor, with only curious Mats under them, about which they ſit with ſuch of their Favourites as they pleaſe to admit. They firſt take off their Shoes, and ſit about like Taylors, croſs-legg'd, the black *Alcaydes* waiting on them. They bring a braſs Baſon, in which all the Company waſh their right Hands. The firſt Diſh ſerv'd up, inſtead of Soup, is their *Couſcouſou* made of fine Flower, as has been deſcrib'd in the third Chapter of the Captivity, and on it ſome boil'd Pullets, Pigeons, or Mutton. All the Ceremony they uſe is ſaying, *Meſſim Alla*, that is in the Name of God, and then thruſt their Hands into the Diſh, wriſt high. Their Diſhes are of fine Earthen Ware, very wide at top, and narrow at Bottom. They feed by handfuls, making ſmall Pellets of the *Couſcouſou*, which they throw into their Mouths, as if they play'd at Bob-Cherry. Only the right Hand being put into the Diſh, every one pulls, to tear the Meat, as Dogs do about a Carcaſs, without ſpeaking one word, all the Dinner time. Next they bring them in a great Copper Baſon, or deep Diſh, ſeveral China, or fine Glaz'd Earthen Porringers, for they muſt not eat out of Gold, or Silver, ſome of them full of fricaſſe'd Meat, with Honey and Almonds, or fry'd in Oil, or roaſted, and ſome Comfits, after their manner, without any other Deſert. When they have done eating they wipe their Fingers againſt the Edge of the Diſh, and then lick their Hands all over, ſaying *Lehem Dillila*, that is, God be thanked. They drink nothing but Water in publick, which is brought them in a Leather Purſe, that it may be the cooler; Wine, or other Liquors are drank privately, within the *Seraglio*. They have no particular Place to eat in; but do it generally among their Horſes, and after their Meals have no other Diverſion, but ſeeing thoſe ſame Horſes or viſiting their Women, towards whom they uſe none of that Civility and Tenderneſs, that we do in *Europe*. King *Muley Iſmael Semein*, now reigning is but 36, or 37 Years of Age, and yet

yet two Years ago he had above 60 Sons and Daughters, without reckoning thoſe that are dead.

Reſpect paid to the King.

The Reſpect the Great Men pay to their Kings, conſiſts in taking off their Shoes when they come near, and bowing profoundly: If they are travelling, or on the Road, they take off their Shoes as ſoon as they ſee them, kiſs the Ground ſeveral times before they come cloſe, and then fall down at their Feet to kiſs them; then riſing, make their Compliments, which are very pleaſing to hear.

Oppreſſion.

The Kings of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Taffilet* have no Lands or Demeſnes, but only the Tithes and extraordinary Subſidies their Subjects pay them. Thoſe Tyrants who aſcend the Throne by Force, oppreſs the People very much, that they may leave their Children rich when they dye. When they hear of any very wealthy Families, they ſend for the Heads of them, whom they oblige to pay them large Sums; and if they preſume to excuſe themſelves or appear refractory, they cauſe ſome Crime to be laid to their Charge, to colour their Tyranny, and ruin them. During any *Interregnum*, as there was before *Muley Archy*'s Uſurpation, every Town and Province has an *Alcayde* or ſome *Morabite*, who governs abſolutely; and then *Barbary* is rich, and abounds in all things. Thoſe who are wealthy, do not conceal what they have, but are Companions, and equal with their Governours; but as ſoon as ever ſome Upſtart is own'd as King, every Man pleads Poverty, goes ill clad, and hides his Money under Ground, for fear of being ſuck'd dry by that Leech.

Inhabitants of Towns.

Thus all Perſons labouring to appear indigent, thoſe in Towns, who are beſt to paſs, always make their Children learn ſome reputable Profeſſion, to ſerve them in time of Need, and moſt of them trade into the *Levant*: The poorer Sort apply themſelves to looking to the Gardens, which are numerous about the Towns, and full of Pear, Apple, Plumb, Apricock, Orange, Lemmon, Almond, Pomegranate, and Quince Trees: They alſo ſow Lettices, Cabbages, Radiſhes, Turnips, Melons, Pompions, Cowcumbers, Parſley, Chervil, Purſlane, Tobacco, and Onions. The Lettices and Cowcumbers which we make Salads of, they eat with Salt and Bread, as they come out of the Garden, only waſhing the firſt and paring the latter: Other Sorts of Fruit are eaten in their proper Seaſons, betwixt Meals; for none but Oranges and Lemmons can be kept, the violent Heat rotting them two or three Days after they are gather'd.

Country People.

The Country People being either *Arabs* or *Barbarians*, are only fit for Tillage, having no other Calling or Trade to get their Bread by, and of conſequence live miſerably. The *Arabs* live in pitiful

Arabs. pitiful Tents on the Plains, where the beſt Lands are, having drove away the Natives, ſometime after they were brought in by *Muley Almanzor*. Thoſe who will not ſubmit to the King, as ſoon as they hear he comes towards their Quarters, load all they have on their Oxen and Camels, and retire to the moſt inacceſſible Mountains, where they intrench till he is gone back, leaving what they cannot carry, in Caves under Ground, over which they plow and ſow, that they may not be found; yet ſometimes they are diſcover'd by Dogs ſcratching over them. The *Barbarians* being the Remains of the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and *Vandals*, the ancient Conquerors of *Africk*, are withdrawn to the Mountains, before not inhabited; where they have built Villages, Houſes, and Caſtles, and planted Vines, Almond, Walnut, Olive, and abundance of other Fruit Trees, and breed much Cattle, which they ſell in the Towns, and buy Corn of the *Arabs*, who have no other Trade. Beſides the *Arabick*, which is the general Language of the Country, they uſe their own call'd *Chilca*. The *Arabs*, tho' the Nobler, are more oppreſs'd, with Taxes than the *Barbarians*, and oblig'd to make their Horſe attend the King in his Wars. When he apprehends they will not be Loyal to him in one Province, he tranſplants them into others; as *Muley Semein* did by the *Chavanets*, and other People of *Morocco*, after the taking of that City. The *Barbarians* do not ſerve in the Wars, unleſs it be of their own accord, becauſe of the Taxes they pay to be exempted; and conſequently they are good for nothing, when out of their Mountains, being unfit for Fight, unleſs cover'd by the Rocks. It is they that lie generally on the Highways, and rob Travellers; for there being ſeveral Hords or Nations among them that do not own the King, they come down upon the *Arabs*, whom they ſurprize, and take all they have, before they can ſtand upon their Guard; and tho' they profeſs themſelves *Mahometans*, yet they live like Savages, knowing very little of their Law. They ſay it is enough to carry them to Heaven, that they know *Mahomet* is God's Friend: Nor can they ever agree with the *Arabs*, but when they are to fight the Chriſtians, who they believe are very ſoon to invade their Country, as well as the *Turks*; yet they had rather ſee the former than the latter, whom they reckon more cruel.

Barbarians.

Great men. The great Men are all clad much after the *Turiſh* Faſhion, as are the Burghers of Towns, who wear great looſe Coats, like the Peope of *Bearn*. The Peaſants wear only a woollen Shirt, without Breeches, and a Leather Girdle, and over that a *Haique*, which they wrap about them, as we ſee the *Iſraelites* painted, coming out of the Deſert. They all believe, the *French* will go as far as *Fez*, and

and lay Siege to it; but that they then gathering their Forces, ſhall oblige them to raiſe it, as it is written in their Prophecies; after which they ſhall paſs over to conquer *Spain*, and the reſt of Chriſtendom. That the Town of *Sale*, ſhall be the firſt Conqueſt of the King who enters their Country. This would be a glorious Enterprize, tho' it only ſerv'd to deſtroy thoſe Neſts of Pyrats, who take ſo many Chriſtian Ships, the Men whereof they ſell among themſelves, and the Goods to Chriſtians, who have ſo little Worth as to give them Arms and other Counterband Commodities in Exchange, which they afterwards make uſe of againſt us. It would be a great Act of Juſtice, in Chriſtian Princes, to put a ſtop to this illegal Proceeding, by puniſhing ſuch of their Subjects as have any Hand in this wicked Traffick. Formerly, when it was not us'd, thoſe Barbarians knew not to whom to ſell their Prizes, which were not for their Purpoſe, and finding ſo little Profit many of them gave over, and Pyracy almoſt ceas'd, which is fully re-eſtabliſh'd ſince the Chriſtian Merchants have bought the Spoils of their Brethren.

Women.

The *Mooriſh* and *Arabian* Women, eſpecially thoſe that live in Towns, are very Beautiful, Fair and Genteel in their Habit. The fatteſt are moſt admir'd, and therefore, they never wear anything that may confine their Bodies, but give themſelves full Liberty to ſpread. They all wear Scarfes girt about their Bellies. Going abroad, they cover themſelves with very fine large white Veils, call'd *Haiques*, bound about the middle of the Face, that they may not be known, leaving only their Eyes bare, to ſee the way. They never ſpeak to any Man in the Street, not even their own Husbands, who cannot know, tho' they meet them, becauſe they are all cloath'd alike. They keep themſelves very clean, and often waſh in their Baths. Tho' for the moſt part, ſeveral of them have but one Husband, they are not jealous of one another, and yet generally live altogether: The richer Sort allow each of them an Apartment or Chamber, and Servants apart, and live with them by turns: Princes and Great Men, who deal not ſo fairly, keep them all ſhut up in their Palaces, under the Guard of an Eunuch, becauſe they cannot get many to keep them apart; for there are none but what come out of *Guinea*, and are preſented to the King, who ſometimes gives them one.

Tho' it be impoſſible for the Women to ſee any Men in their Houſes, yet they want not Ingenuity to get Gallants, being furniſh'd with Black Women Slaves, that are wholly at their Diſpoſal, and ſerve them faithfully upon ſuch Occaſions: They make uſe of the Pretence of going to the Baths, or viſiting ſome of their Relations, with whom they ſtay but a Moment, then meet their

their Lovers, who conduct them to ſome Place provided for the Purpoſe. This is the eaſier, in regard that no Body ever takes the leaſt notice, tho' a Man ſtands a whole Day at a Door in the Street, nor will they ask him what he wants, which in *Europe* would look very ſuſpiciouſly.

No Man ſees the Women in their Houſe; for if any one happens to come in, they ſhut themſelves up, the Husband himſelf ſtanding before to hide them; and if he is to treat his Friends, the Women go up to the top of the Houſe, or into ſome Room above, till they are gone; and for this Reaſon their Entertainments are ſhort, for they do not ſtay to Diſcourſe and Divert themſelves, as we do. When the Women treat one another, the Husbands ſtay without in the Paſſage between the Doors and lye there, becauſe the Women do not make Entertainments of one ſingle Meal, but hold on for a Day or two, and always lye where they Sup; which is very ſerviceable to them towards abuſing their Husbands, who dare not, during that time ſet their Foot where they are. Thoſe who are of greater Quality, cannot impoſe on them ſo eaſily, being guarded by Eunuchs, who ſuffer no Perſon whatſoever to come in, or them to go out upon Pain of Life. Yet even theſe are ſometimes corrupted by them, when their Husbands go to the Wars. They are particularly fond of Chriſtians, on Account of their not being Circumcis'd, and uſe all Arts to gain the Affections of their own Slaves, that are allow'd to go into their Apartments. Their Heads are bare, except only a ſingle Veil of red, blue, or yellow Silk on them, and their Hair breaded with Tufts of black Wool in two Treſſes, which are ty'd together, and hang down behind. They ſuffer no Hair to grow upon their Body, but that on their Heads, Eye-brows and Eye-lids. Their Face and the inſide of their Hands they colour black, or yellow, and their Nails red; Paint their Cheeks with Vermillion, and comb their Eye-brows with the Soot of Gauls wear Pearl Necklaces, and Gold, or Silver Claſps to their Veils never go to the publick *Moſques*, being look'd upon as incapable of entring into Heaven, their Husbands ſaying, they were only created for Generation; but they ſay their Prayers at Home and on Fridays they go mourn over the Tombs of their departed Kindred, whilſt the Men are at the *Moſques*.

When their Children are born, the Relations and Friends of the Woman in the Straw, ſtay ſeveral Days making merry in her Houſe. The Chamber is adorn'd with rich Hangings, which they lend one another, and they ſhout for Joy, both within and at the Door. The 7th Day the Infant has his Name given him with the ſame rejoycing, but is not yet Circumcis'd, and is ſuck

led as among us; but when the Mother goes about the Town, ſhe carries him ſwaddled on her Back, where he ſleeps for the moſt part. The firſt thing they teach them, at 4 or 5 Years of Age, is to Curſe one another, the Parents taking much Pleaſure to ſee them very expert at it. Between 6 and 7 Years of Age they are generally Circumcis'd; tho' ſome ſtay till 14, and then ſent to School, to learn to Read and Write, and to be inſtructed in their Law. The very firſt Day they come thither, before they know their Letters, they put a Pen made of a Reed into their Hand, and make them write on a very ſmooth Walnut Tree Board, cover'd with a white Waſh, and every Day they wipe out what they have writ. Only the Natives have the Art of uſing Pens made of Reeds, cutting them according to the ſeveral Characters they deſign to write on the Paper, which is very ſcarce there, being all brought from abroad. The *Europeans* uſe Stork's Quils, which are only to be had, when thoſe Birds moult; for it is forbid to kill them, throughout all *Africk*, where they appear in great Numbers, about the eighth of *February*, and are gone again in *Auguſt*, thoſe People believing, that God at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, metamorphoz'd a Troop of *Arabs*, who us'd to rob the Pilgrims going to *Mecca*, into theſe Fowl. To this purpoſe I remember, that the firſt time the R. F. *Monnel* came upon the Redemption, certain Captives, who had been ranſom'd, kill'd ſome Storks, and being accus'd of it, to the Governour of *Sale*, the Religious were forc'd to pay 300 Crowns, to ſave them from being Baſtonado'd, Impriſon'd, or put into Irons.

The Children are kept at School, till they have all the Law by Heart. Then if their Parents are rich, they are walk'd about a Horſeback, finely clad, ſome of their School-fellows following a Horſeback alſo, and others going before a Foot, every now and then burning Frankincenſe before a Board, on which the main Articles of the Law are written, and which the Scholar holds in his Hands. Thus they go through all the Streets of the Town, to ſtir up Emulation in others, that they may ſoon learn, in Hopes of being ſo walk'd. When they return home, thoſe that bore them Company are entertain'd by the Father.

If the Children are put to learn any Trade, their Maſters pay them Wages from the very firſt Day, but no Diet, and take nothing for teaching them. They do no more than juſt pleaſes themſelves, and therefore there are few good Maſters. Till 15 Years of Age they are made to go bare headed, when they have red Caps given them, and are never marry'd ſooner. They have only a ſmall Tuft of Hair on the top of the Head, which, when grown up, they bread, and wear not the Turbant till marry'd.

Chap. III.

Of their Marriages, the Duties they pay to the Dying and Dead, and of the Renegadoes, the Blacks and the Jews.

Marriages. THE general Apprehenſion they all labour under, of marrying Wives that have loſt their Maiden-heads, makes them uſe all the Precautions they can think of to avoid it. No Man marries a Wife, but what is given by her Kindred. When the Man is of Age, the chief of the Family conſults with his Friends about the Houſe he deſigns to be ally'd into, in caſe there be no Virgin of his own Race within the ſecond or third Degree of Conſanguinity, fit for him. The Maiden being pitch'd upon, and demanded of her Kindred, the Mother, or Siſter of the Bridegroom goes to Compliment her, in his Name, and returns to give him an Account of all her Beauties and Perfections, and he is ſhown to her, but ſhe is not ſeen by him. This done, if they are both ſatisfy'd, the Relations on both ſides meet, with a publick Notary, and coming to the Door of the Houſe, where the Maiden lives, draw up the Articles, mentioning what Portion ſhe is to bring, the Bridegroom obliging himſelf to ſtand to the Contract, in caſe he finds his Bride ſuch as the Law requires, that is, a Virgin, which if ſhe prove not, it is expreſs'd, that it ſhall be lawful for him to take away all he has given her, on Account of Marriage, and to reſtore her to her Kindred, for them to do Juſtice, as they ſhall think fit. All things being thus ſetled, he ſends Cloaths, according to her Quality, which are carry'd in State, with Drums beating, and Hautbois playing. On the Wedding Day, the Husbands treats all the Friends of both Families at his Houſe, and the Wife the Women on both Sides, at her Fathers. About four in the Afternoon, all the Bridegrooms Gueſts and Neighbours, go to the Brides Houſe to conduct her. The reſt of the Ceremonies may be ſeen in the eighth Chapter of the Captivity, and therefore need not to be here repeated. Widdows are not ſubject to all the Ceremonies there mention'd, it is enough that they have a good Reputation, and have not been found faulty by their firſt Husband.

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The Country People, both *Arabs* and *Barbarians*, do not follow theſe Rules, or uſe ſuch Precautions, unleſs it be their *Checques*, and the wealthieſt among them; and even they are not ſo nice, provided the Bride has been known by none but the King, being preſented to him by her Father, to obtain ſome Favour: It is enough that they produce Certificates, teſtifying, that had they not been amiable, the King would not have been concern'd with them; and on this account they value them the more, as Women of Quality, and the King's Wives.

Dying People.

When the *Moors* are at the laſt Gaſp, they turn their Heads towards the Eaſt, becauſe *Mecca* where *Mahomet*'s Tomb is, lies that Way. They make them repeat their Creed beforemention'd; and in regard that the ſick Perſon, by reaſon of his Weakneſs, could not waſh away his Sins, and be purify'd with Water; as ſoon as dead, thoſe of the ſame Sex lay him on a Table made for that Purpoſe, waſh all the Body with hot Water firſt, and then with cold, and then ſhrowd him in a Piece of Cotton Cloth: Then the Friends come, and receive the Body at the Door, and attend it to the Burial Place, ſaying; *La illa illenla*, &c. which they repeat till it is in the Grave. They lay ſome Boards upon the Body, or elſe great flat Stones on the Grave, becauſe they uſe no Coffins. If it be a Perſon of Subſtance, they adorn the Grave with Flowers, with Baniſters about it, and lay Meat on it for the Poor that come to pray there. When the Men are gone, the Women, Kindred, Neighbours, and Friends of the deceaſed come to mourn in the Houſe: They ſtand all in a Ring, as it were to dance the Brawls, and make frightful Cries, tearing the very Skin off their Cheeks with their Nails. The dead Men's Wives and Daughters dawb all their Cloaths with Dirt or Greaſe, without changing them or their Linnen for a whole Month: Then the Mourners, before they depart, make one good Meal of the Proviſions ſent in by the Friends of the Deceaſed, becauſe they light no Fire in the Houſe for ſeveral Days.

And dead.

Thoſe that die of the Plague, are not depriv'd of theſe Ceremonies, but attended till Death, as if they had no ſuch Diſtemper. They wear their Cloths without cleanſing, lie on their Beds, and make no account of that Contagious Diſeaſe, chuſing rather to hazard their Lives, than to burn that which very often is of very little Value. That which makes them ſo bold, is their believing Predeſtination; and therefore they ſay that Diſtemper, by them call'd *Amar Alla*, or *Louba*, that is, *A Plague ſent by God*, is intended for thoſe he is to kill; and therefore they are pre-ordain'd to die, let them go where they will, even tho' they were

hid under the Sea. Notwithſtanding this Opinion of theirs, many who had not Faith enough in it, retir'd to the cold Mountains, in the Years 1678, 1679, and 1680, and the King the firſt of them, to get out of the Way of it. The Number of thoſe that died in the Towns during thoſe Years, ſeems almoſt incredible; and I have thought fit to ſet it down here, to ſhew how populous they are. They reckon that at *Tetuan*, where the Contagion laſted two Years, there died 25000 Perſons; at *Alcaſſar* and *Arzila* 32000; at *Miquenez* in 3 Years 52000; at *Fez-Belle* in the ſame time, 70000; at *Fez-Gedide* 15000; at *Sale* in two Years, 18000; at *Azamor* 8000; at *Morocco* in 2 Years, 40000; at *Tarudant*, 25000; *Saphya*, *Valadil*, and *Theza* were almoſt left deſert; and at *Taffilet*, in the City and Caſtle, 70000. Theſe Numbers were ſent the King, certify'd by the *Cadys* of thoſe Places, the laſt Year, to beg an Abatement of the Taxes, which he demanded after the uſual Manner. He had ſome Conſideration of it; but it is likely that the Inhabitants of the Towns increas'd the Numbers, to incline him to grant their Requeſt. I do not reckon all thoſe that died in the Country, which was almoſt unpeopled, ſo dreadful was that Infection.

Renegado's. When a Chriſtian has declar'd he will renounce our Holy Law, to embrace that of the *Alcoran*, they preſently carry him to a *Moſque*, whence he cannot come out again without Apoſtatizing or loſing his Life; and this they do, to the end that if going in he ſhould happen to have any Remorſe, there may be no Place for Retreat: Then he appears before his Maſter, and in his Preſence with an audible Voice utters theſe Words; *La illa illenla* Mahamet *Dara Soulla*, without any other Ceremony; and if he deſires to learn the Law, he may afterwards do it by converſing with other *Mahometans*. Few come to this diſmal Extremity, till almoſt compell'd by Neceſſity, to be deliver'd from exceſſive Labour, and the ill Uſage of their Maſters, who perſecute them for being Chriſtians; and I poſitively know that many do not yield, till they have no Hope of being ranſom'd, believing they may by that means have the better Opportunity to make their Eſcape into ſome Chriſtian Country; but if taken running away, they are burnt without Remiſſion.

The Kings and Great Mens Slaves that Apoſtatize, and renounce their Faith, are walk'd about the Town on Horſeback, in triumphant Manner, with the Noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, holding a ſmall Wand in their right Hand, with the End up towards Heaven, to denote that they acknowledge and adore only one God, without any Trinity of Perſons: Some Days after, they are circumcis'd without any other Ceremony: However, they remain

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as much Slaves as they were before; but are not expos'd to ſo much Labour and Toil. The King makes them Porters at his Palace Gates, when he is there; and when in the Field, they march at the Head of all the Troops, and are cut in Pieces if they ſhew the leaſt Inclination to give Ground, the ſmalleſt Fault being puniſh'd in them as dear as in the Native *Moors*.

Blacks.

Tho' the Blacks be neareſt about the King's Perſon, and ſerve as his Guards, they are never the leſs miſerable; and tho' clad in rich Silks, they are cut in Pieces for the moſt inconſidrable Faults. All the Works are full of them, where they may be ſeen cover'd with Bruiſes, and loaded with Irons: They are kept ſo humble, that they come to him when call'd to be cut in Pieces, without putting him to the Trouble of going to them. The Guard generally attending him on Horſeback, when he goes abroad, conſiſts of little Blacks, between 12 and 15 Years of Age, whoſe Mothers ſerve in the *Seraglio*, not daring to commit his Perſon to any older, for fear they ſhould meditate Revenge for his Severity towards them. Only their Officers wait at Table, and perform his Orders, believing thoſe young Lads incapable of any Deſign againſt his Perſon, tho' he treats them no better than the others. Thoſe who Garriſon his Caſtles are ſomething better, being out of their Maſter's Sight; and being the King's Slaves, he allows them nothing but Meat and Cloaths. There are always about 8002 of them, Horſe and Foot, in his Army, being the beſt Soldiers, who fight next his Perſon, with Fire-Arms. Thoſe who behave themſelves beſt, arrive to the chief Poſts in the Army, or the Government of ſome Town. Theſe Blacks are ſo proud, becauſe of the Confidence the King places In them, that all the *Moors* quake at their Sight, and honour them as if they were Lords.

Jews.

The *Jews* are very numerous in *Barbary*, and no better look'd upon than in other Parts; but on the contrary are the firſt employ'd about it, if there be any Filth to carry out: They are oblig'd to work at their Trades for the King, when call'd upon, and ſubject to be beaten and affronted by every Body, without daring to ſpeak a Word, if a Boy of 6 Years of Age throw Stones at them. If they happen to paſs by the Door of a *Moſque* at any time whatſoever, they muſt take off their Shoes, not daring to wear them even in the Royal Cities, as *Fez* and *Morocco*, upon pain of 500 Baſtinadoes, and Impriſonment till they pay a conſiderable Fine. Their Habit is after the *Arabian* Faſhion; but their Cloaks and Caps black, by way of Diſtinction. In *Fez* and *Morocco* they live apart from the other Inhabitants, having ſeparate Quarters wall'd in, the Gates whereof are kept by the King's Officers, that

that they may trade peaceably, and keep their Sabbath and other Feſtivals. In other Towns they are mixt among the *Moors*, and only follow Merchandize and their Trades. Many of them are very rich, who carry it no higher than the meaner Sort. They keep Correſpondence with the *Jews* in *Europe*, who, by conſent of the Conſuls, ſend them Arms and Ammunition.

In every Town, they have a *Cheque* or Chief of their own, either choſen by them, or appointed by the King, and this *Checque* raiſes the Taxes everyHouſe is to pay the King. They ſeldom go alone into the Country; becauſe the *Arabs* and *Barbarians* generally cut their Throats; and there is ſcarce ever Juſtice done them in that Country. If they talk much in their own Defence, before a Governour, for every one pleads his own Cauſe in *Barbary*, without Counſellors or Lawyers, he makes his Guards buffet them. When they Bury any of their number, the Boys beat, and throw Stones at them, Spit in their Faces and give them a thouſand Curſes. Among themſelves they exerciſe wonderful Charity towards their Poor, never ſuffering them to beg, and their *Checque* Taxing every Family, according to their Ability. Theſe are the Miſeries of thoſe People, formerly Gods-Elect, and now the Scorn and Refuſe of all Nations, according to the Words of the 26th Chapter of *Leviticus*.

CHAP. IV.

The Deſcription of the Kingdom of Fez.

THis Kingdom was formerly known by the name of *Mauritania*, whence the Natives of it are to this Day call'd *Moors*.

Temperature. It is temperate enough, excepting only during the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, when the Heat is exceſſive and the Soil is fertile, abounding in all ſorts of Grain and Paſture, ſo that there are great numbers of tame Cattle. The Plains lying along the Sea, from *Taguedart* to *Azamor*, are inhabited only by *Arabs* living in

Fertility. Tents. In Summer they live upon the Banks of Rivers and marſhy Grounds; and in the Winter rainy Seaſon they retire to the higher Grounds, to avoid the Waters; ſo that Travellers, are for

Plains. the moſt part oblig'd to lye in the open Fields, expoſed to the Weather, not knowing where to find any Lodging; and to carry their Proviſions along with them, or want, without they would go 2 or 3 Leagues out of the Way to find ſome Hord, where there is little to be had.

Thoſe

Thoſe wretched People, who Till but as much Land as barely ſerves to maintain them, and pay the Kings Taxes, make a ſhift with a little Meal, boil'd in Water, with ſome Milk, or elſe with a little Barley, toaſted in a Pan, or a Cake bak'd in an Earthen Pot, with dry'd Cows Dung, which they burn inſtead of Wood, this being ſcarce in many Places. For a Dainty they eat *Couſcouſou*, before deſcrib'd in the third Chapter of the Captivity, to which they add ſome *Cardons*, that is, the Hearts of Thiſtles boil'd in Milk, ſome Mallows, and wild Fennel, with a little bit of Fleſh dry'd in the Sun, and this on their great Feſtivals, or at Weddings. Some there are that Sow their Corn before they Till or Manure, to ſave trouble, and yet it grows plentifully; becauſe Sowing always on freſh Ground, the Goodneſs of the Soil and the great Rains during the Winter, and Spring make it run up at any rate. They do not live always in the ſame Place but when weary of one, remove to another, where they always find Land to Sow; becauſe it is not worn out the tenth Part ſo much as in *Europe*. Arabs *how they live.*

There are alſo Mountains running from the River *Taguedart*, which is between *Arzila* and *Cape Spartel*, to the Frontiers of *Tremeſen*. Theſe Mountains are inhabited by *Arabs*, from *Taguedart* as far as *Jebel Zebibe*, *Benzeroel*, and *Tetuan*; from *Tetuan* on the Right to *Fez* and *Meluya*, and from *Meluya* to *Melilla*, the *Barbarians* have built Villages, and rais'd Caſtles to defend themſelves againſt the Weather and their Enemies. Beſides Fruit they have abundance of Bee Hives, which yield them much Wax, and that they ſell to the Chriſtians at the Sea Ports. There are ſome Iron Mines; but they know not how to cleanſe it, and only make Nails and ſome miſhapen Tools. Their Language differs quite from the *Arabick*, as has been obſerv'd before. There are eight Provinces in this Kingdom, viz. *Alcalaya*, or *Alcaladia*, *Riffe*, *Algarve*, the Mountains of *Serhon*, of *Zoavias*, and of *Meluya*, *Aſciz* and *Temeſena*. *Mountains*

Alcaladia is the fartheſt Province to the Eaſtward, bordering on the Kingdom of *Tremeſen* on that Side, on the Province of *Riffe* Weſtward, reaching to Mount *Atlas* on the South, and lying along the *Mediteranean*, on the North. In the South Part of it is the Town of *Quiviana* near Mount *Atlas*; about the middle of it is the Caſtle of *Dar-Michael*, and on the North the Fortreſs of *Melilla*, at the mouth of the River *Meluya*, Garriſon'd by the *Spaniards*. This Country has many high Mountains, but its Plains are very fruitful in all ſorts of Grain. Alcaladia *Province.*

Riffe is the next Province, bordering on the laſt to the Eaſtward, on *Algarve* and *Aſciz*, or *Fez* Weſtward, which laſt, with the Riffe *Province.*

the Mountains of *Serhon* encloſe it Southward, and the *Mediterranean* ſhuts it upon the North. It contains many Caſtles, the Chief whereof are *Neucour*, *Boutoya*, *Tafarſis*, *Bellez*, and that of *Theza*, with the Town of the ſame Name. The ſtrong Holds of *Albouzema* and *Pennon de Velez* on the Coaſt, are held by the *Spaniards*. This Province is all Mountainous, but abounds in Fruit, particularly Olives, and has much Wax.

Algave *Province.* *Algarve* is a rich and ſpacious Province, abounding in Corn, and Cattle, as having very little Mountain, and being water'd by ſeveral Rivers, and Brooks. The North Coaſt of it lyes on the Streights of *Gibraltar*, the Weſt is water'd by the Ocean, as is great Part of the Eaſt, only where it joins to the Province of *Riffe* and the South is ſhut in by the Rivers *Sebou*, and *Ouraga*. The Towns of Note in it are, 1. *Alcaſſar*, ſeated on the North Eaſt Side of the River *Loucous*, along which there are very many Gardins, all of them as well as the Town it ſelf ſometimes overflow'd, in the Rainy Seaſons. It is 5 Leagues from the Ocean, and has only an old Wall, without any Caſtle, ſee, more of it in Chapter vi. of the Captivity. 2. *Tetuan* built on the Declivity of a Hill, and before deſcrib'd in the x. Chapter of the Captivity. 3. *Arzila* ſtands on the Edge of the Ocean, is an inconſiderable Town, was long poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſes*, but at laſt abandon'd, and the Port is only fit for Fiſhers Barks. 4. *Ceuta*, juſt within the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and almoſt oppoſite to the Town of that Name, now in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, (tho' it has been ſeveral Years beſieg'd by the *Moors*. 5. *Tangier*, at the very Mouth of the aforeſaid Streights after ſeveral Years Poſſeſſion blown up, and deſtroy'd by the *Engliſh*.

Temeſena *Province.* *Temeſena* is a Province as fertil, and well peopled by *Arabs* as that of *Algarve*, the Ocean waſhing it on the North and Weſt, the Province of *Fez*, or *Aſciz* borders on it to the Eaſt, and the Mountains of *Zouvias* are to the South. The only Town of Note in it is *Amfa*, or *Anafe*, ſeated on the Edge of the Ocean, left deſert, an infinite Number of Ants having drove away all the Inhabitants. The Walls and Houſes are ſtill ſtanding; but only ſerve for a Retreat to Lions, and other wild Beaſts, whereof there are great Numbers, in the Foreſt of *Bouget*, which is at a ſmall Diſtance.

Serhon *Province.* *Serhon* is a Province all Mountains, but abounding in Corn, Oil, and all Sorts of Fruit. It has *Algarve* on the North, *Fez*, or *Aſciz* on the South and Weſt, and *Riffe* on the Eaſt. There is never a Town, but only Villages ſcatter'd up and down. The moſt conſiderable thing in it, beſides what has been ſaid, is many great

great Rocks of Salt. The higheſt Tops of the Hills are cover'd with Snow in Winter, which melting in Summer, hardens at the Foot of the Rocks, and turns to white Salt, whereof every Man takes what he pleaſes, without paying for it.

Fez or Aſciz Province.

Fez, or *Aſciz*, or *Seis* is the Principal Province of this Kingdom, lying in the center of it, enclos'd by the Mountains of *Serhon* on the North, and North Weſt, by thoſe of *Theza*, and *Riffe* on the Eaſt; and thoſe of *Meluya* and *Zaovias* on the South and South Weſt; one narrow Slip running out to the Ocean, Weſtward, where the Town of *Sale* ſtands. It is a pleaſant Country, fruitful and abounding in all things, and water'd by ſeveral Rivers, running by the Cities of *Fez* and *Miquenez*. The prime Places in this Province are.

Old Fez City.

Fez-Bele, or, *Old Fez* the Capital City of the Kingdom, founded by *Muley Drice*, the firſt *Arabian* King that govern'd the Country, and look'd upon as a Saint, for having compell'd many *Jews*, who firſt inhabited it, to follow the *Alcoran*. Their Race continues there to this Day, and no Chriſtian, or *Jew* is allow'd to paſs through their Street. His Tomb is on the Mountains of *Serhon*, where all Perſons flying from the King's Wrath, or the Hands of Juſtice are allow'd Sanctuary, and his Houſe has the ſame Privilege. The ſaid *Muley Drice* built this City on the Declivity of two Hills, by Reaſon that a River ran betwixt them. It is of a moderate Bigneſs, the Plain neither round, nor ſquare, becauſe the Walls ſtretch out a little in Length towards the North Weſt and South Eaſt; but towards the North Eaſt and South Weſt they are ſquare. There neither are, nor ever were, any Suburbs, as ſome would make us believe; nor was it ever richer, or greater than deſcrib'd by me; for I ſpeak of what I have ſeen, as it really is, and not by Hear-ſay, as thoſe Gentlemen do. This City is extraordinary rich, as having all the Trade of the Country, and ſupplying *Taffilet*, and other remote Provinces, with all they ſtand in Need of. The Circumference is about 4 Leagues; but there are Abundance of Gardens within the Walls. There are very fine lofty Houſes, tarras'd at Top, and tho' they make no great Show outwards, are very handſome within. The Streets are very narrow, and have ſeveral Gates, to ſhut them up at Night, that no Perſon may paſs from one Quarter to another. Beſides thoſe within there are Gardins for above a League round without, producing great Plenty of Fruit, and Herbs. There are two Caſtles, without any Cannon. The one is very ancient, and the Walls of it on the South Weſt Side moſtly ruin'd, the other New on the Weſt North Weſt Part of the City, built by *Muley Arehy*, to lodge his *Alcaydes*, from whom

Muley Semein took it, at the beginning of his Reign, to put in a Garriſon of Blacks. There are alſo two Baſtions, on the two Sides of the Town, where the Wall ſtretches out in Length, they are rais'd upon two Hills, and obtuſe, with two Iron Guns on each of them. A River coming down from *Fez Gedide* runs through the midſt of the City, where it ſpreads into ſix Branches, ſo conveniently as to furniſh all the Houſes with Water, every one having three or four Fountains. This River ſo divided drives 366 Mills, and ſerves as many Baths. There are alſo 366 Ovens, for the Service of the Inhabitants; and they Baking their Bread every Day, the Ovens are continually employ'd, till four in the afternoon, and later. Here are four Principal *Gemmes*, or *Moſques*, and above 500 ſmaller. The firſt call'd *Carouyn*, being the Reſidence of the *Cady*, or High Prieſt of their Law, is of a great Compaſs; and contains 366 Pillars of Brick, built with Arches, between 10 and 12 Foot high. In the midſt of it is a great Court, and in it 12 large Baſons Spouting Water to waſh and cleanſe thoſe that go in to make the *Sala*, or pray. The Floor is in Squares of all Sorts of Colours curiouſly wrought. Without there are Fountains for thoſe that paſs by to drink, and a vaſt Number of Lamps within, which are lighted in the Evening, at the uſual Hour of Prayers. All the Pillars, to a Man's Height are cover'd about with Mats of all Sorts of Colours, very pleaſing to the Eye, and a courſer Sort is laid on the Floor to ſit on. This *Moſque* has 30 great Gates cover'd with Copper Plates, and near it are Colleges, where they Study who deſign to be *Talbes*, or Prieſts, in the other Towns and Provinces of the Kingdom. The ſtatelieſt of them is that built by *Muley Archy*. In theſe Colleges they learn only the pureſt *Arabick*, that is, ſuch as the *Alcoran* was writ in, which differs much from that vulgarly ſpoken; and only the *Talbes*, and ſuch as have ſtudy'd can expound it. There is no *Latin*, or Philoſophy taught there, as ſome Authors have pretended in their Writings. There are alſo ſome ſmall Hoſpitals, for ſick Strangers, and for the incurable, who are maintain'd by the Charity of devout Perſons, that leave them Legacies at their Death. The incurable and ſick Strangers are alſo entertain'd, and there they allow for burying of ſuch as have it not of their own. There are great Revenues belonging to the *Moſques*, for all the Shops belong to them, as do ſome Gardens. The publick Notaries keep their Offices before the Gates of this *Gemme*, which ſtands in the Center of the City, for the Conveniency of Merchants and Tradeſmen, who have moſt of them their Shops about that Place, and not where they live, as in *Europe*. This City has ſeven principal Gates, and the River *Sebou*, which runs to the North Eaſt, comes from

from the Mountains of *Theza*, and below the Town receives that of *Ouarga*, flowing from *Fazeze*, and that of *Enques* falling from *Serhon*. To the North of it is a very high and long Mountain, at the Foot whereof there are Abundance of Olive Trees, as well as on the South East Side, which makes Oil very cheap there: The Inhabitants are inclin'd to Rebellion, and have often oppos'd their Kings, and among 34 against whom they had taken up Arms, *Muley Semein* was the only one who entirely subdu'd them, whilst I was there.

New Fez City.

The City of *Fez-Gedide*, or *New Fez*, which is directly over *Fez-Belle*, or *Old Fez*, serves instead of a Citadel to it, and was built by *Beny-Marini*, about 500 Year since, at the time when he besieg'd the other *Fez*. It is enclos'd with a Wall ten Spans thick, flank'd with good Towers, Bastions, and several Half Moons without. *Muley Arthy* built a Palace there, and a *Seraglio*, and repair'd the old ones which where going to Ruin. That Palace is in the midst of the City, and before the great Gate of it a spacious Square, where they draw up the Horses of the Noble Men, that come to Court. Three Hundred *Guinea* Blacks guard the Square, and their Captain takes Care to open and shut the City and Palace Gates, and to post the Guards. On the Right is the great *Mosque*, a large Gate leading into it, at the upper end, and opposite to it are two other Gates, the one very Ancient, and the other quite New; the Old one leads to the Palace, and the New to the Castle, and to the Stables built by *Muley Semein*. At that first Gate they pass under an Iron Chain, to enter a very narrow Lane, leading to the first Court. There stand the Servants and Slaves of the Nobility, who are in the second Court, at the two Ends whereof are two large Halls 60 foot long, and 30 in Breadth, cover'd with glaz'd Tiles. The vaulted Roofs are all of *Mosaick* fret Work, gilt and painted, and about two foot in Breadth, under them there are curious Works in Plaister, representing all Sorts of Flowers, exquisitely wrought. The Pavement is in small Squares of all Colours; and about the Walls up to a Man's Height, it is inlaid in small Pieces representing all Sorts of Roses, and other Flowers. On the Right and Left there are Galleries with flat Roofs, the gilded and painted Girders and Joyces whereof are supported by lofty Pillars. They are pav'd and adorn'd with Carv'd Work, like the Halls, with Abundance of Banisters, two Jasper Shells, and a great Marble Bason in the middle, spouting great Store of Water, and four Orange Trees are in the four Corners. On the left of this Court is a small *Mosque*, where the King goes to pray at Night, and when he thinks fit. Next follows a long Entry very dark, because the *Moors* do not use to make any Windows to their

Houſes, but give all the Light at the Door, which is therefore very wide and lofty. Then you come into the laſt Square, where is a long Fiſh Pond, with many Orange Trees on both Sides of it. At the Ends are two large Rooms, the one of them ſquare, its Roof ſupported by 12 Columns of white Marble, and in the midſt a Shell of the ſame Stone, with a plentiful Spout of Water. Theſe Rooms are painted, gilded and adorn'd with Sculptures, like the former. Before them are Galleries, whoſe carv'd, painted, and gilded Beams, and Girders are ſupported by 12 other Marble Pillars, on which reſt ſix Wooden Arches, as curiouſly wrought as any of thoſe already mention'd. In this Place the King uſually eat his Meals; gave Audience to thoſe that had Buſineſs with him, and committed his Murders, whilſt he reſided at *Fez*. On the Right and Left of the Fiſh Pond are the King's Stables, and his Stores of Arms, and Goods, and the way into the *Seraglio* is on the Right, being a plain Entry, painted at the Top. The *Seraglio* conſiſts of only two ſpacious Rooms, painted and pav'd like the former, with ſeveral Marble Columns, of various Sizes ſupporting Arches which run round the Court, as thoſe do in the Palace. In the midſt of it works up a Marble Fountain going down four Steps, and in the Shape of a Star. At the End, towards the left as you come in, is a Tower of a wonderful Height, cover'd with Glaz'd Tiles, like all the Rooms, and on it are three extraordinary large Apples of Copper Gilt. This is the Tower that ſhook, before the Death of *Muley Archy*. Under it are the Baths and Privies of the *Seraglio*. Without is a Garden Spot of Flowers and Fruit, with which thoſe within have no Communication. Before we come into this *Seraglio*, there is a lofty high Apartment. The Walls and Roofs of its four Chambers are quite cover'd with Plates and Leafs of Gold, and was built with ſuch Expedition, as to be finiſh'd in a Month; for which *Muley Archy* generouſly rewarded the Architects. There he lodg'd a *Spaniſh* Renegado Woman, whom he lov'd above all the reſt. The King's Garden lyes between theſe Walls and yields Fruit and Herbs for the Expence of the *Seraglio*, and along the middle of it runs an Arbour fram'd in Squares, and cover'd with Vines, bearing black Grapes as big as Plums, and of a delicious Taſt. Without the City at a Place call'd *Commice*, is a Caſtle begun by *Muley Archy*, and left unfiniſh'd, on Aeconnt of the Harm it might do, if they within it ſhould Rebel; becauſe it ſtands on a high Ground and commands the City that is in a Plain. There is a long high Wall, which runs directly from that they call the Lions Gate almoſt to the Caſtle, and ſerves for a Place of Execution, where they Impale and Expoſe the Bodies of thoſe the

King,

King, or the Judges condemn to Death. Some other Particulars relating to these two Cities, omitted in this Place, see in the iii. Chapter of the Captivity.

Miquenez, the other Capital City in this same Province, has been described in the 10th Chapter of the Captivity, to which the Reader is referr'd, and to the 2d Chapter of the same, for the Description of *Sale*. Miquenez *and* Sale

Meluya is a Province consisting of high Mountains, which are a Part of the great Mount *Atlas*, and takes its Name from the River so call'd, rising in the midst of them, and falling into the *Mediterranean*, close by the Town of *Melilla*. These Hills bear abundance of Pine and Fir-Trees, which the *Barbarians* carry down to the Villages for building of Houses; and that is their chiefest Income. Over them is the only Way from *Fez* to *Taffilet*, which is reckon'd 100 Leagues. There are Multitudes of Lions, Tigers, wild Boars and Wolves in the Forests of *Azerot*, *Safaron* and *Benyazega*. These *Barbarians* sometimes own the King of *Fez* for their Sovereign, and sometimes not. Meluya *Province.*

The Province of *Zaovias* consists of another Parcel of Mountains, proceeding from those of *Itata*. At the foot of them stands the City of the same Name, by which passes the River *Sera*, descending from the same Hills, and falling into the *Marbea*. This last also receives those of *Oumana*, *Derna*, *Louet de Leibit*, or of the Blacks, *Tadela*, or *Fistella* and *Tasaut*. The *Marbea* from *Louet de Leibit*, or the River of the Blacks, which is as rapid as the *Rhosne*, divides the Kingdom of *Morocco* from that of *Fez*. There is a Bridge over it, between *Derna* and *Oumana*, with a Castle built there by *Muley Semein* for its Security; because the *Barbarians* were wont to break it down when they revolted. This Country of *Zaovias* is the poorest in all the Kingdom. Zaovias *Province.*

The Kingdom of *Morocco*, and the Principality of *Sus*, have been both spoken of in the vth. Chapter of the Captivity, wherefore I shall only add a short Account of the Kingdom of *Taffilet*. It is a large Country, beyond Mount *Atlas*, 6 or 7 Score Leagues from the Sea, South East from the City of *Fez*, and formerly known by the Name of *Numidia*. It is extraordinary sandy, and for the most Part barren, by reason of the excessive Heat lasting almost all the Year. No Wheat grows there, and it costs much trouble to bring up a little Barley sow'd along the River Sides, when it rains, which is but seldom. Only the *Cheriffs* and *Alcaydes*, who are the Nobility of the Country can buy it, because too dear for the common Sort, who are wretched poor, and live upon nothing but Dates and Camel's Flesh. Water is very scarce Morocco *and* Sus. Taffilet *Kingdom.*

ſcarce, at any diſtance from the Rivers, and there is none but of Rain, which ſome Winters falls plentifully, and is preſerv'd in Ceſterns, ſo that both Men, and ſuch Creatures as are kept Tame, for the moſt part drink only Camels Milk, that Beaſt relieving the Thirſt of others, and being able to live two Days without Drink. The Provinces of this Kingdom are thoſe of *Touet*, on the Eaſt; of *Dras* on the South; and the Deſerts of *Sara*, containing the Nations of *Frequela*, *Toudega*, *Leguerify*, *Tonguedout*, *Sedrat*, *Mougouna*, *Secoura* and *Hadet*, each living about the River of the ſame Name, and come from the Mountains *Atlas*, *Zaimby* and *Guilaoa*.

Taffilet *City.* There is none but the City of *Taffilet* in this Kingdom, ſeated on the River which gives Name to it, and all the Country. The Inhabitants, of this Dominion are of three Sorts, *Cheriffs*, *Arabs* and *Barbarians*. The firſt are deſcended from the Impoſtor *Mahomet*, and live in Caſtles. The *Arabs* were brought in with the others, and their Prince *Muley Meherez*, by *Muley Almanzor*; and the *Barbarians* were the ancient Inhabitants. They are a tall ſlender and ſwarthy People, living in Villages on the Mountains, and breeding ſome Cattle, which they exchange with the *Arabs* for Dates. Here are Abundance of Oſtridges, as large as ſmall Heifers of ſix Months, very Fat, which they run down, and are good Meat. The Country has great Numbers of Dromedaries, which they call *Mehery*, and are like Camels in all reſpects, bating that their Bodies and Legs are ſlenderer, and they have two Bunches on their Backs, the one ſmaller than the other. They are ſo ſwift, that they will ſometimes travel as far in a Day and a Night, as a good Horſe could do in a Week. When firſt brought into the World they lye ſtill ſeveral Days, as if aſleep. The *Barbarians* tye a Purſe about their Neck, into which they put a little Stone every Day, to reckon how many they lye in that dead Sleep, and affirm that as many Days as that Slumber continues on them, ſo many Days Journey of a Horſe they will be able to perform in 24 Hours. Several credible Chriſtians ſaw a Man at *Fez*, who being ſent from *Morocco* at Sun riſing went to *Fez* with ſome Orders, and the next Day at five in the Evening return'd to *Morocco*, having travell'd 200 Leagues in two Days, upon only two Camels. The ſame Man being juſt come, ſaid, he would ſtill go to *Tangier* to carry their Letters, if they pleas'd, and bring back the Anſwer the next Day, at the opening of the Gates, tho' *Tangier* is 60 Leagues from *Fez*.

This

This is what I could obſerve among thoſe *Barbarians* during my Captivity. The hard Labour I was put to in the Day time, did not hinder me loſing part of my Reſt to write what I have here deliver'd. I know others have treated of this ſame Subject, but can teſtify they have ſaid more than they could make out, being wanting in that Sincerity they ought to have obſerv'd, for gaining their Writings an honourable Reputation. I own I do not expreſs things with that Politeneſs and Eloquency as another might do; yet it muſt be granted to be very much, that a Man, who has been Captive 11 Years, and taken at the Age of 19, without any Books to read, and always kept to ſuch hard Labour, as might make him forget his Mother Tongue, ſhould ſtill preſerve ſo much as to expreſs himſelf and be underſtood; and that inſtead of employing himſelf, like others, in lamenting his Captivity, he ſhould by this Employment ſeek the Means to bear above his Misfortunes; which I always did, with an Entire Reſignation to the Will of God, who deliver'd me at a time, when I had loſt all Hopes of recovering my Liberty.

FINIS.

A Short ACCOUNT OF THE Nobleſt Families of the *Moors*.

THat of the Sheriffs of *Taffilet*, deſcended from *Mahomet*, of which Race the preſent Kings of *Fez* and *Morocco* are, bears the Names of *Delheuſenin* and *Meherez*.

The *Drices* are the Offspring of the Founder of *Old Fez*, and live in that City.

The *Merines* iſſue from the ancient Kings of *Fez*, who built *New Fez*, and loſt the Kingdom to the Sheriffs.

The *Araſes*, ancient Princes of the Province of *Riffe*, the Chiefs whereof were cut off by *Muley Semein*, and the Remainder retir'd to *Muley Hamet*, Viceroy of *Morocco*.

The *Ben-Yencourts*, ally'd to the *Araſes*, Lords of *Neucour*, in the Province of *Riffe*, retir'd to the ſame *Muley Hamet*

The *Anacaciz*, Kindred of Prince *Gayland*, after his Death, withdrew to *Ceuta* and live there, under the King of *Spain*'s Protection.

The *Hamemins* have been Governours, or *Alcaydes* of *Algarve* and *Tetuan*.

Filely was Grand Vizier. *Zelquetin* Great Treaſurer. *Menſano* Maſter of the Houſhold, or of the *Seraglio* at *Fez*. *Gerari*, *Baſſa*, or General of the Army. *Bortema*, Great *Alcayde*, Governour to *Muley Meherez*, the King's eldeſt Son. *Boiſa*, Maſter of the Horſe. *Bouchiche*, *Alcayde* of the Tents in the King's Army. *Rouſſi*, Governour of *Old Fez*. *Marino*, Viceroy of *Algarve* and Governour of *Sale*. *Squerdo*, another Governour of *Sale*. *Pantouja*, of the ſame Place. *Berry*, Governour of *Miquenez*. *Bouſta* General of the King's Blacks and Governour of *Arzila*. *Marſauc*, Governour of *New Fez*. *Hiſpany*, General of the *Chavanets*. *Abdrahaman Laiche*, Intendant of the Marine at *Tetuan*. *Santiago*, Governour

Governour of the ſame Town. *Lehache Soumin*, who has been Embaſſador at the *French* Court. *Serhony*, *Baſſa*. *Louety* Father in Law to *Muley Archy* and *Muley Semein*. *Benjanja* Major General. *Treme-Serry*, in the ſame Poſt. *Menini* Governour of *Sale*. *Henden*, Viceroy of *Taffilet* and *Touet*. *Zamon*, Surveyor of the King's Works at *Miquenez*. *Mejudoub*, Protector of *Miquenez*, where a Chappel is erected to him. *Zedebe*, Protector of *Morocco*, has the ſame Honour. *Bona-fat*, Protector of *New Fez*, who has alſo a Chappel before the *Jews* Quarters. The Deſcendants of theſe three are reckon'd Saints. *Mimaran*, great *Checque* of all the *Jews* in the Kingdom, and the King's Favourite.

The Chief Provincial Families, which they call *Caffilas*, and we Hords, being like the *Scotch Clans*.

Linguet, and *Oulets* of *Lehache*, in the Province of *Alcaladia*.

Louety, in the ſame Province.

Ben-Yazega, between *Fez* and *Theza*.

Ben-Ymelec, in the Province of *Algarve*.

Ben-Zeroel, on the Mountains of the ſame Name, and thoſe of *Jebelzebibe* and *Chechouan*.

Serhony, on the Mountains of *Serhon*.

Azerot and *Safaro*, on the Mountains of *Meluga*, on the Side of the River.

Leguerizy, *Sagaro*, *Hadet*, *Toudega*, *Secoura*, *Mougouna*, *Magaram*, *Sedrat*, *Tougnedout*, *Itata* and *Zaimby*, on Mount *Atlas*, beyond the great River, towards *Taffilet* and *Sara*.

Guilaoa, on the Mountains, South from *Morocco*.

Benbucar, on thoſe of *Zaovias*.

Urica, on thoſe of *Sus*.

Line, in *Sus*.

Chavanets, Part in *Morocco*, and the reſt in *Alcaladia* near *Melilla*.

Chy, in the Province of *Aſciz*, or *Fez*.

Sebahay, between *Sale* and *Mamora*.

Chaouia, in the Province of *Temeſena*.

Geraras, in that of *Haha*.

Oulets Amar, in that of *Tadela*.

Mentays, in that of *Duquella*.

Ludeya, near *Miquenez*.

Hamemin, and *Araſe* in the Province of *Riffe*.

Names of the Provinces, and Towns belonging to the King of *Morocco*, and to the Chriſtians along his Coaſts.

In the Kingdom of Fez.

Provinces.

Alcaladia.
Riffe.
Algarve.
Aſceiz, *or* Fez.
Temeſena.
Meluya.
Zaouias.
Serhon.

Towns.

Old Fez.
New Fez.
Miquenez.
Sale.
Alcaſſar.
Mamora.
Tetuan.
Theſa.
Quiviana.
These belong to the King.
Larache.
Ceuta.
Pennon de Velez.
Albouzema, *and* Melilla *belonging to the* Spaniards.
Tangier *abandon'd and demoliſh'd by the* Engliſh.

In the Kingdom of Morocco.

Provinces.

Maracho.
Duquella.
Haha.
Guilaxa.
Itata.
Zaimby.

Towns.

Morocco.
Azamor.
Vualadia.
Saphya.
Mazagam, *this laſt belonging to the* Portugueſe.

In the Kingdom of Taffilet.

Provinces.

Taffilet.
Touet.
Dras.
Sara.

Town.

Taffilet.

In the Principality of Sus.

Provinces.

Sus.
Sehel.

Towns.

Tarudant.
Santa Cruz.
Illec.

The Names of the Rivers.

Great ones.

Meluya.
Sebou.
Marbea.
Goudet.
Sus.
Dras.
Taffilet.

The Smaller.

Loucous.
Magazin.
Raſſe-Elma.
Enques.
Layana.
Ouarga.
Bouamaire.
Beth.
Guerou.
Taſaut.
Fiſtella.
Louet de Leibit.
Derna.
Oumana.

Sero.

Sero.	Meſenes.	Mel.	Lequera.
Mephis.	Raſe-layne.	Louydin.	Maſſa.
Aguilou.	Zaimby.	Magaran.	Sedrat.
Mougouna.	Tougeda.	Ferquèla.	

Beſides theſe Rivers, there are Abundance of Brooks, which dry quite up in Summer, and in Winter are only fed by Floods, which make them at that time paſs for Rivers, with ſuch as are no better Acquainted.

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Present STATE

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EMPIRE of *MOROCCO.*

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THE TRAVELS OF *PETER TEIXEIRA* FROM INDIA to ITALY by Land.

CHAP. I.

The Motive I had to undertake this Journey, and a ſhort Account of a Voyage I made before, from India *to* Spain, *by the way of the* Philippine *Iſlands.*

BEing in the Year 1600, in the City of *Malaca*, ſeated in that Part of *India*, which the Ancients call'd *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, and intending to return to *Portugal*, my Native Country, I reſolv'd to do it by the way of the *Philippine* Iſlands, to ſave time, and ſee ſome more of the World, encourag'd by the preſent Opportunity of a ſmall Veſſel, then fitting out for that Voyage, by the Commander *Martin Alfonſo de Melo*'s Order, to acquaint the Governour of thoſe Iſlands with the coming of the *Dutch* into the *Indian* Seas. I departed *Malaca*, the moſt conſiderable Mart of all that Southern Malaca City.

Sea, lying in two Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and in a Fruitful Country, ever green, and tho' ſo directly under the Sun healthful and temperate, on the firſt of *May*, in the aforeſaid Year. We coaſted along to the Southward, leaving on the right the great Iſland of *Sumatra*, by the *Portugueſes* frequently call'd *Achem*, from a Kingdom in it of that Name, lying to the Weſtward of the Continent, and but 8 Leagues diſtant at preſent, having been formerly joyn'd to it, and ſeparated by the Fury and Violence of the Sea. The Kingdoms in it are many, but not well civiliz'd, yet wealthy and abounding in pure Gold, Pepper, Lake, White Benjamin, Camphir, and other valuable Comodities, beſides great Plenty of Proviſions. We alſo left on the Right Hand the Streight of *Sebam*, form'd by this and many other Iſlands, and leading to the *Javas*, *Sunda*, *Amboyna*, the *Moluccoes*, *Timor Solor Bale*, and a great Number of other Iſlands and Kingdoms lying in thoſe Seas. Keeping cloſe to the Continent, and paſſing by the there Noted Rivers *Muar* and *Pole*, we came to the Streight of *Sincapura*, lying between the aforeſaid Continent, and the Iſlands forming the other Streight of *Sabam*, in the Shape of the Figure 5. and ſo narrow for half a League, that the Ships ſailing from *India* to *China*, or the contrary, wanting Room in the midſt of it to tack about, if there ſhould be Occaſion, uſe generally when they come to either End, to caſt Anchor and wait for a Tide, to paſs through with the Boat out a head, to toe and keep her ſteady; and it ſometimes happens they are fain to ſtay 3, 4 or 5 Days for this Opportunity, the Tides there running ſo many Days, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs one way, without any certain Rule, which is very wonderful. Another thing no leſs unaccountable is obſerv'd all along this Coaſt and about the Iſlands, in the Shel Fiſh, which is fulleſt at the New Moons, and emptieſt at the Full, contrary to what is uſual in all other Lands and Seas. Along this Streight and on the adjacent Coaſts, live thoſe Inhabitants of the Water, call'd *Seletes*, mention'd in my firſt Book of the Kings of *Perſia*, chap. 29, being great Fiſhermen and greater Robbers, About the middle of this Streight the Tide fail'd us and our Veſſel drove upon a Parcel of Rocks, where we were in much Danger, and had no leſs Trouble and Fatigue to get off, and the Tide ſoon turning, made our way through. We water'd at *Romanya*, which is on the Continent, 32 Leagues from *Malaca*, and ſail'd on the right of *Piedra Blanca*, or the white Rock, ſo famous in the Eaſt, among the *Portugueſes*, as being a Land Mark for all Ships coming that way for the Streight, from *Japan*, *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Chincheo*, *Camboxa*, *Siam*, *Pate*, *Patane*, *Pam*, *Champa*, and other Kingdoms, and bound for *Malaca*; as alſo becauſe this is one of the Places where the Needle has no Variation. We

Dutch *in the Eaſt.*

Sumatra *Iſland.*

Sincapura *Streight.*

We held on our Courſe, amidſt almoſt innumerable Iſlands, all of them Deſert, and in 23 Days we were Sailing from *Malaca* to *Borneo*, loſt not ſight of them only one Day. Nothing remarkable befel us till our coming to *Borneo*, tho' we were not free from the uſual Dread of Flats, Shoals, Currents, and ſudden Guſts of Wind, which render that Sea unfit for Ships of great Burden. Making the Weſternmoſt Point of the Iſland, we Coaſted along it about 200 Leagues to the Northward, to the Port, which is ſpacious and ſafe, form'd by the Mouth of a mighty River, that falls into the Sea there, and ſeveral Iſlands encompaſſing it about. *Borneo* is one of the largeſt Iſlands in the Eaſt, but not of the moſt reſorted to. The Inhabitants are *Moors*, all of an Olive Complexion, well Featur'd, and particularly the Women. Moſt of them go Naked, with only a Clout wrapp'd about them, and the better ſort wear a *Baju*, which is a ſlight half Shirt. The Land abounds in all ſorts of Proviſions thoſe Parts afford. Here is found the pureſt and moſt excellent Camphir, for its ſingular Goodneſs diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Borneo*, and taken from the Heart of the Trunk of a large Tree, ſcraping it with Iron Hooks, like Roſin, then putting it into fair Water, and often changing, till it remains in its Purity. This ſort is not brought to *Portugal*, being ſold in *India* at very high Rates. Here are alſo many Bezoar Stones, much Tortoiſe Shell, Wax, and ſome Gold; but the Iſland on this ſide being neither Populous nor Healthy, and the People little addicted to Trade, beſides that the Kingdoms of *Lave*, *Maiar Macem*, and other wealthy Ones are on the other ſide, nothing is exported, but what the *Portugueſes* barter for ſome Cloth they carry thither. The *Spaniards* were once poſſeſs'd of this Port, and quitted it, becauſe unhealthy and unfit for Trade, both by reaſon of the Nature of the Country and the Ignorance of the Natives. The chief Town, where the King and Sovereign of this Port reſides, is on the River, the Houſes, which are all of Timber, being founded on Beams and Planks, and riding at Anchor with Cables made of Withes, which is the *Rota* I mentioned elſewhere. Thus whenſoever the King pleaſes, either on Account of the Weather, or for any other Reaſon, the whole City moves from one ſide of the River to the other, with very little Trouble. This is not to be admir'd, for the ſame is practis'd at *Palinban*, *Andreguir*, and other Parts of the farther Coaſt of *Sumatra*, and ſome other Iſlands thereabouts. All the Natives of this Iſland are theeviſhly inclin'd, and the better to practice their calling, they go almoſt 400 Leagues in ſmall light Boats, as far as the Coaſt of *Pegu* to rob, where loading their own Veſſel, and thoſe they take, with their Booty, they re-

Borneo Iſland.

Camphir

turn home, ſeldom coming to any Damage by the Wind or Weather, becauſe that Sea is ſo calm, that they have given it the Name of *the Sea of Ladies*; and when it happens to be rough with the ſudden Guſts, which often riſe, and with great Violence, tho' ſoon over; they get under the Shelter of the Land, creeping always cloſe by it, and when it is over, proſecute their Voyage. Their Weapons are Swords, *Cofos*, that is Shields made of *Rota*, or Withes, ſome Spears, Javelins, a few Muskets, but the moſt common are the *Selihhes*, being Staves harden'd at the Fire, which ſtrike like Iron and are vepy brittle, ſo that the Wound being full of ſmall Splinters, is almoſt incurable. Next to theſe they very much uſe Arrows, ſhot out of a Trunk, which being extremely ſlender made of a ſort of Reeds, are pointed, inſtead of Iron, with a Tooth of ſo venomous a Fiſh, that the leaſt Blood it draws is mortal; however being blown out of a Trunk, a ſmall matter puts them by, and there are very ſovereign Antidotes found againſt the Poiſon, tho' the *Portugueſes* could never find any againſt the Poiſon'd Arrows, us'd by the Blacks on the Continent of *Africk*, about *Melinde* and *Monbaza*, along the *Indian* Ocean, whereof I have ſeen many die ſuddenly, in dreadful manner, notwithſtanding their Wounds were very ſlight, without any Hopes of a Cure. Thus much may ſuffice for *Borneo*.

Phillipine Islands. We departed that Port, and running along the Coaſt of that Iſland two Days more, paſs'd by Mount *St. Peter* on it, ſo high, that it is diſcern'd at 50 Leagues Diſtance. Then leaving *Borneo* a Stern, we held on our Courſe always among deſart Iſlands, the moſt noted whereof are thoſe of *Paragua* and *Malaua*, beſides almoſt innumerable others, where we gave our ſelves for loſt every Moment. At length, on the 22th of *June* we came to an Anchor, in the Bay of *Cavite*, the Port to the City *Manila*, which is the Capital of the Iſlands the Natives call *Luzones*, and we the *Philippines*, becauſe ſubdued in the Reign of King *Philip* II. of *Spain*, tho' long before diſcover'd by our *Portugueſe*, *Ferdinand de Magellanes*, after he had found the Streight, which retains his Name to this Day; and he was kill'd in one of them call'd *Zebu*, 100 Leagues diſtant from this Port. Theſe Iſlands are many in Number, ſome of them large, all populous, the Natives ſubmiſſive, tho' ſome call'd *Ilocos* and *Pintados* have at times given the *Spaniards* much Trouble. They are of an Olive Colour, go all naked, only cover'd with Cotton Blankets or Mantles. Some of them were *Pagans*, and ſome *Mahometans*, the latter are quite extirpated, and few of the former remain, being moſt converted to Chriſtianity. Theſe Iſlands improve daily by the Trade the *Spaniards* have brought to them, ſending over above a Million and a half of Plate every Year from *New Spain*, and returning

Commodities

Commodities of *China*, convey'd to them by the *Chineſes* of *Chincheo*, whom they call *Sangleyes*, in great Quantities, tho' not ſo good as thoſe the *Portugueſes* export from *China*. (*This was when the Author writ*; *for ſince the* Spaniards *deal for the very choiceſt Goods of that Country, and the* Portugueſe *Trade there is fallen to nothing*) The City is large, and magnificently built with Lime and Stone, after the Modern Faſhion; and the whole rather of too great an Extent; for which reaſon the *Spaniards* have carry'd a plain Stone Wall acroſs the Middle of it, that they may bring themſelves into a leſs Compaſs in caſe of Need. There is in it a Cathedral, which is an Archbiſhop's See, and there are three Biſhops more in other Parts, a Royal Court, a Governour, who has the Authority of a Viceroy; and when I was there they were building ſeveral very ſtately Churches. The City is wall'd for fear of the *Japoneſes*, with whom the *Spaniards* trade, and have a very Polite Government, and their Behaviour is courtly. The Iſlands bear much Rice, and have Wine made of *Nipa*; and tho' originally they had no Cattel at all, yet by the Induſtry of the *Spaniards*, all Sorts are ſo multiply'd, that the Country is not inferior to *New Spain*, in that particular. There is much Wax and Gold, which turns to good Account, carry'd to *Mexico*, and tho' many of the Natives paid their Tribute in Gold, and barter'd it away, the *Spaniards* had not in my time been able to learn whence they had it. They then alſo began to ſow Wheat, for want whereof they had before made their Bread of Meal brought from *Chincheo* and *Japan*. Here is alſo great Store of Ebony and Caſſiafiſtula, and all other Products both of thoſe Parts and *Europe*, therefore they generally ſend abundance of Proviſions to the *Molucco* Iſlands which would ſuffer very much without it, by reaſon of the great Diſtance of *India*, and uncertainty of Supplies from thence. Beſides the great Profit, the near Neighbourhood of *China* is an Encouragement to Trade, the Paſſage between them being but of ten Days; and therefore thoſe who go from *Mexico* to *Manila* commonly ſay, they are bound for *China*, and thoſe who return from *Manila* to *New Spain* ſay, they are bound from *China* to *Spain*.

Manila *City.*

When I came to *Manila*, I obtain'd leave of the Governour *Don Franciſco Tello de Meneſes*, to go over to *New Spain*, for none can paſs without, and there is much difficulty to obtain it. I went aboard a new Ship, of four that were ready to Sail, and of theſe the St. *Margaret*, being the Commodore, and the St. *Jerome* the next, commanded by Captain *James Rodriguez de Segura*, with whom I had agreed for my Paſſage, but that God diverted it, were both caſt away on the Iſlands *Ladrones*; and another call'd *La Contadora*, was 7 Months on her Voyage to *Acapulco*, and near periſhing by the

Voyage from Manila.

the Way. Being aboard this Ship, the Captains and Owners whereof were the Marſhal *Gabriel de Ribera*, and *Dominick Ortis de Chaboya*, both wealthy Men, who had built her purpoſely to go over themſelves to *Mexico*, with a Deſign to admit of no Paſſenger, and receiv'd me as a particular Favour, we ſet ſail from this Port, which is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, on the 18th of *July*, and ſail'd 100 Leagues, continually among populous Iſlands, all belonging to that Government, till we came to the End of them, which they call the Gulph, or Streight of *Capul*, being the Name of an Iſland, on the 26th of the ſaid Month This was great Fortune; for they often ſpend 2 Months in reaching that Place, and ſuffer much by Sickneſs and other Inconveniences. Having taken in here Water, Fowl, Swine, and Fruit, which the Iſlanders uſually bring to the Ships, at our going out of the Streight, tho' the Wind was freſh and right a Stern, we were detain'd 12 Hours from Midnihgt till Noon, by ſuch a violent Current, that tho' the Wind blew fiercely for us, we could not advance half a League, till that Tide began to decline; when we got out to Sea ſo ſwiftly, that we ſoon loſt Sight of all the Iſlands, and ſtood over for thoſe of *Japan* formerly call'd *Argentariæ*, becauſe of the great Quantity of fine Silver they produce, whereof the *Portugueſes* us'd to carry conſiderable Quantities into *China*. The Great Emperour of them in our Days was *Taycoſana*, who of a poor Seller of Faggots, that got his Living by bringing a Burden of Wood on his Back out of the Foreſt, and ſelling it for Bread, by his Bravery and Conduct rais'd himſelf to ſo great a Soveraignty, and maintain'd and govern'd it with ſingular Wiſdom and Juſtice, compelling the lazy People to till the Ground, and reſtraining their unruly Spirits by wholeſome Laws; by which means he made thoſe Kingdoms proſper more than they had ever done before, and the Neighbouring Nations dread his Arms, which he carry'd over to the Continent of *Koray*, which the *Portugueſes*, who are acquainted with it, commonly call *Corea*, a Kingdom adjoyning to *China*, whoſe King found enough to do to defend it.

Wonderful Fortune.

Being in the Latitude of *Japan*, whoſe loweſt Part call'd *Nangaz*, where the *Portugueſes* reſided, is in 33 Degrees North, and the Kingdom of *Cantoo* in 40; when we were near the Iſlands by Obſervation, we ſtood over from thence to the Eaſtward, and diſcovering ſome other Iſlands not known, ſail'd many Days on that vaſt South Sea towards *New Spain*, which we had Sight of in 40 Degrees of North Latitude, at Cape *Mendozino*, on the third of *November*. In this Place again the Needle has no Variation. Then we ſail'd down the Coaſt to the Southward, obſerving ſome Iſlands, there are along it. At our ſetting out from the *Philippine* Iſlands

we

we had receiv'd Intelligence that the Ships from *Mexico* were arriv'd; for none can ſail thence till others are come, which remain there till the next Year, and that ſome *Dutch* Ships had paſs'd through the Streights of *Magellan* into the South Sea, and therefore we were ſo notably well provided, that tho' our Loading was worth 400000 Ducats, there were but 7 or 8 Swords, and one ſcurvy Musket aboard. As we held on our Voyage along the Coaſt, 2 Leagues from Shore, near *California*, we found our ſelves in a bright Moonlight Night beſet by 3 Ships, the one of them very near us on the Land Side, the other 2 to Seaward at a greater Diſtance. It is needleſs to go about to declare the Condition we were in; for the wiſeſt and boldeſt were quite diſpirited. The ſmaller Ship came up from Landward to hale us, and ask'd us, Whence we came? We anſwer'd, From *China*; being reſolv'd to run aground if they were Enemies. They told us they belong'd to a Squadron the Viceroy of *Peru*, *Don Lewis de Velaſco*, had ſent out from *Lima*, in Queſt of ſome *Dutch* that had paſs'd into the South Sea, and were then looking out for their own Admiral *Don John de Velaſco*, who was parted from them in foul Weather, having 300 Men, 40 Pieces of heavy Canon, and 400000 Pieces of Eight of eſſay'd Silver, worth 13 Ryals each aboard, which they ſuppos'd had founder'd at Sea, and ſo it prov'd. We could not believe them, notwithſtanding all theſe Particulars, looking upon them as meer Fictions, and continued all the Night in this Dread and Fear, till the others coming up in the Morning, ſaluted us; and ſome Preſents and Compliments paſſing between us, we cheer'd up, bleſſing God, who had turn'd our Sorrow into Joy. Thus we held on our Courſe, paſſing by the Mouth of the Streight of *California*, which is like the Red Sea, and where an excellent Pearl Fiſhery has been lately found. Having ſail'd above 700 Leagnes along the Coaſt, on the firſt of *December* we arriv'd at *Acapulco*, the Seaport Town in *New Spain*, on the South Sea, for this Voyage, lying in 16 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, and is one of the moſt ſpacious, the cleaneſt, and ſafeſt from all Winds of any I have ſeen in the World. We had been four Months and a half at Sea, which was a good Voyage enough. Having reſted here a few Days, and diſpos'd of my Affairs, I ſet out for *Mexico*, which is 80 Leagues thence, all a dreadful dangerous Way, over prodigious high craggy Mountains, with abundance of Streams of pure and excellent Water, and thick Woods, the Country thinly peopled, and the Natives heavy and mean ſpirited. There are three noted Rivers to croſs in this Road, that they call *del Papagayo*, or the *Parrot's*, very conſiderable, and has a Ferry Boat: That nam'd *de las Balſas*, or *of Floats*, like the

Acapulco *Port in* New Spain.

Road to Mexico.

Tagus

Tagus in *Portugal*, its Current very ſtrong, which they croſs on Floats, made of Canes faſtned on dry Calabaſhes, drawn over by *Indians* Swimming, at both theſe Rivers Paſſengers pay for going over: The third is call'd of St. *Francis*, and tho' broad and carrying much Water, is fordable in ſeveral Places. Here I gave my ſelf for loſt, having miſs'd the Ford, and under God was ſav'd by the Goodneſs of my Horſe. The greateſt part of this Way is infeſted with a Plague of *Moſquitos* or Gnats, ſo dreadful and troubleſome, that there is no Defence againſt them, and they almoſt kill'd the beſt Slave I had. Thus travelling with the uſual Inconveniences, and croſſing the *Marquiſate del Valle*, or of the Vale, I enter'd *Mexico* at twelve of the Clock on Chriſtmaſs Night, and ſtay'd there till the ſecond of *May*, when I departed for *Spain*. I paſs'd over the Mountain they call *Bolcan*, which is a troubleſome Paſs, and tho' it continually exhales a thick Smoak, is ever cover'd with Snow, which is worth obſerving, becauſe lying between the *Tropick* and the *Equator*. I paſs'd through the City *de los Angeles*, of Angels, commonly call'd *la Puebla*, and others of leſs Note, till I came to St. *John de Ulva*, a new Port and Town in the *Indies* on the North Sea, between 70 or 80 Leagues from *Mexico*, the common way. This is the only Seaport for many Leagues on that Coaſt neither eaſy of Acceſs nor ſafe, and what little good it has, is rather from Art than Nature.

St. *John de Ulva*

I ſet out thence in the *Flota*, or Fleet of Merchants, on the laſt Day of *May*, and coaſting along to the Northward, we had all like to have periſh'd for want of Water, in the Bay of *Tortugas*, or *Tortoiſes*, by reaſon of a Calm, which kept us forty Days, on a Paſſage that is uſually perform'd in ten. At length we arriv'd at the *Havana*, a Port well known, and much reſorted to in the Iſland of *Cuba*. Here the Ship I was in had like to be caſt away, and eſcap'd in a manner miraculouſly, being oblig'd to lye out, becauſe it was too late to get into the Harbour At Night the Wind roſe ſo violently, that we loſt four Anchors and Cables we had out, and were driving aſhore, having never another left, which oblig'd us to hoiſt out Sail, relying only on Providence, as having neither Water, Proviſions, nor Anchors; and tho' we fir'd ſome Guns, they neither heard us, or if they had was there any poſſibility of Relief, as the Weather was. In ſhort we ran along the Iſland, till it pleas'd God, who never forſakes thoſe who confide in him, that the Wind abated about Morning, ſo that we made back for the Harbour, and being come near it, met the Vice Admiral of the Fleet coming out in a Boat to meet us, with Anchors and Cables. In the midſt of the Mouth of the Harbour is a great Flat, on which our Ship ſtuck, through the Inadvertency of the Pilot, but it pleas'd God ſhe receiv'd no great Harm.

Havana

Harm. We departed *Havana* on the 15th of *July*, and paſſing thro' the Channel of *Bahama*, and along the Coaſt of *Florida* and *Bermudas*, ſail'd up to the Banks of *New-found-Land*. Thence we ſtruck over for *Spain*, and ſpy'd Land on the 28th of *Auguſt*, in 42 Degrees Latitude, whence we ran along the Coaſt as far as *Algarve*, and the Weather calming there, had enough to do to ſave our ſelves from the Pirate *Murat Arrays*, who ply'd thereabout with ſome Galliots, and took ſome Men belonging to the Fleet, that were going aſhore in Boats. The Wind coming up fair, we held on our Courſe till we Anchor'd at St. *Lucar*, on the 6th of *September*, and on the 8th I enter'd *Sevil*, whence I proceeded to *Portugal*, taking a great Compaſs, on account of a Promiſe made to a Friend, and arriv'd at *Lisbon* on the 8th of *October*, a Year and a half after I left *Malaca*. I do not mention all the Particulars of this Voyage, which are remarkable enough, becauſe I have often told them to my Friends; and my Deſign being only to give an Account of my latter Journey over Land, I ſhall be more diffuſe in it, to ſatisfie thoſe Friends I cannot tell it to by Word of Mouth. When I departed *Malaca*, I had left a Sum of Money with my Acquaintance, for them to ſend it after me to *Portugal* in the trading Ships, confiding in them as I had done at other times, but was now diſappointed; and nothing coming, I reſolv'd to return to *India*, which I had not before intended. I embark'd on the 28th of *March*; and paſſing by what happen'd in this Voyage, that I may come to what I propoſe to write, arriv'd at *Goa* on the 14th of *October*. Being now weary of ſuch long Voyages by Sea, and thinking to cut ſhort this other Way, and at the ſame time egg'd on by ſomething of Curioſity, I reſolv'd to undertake it by Land, whereof this I have mention'd was the Occaſion and Motive; and now follows the Account of it.

CHAP. II.

My Departure from Goa, *and Arrival at* Ormuz, *whence ſetting out for* Bazora, *I was drove back again.*

I Left *Goa* the Metropolis of the *Portugueſe* Dominions in *India*, at the time that *Ayres de Saldanha* was Viceroy, on the 9th *Voyage to* Ormuz.

9th of *February*, 1604, and having ſpent two Days along the River, embark'd on the 11th in the Morning: We ſet ſail immediately, and ſteer'd our Courſe for the Coaſt of *Arabia*, which we diſcover'd on the 2d of *March*, having had a fair Wind all the Way. The firſt Land we ſaw was near the Bay of *Mexira*, which the *Portugueſes* call *Macieira*: Then we ſtood to the Northward, and ran two Days along the Coaſt, till we came to Cape *Rozalgate*, in the ſame Country of *Arabia*; and having turn'd it, enter'd the *Perſian* Gulf, which lies between *Perſia* and *Arabia*, where we ſtill coaſted along, diſcovering many Ships that ſtood our ſame Courſe. One of theſe, new, and of great Bulk bound from *Bazaim* to *Ormuz*, or *Harmuz*, for ſo it ought more properly to be call'd, through the Negligence of the Steerſman, fell foul of ours, and being much larger run her Boltſprit and Sprit-ſail Sail againſt our Main Maſt, and lying athwart us, brought our Veſſel ſo low upon her Side, that we were in great Danger and Dread. The Purſer of our Ship, who valu'd himſelf upon his Bravery, thinking our Honour lay at Stake, ſnatch'd up two loaded Hand Granadoes, and giving Fire, threw them into the other Ship, and had we not haſtily prevented him, would have caſt in more till ſhe had been burnt: It pleas'd God the Fire did not take, which if it had, we muſt have all periſh'd inevitably: We labour'd to ungrapple the Ships, cutting much of the Rigging on both Sides, and being clear, held on our Courſe, till the Wind coming up againſt us, we anchor'd at *Syfa*, a Port in *Arabia*. Two Days after, the Wind being fair, we ſail'd as far as *Maſcate*, another Port on the ſame Coaſt, which has more Harbours in this Part, tho ſome have writ the contrary. Here we again ſpent two Days, to Wood and Water, and departing thence, ſail'd to *Ormus*, 60 Leagues diſtant, where we anchor'd on the 17th of *March*, a Month after we left *Goa*. Nothing remarkable is to be ſeen in all this Way, but what is known, ſaving a Sort of Birds, whom a natural Antipathy always inclines to purſue one another; and the weakeſt making from the ſtronger, ſores higheſt, Fear making him ſlice or empty himſelf in his Flight, whilſt he that purſues, whether out of Hatred, or for that purpoſe, keeps at ſuch a certain Diſtance, as to catch the Excrements falling and eat them; and the Natives are of Opinion they live on that filthy Food, which I thought fit to obſerve as ſomething ſingular.

Birds feeding on Dung.

I ſet out from *Ormuz* on the 14th of *April*, in a ſmall Veſſel belonging to the Governour *James Munis Barreto*: We ſail'd between the Iſland *Quiexome* or *Broct*, and the Continent of *Perſia*, thro' a ſmall Arm of the Sea that divides them, the wi-

Quiexome *Iſland.*

deſt

deſt Part whereof is about 3 Leagues over, and others under a League and a half. This Iſland is between 25 and 30 Leagues in Length, and the greateſt Breadth 10 or 12. It has ſome Ports on both Sides, but moſt of them very Shoal. The beſt on the Inſide are *Dargahon*, *Lapht*, *Chau* and *Sermion*: On the Outſide is the Point or Cape of *Quiexome*, well ſtor'd with Palm Trees, Orchards and Wells of good Water, whence *Ormus* is generally ſupply'd, as well as from other Places. Beſides that, there are *Karues* and *Angan*, which being a ſmall Iſland parted from the other, and forming a large Bay, afford a very ſafe Harbour capable of many large Ships. This Iſland is very fruitful, and plentifully produces all that is ſow'd or planted in it, as Wheat, Barley, Fruit and Greens, of all which there was great Store when better inhabited than at preſent, being now very thinly peopled, by reaſon of the Incurſions of the *Nihhelus Arabs*, who have ruin'd it, and this through the Fault of the Governours of *Ormus*, that might eaſily prevent it with ſmall Trouble and Charge, being but 3 Leagues diſtant. The Tide failing us, we came to an Anchor in the Midway, expecting the Return of it; but when we were to weigh, the Anchor having loſt her Stock, we were fain to lie ſtill to make another, which occaſion'd us to loſe 2 Days of fair Weather, and that afterwards put us to much Trouble. Departing Cape *Sermion*, being the Point of this Iſland, we ran up the *Perſian* Gulf, cloſe under the *Perſian* Shore, our Courſe Weſt and Weſt North Weſt, with very little Variation, turning in and out as the Land does; our Diſtance from it always from one to three Leagues, ſailing and dropping our Anchor as the Tides happen'd, which ran there very violent twice or thrice a Day, and ſometimes oftner, by reaſon of the Wind there prevailing, which is continually a ſtrong North Weſt. Sailing thus along this Coaſt, which cannot be done on that of *Arabia*, diſtant from the other about 50 Leagues in the wideſt Part, becauſe there is not ſo good Anchoring nor Watering there, as on this Side, we paſs'd by the Iſlands of *Phelur*, by us call'd *Pelouro*; *Keys*, which we pronounce *Cays*, formerly in as much Repute as now *Ormuz* is; *Andreuy*, the *Iſland of Birds*, ſo call'd from the infinite Numbers of them reſorting to reſt there at Night, vaſt Quantities of whoſe Eggs the *Arabs* there gather, and carry them to ſell in other Parts; and that of *Lar* or *Lara*, all of them 3, 4, 5, or 6 Leagues from the Continent, and ill peopled, becauſe of the frequent Robberies of the *Noutaques* and *Nihhelus*, being *Arabs* dwelling on Part of the Coaſt of *Perſia* ſo call'd, whence they have their Name. Having anchor'd there, the Wind grew ſo boiſterous, that it compell'd us

Noutaques *and* Nihhelus.

to weigh early in the Morning, to get under Shelter of the Iſland *Lara*, oppoſite to it. The Wind was ſtrong, the weather Hayſy, the Iſland low, which occaſion'd us to run in ſo cloſe upon it, that we were oblig'd, tho' all our Sails were out, to drop our Anchor, without taking them in, in little above two Fadom Water, to ſave running directly aground and being beaten to Pieces, and our Eſcape was almoſt Miraculous. Whilſt we lay here the Wind increas'd to ſuch a Height, and the Ship labour'd ſo much, that the Rudder Hooks failing, it was juſt ſlipping away, had not a little Boy ſhew'd it me, and I acquainted the Officers, who laying hold, brought it aboard. Some were for carrying it to the Iſland to be mended, others were for doing it aboard, and theſe, as God would have it prevail'd, for had we Landed no doubt but ſome Misfortune had happen'd; for as we were afterwards inform'd, there were ſome *Nibbelus* on the Iſland waiting to kill any *Portugueſe* that ſhould Land, and it was a Wonder that none went aſhore, as is uſual. A ſmall *Mooriſh* Veſſel had taken Shelter under the ſame Iſland, at a little diſtance from us, loaded with Cotton and bound for the ſame Port. Two Barks of the *Nibbelus* drew cloſe, and thinking to ſurprize her in the Night, fell on before Day; but they defended themſelves bravely. We hearing the Noiſe of Weapons and ſeeing the Fire, diſcarg'd ſome Guns, to ſcare the Enemy and encourage the others, and weighing with all Speed, drew near as the Dawn began to appear, which the Robbers perceiving, they retir'd with conſiderable Loſs; ſome of the *Moors* being wounded, who came aboard us to be dreſs'd, and from that time forward kept cloſer to us.

Coaſt of Perſia.

Almoſt all this Coaſt of *Perſia* is Mountains, Craggy and Barren, excepting only ſome Spots of Ground among thoſe Hills, which the Natives till, making uſe of Wells to water it; beſides they breed ſome Cattle, both great and ſmall, affording them Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, for their own uſe and to ſell. We ſail'd along that Coaſt 35 Days, with much Trouble and Vexation, and began now to want Proviſions, which could not be bought aſhore, the Country being all in an Uproar, on Account of many wrongs the People had receiv'd from the *Portugueſes* cruiſing about in their Frigats. We were now come to *Chilao*, near *Verdoſtam*, a Town ſeated on a Bay between the Point of *Vedican* and the Shoals of *Kane*, and the contrary Wind grew ſo ſtrong and continu'd ſo fix'd, that it oblig'd our Captain, want beginning to pinch, after the loſs of an Anchor and Cable, and much Danger of running a ground, the Land being cloſe by, to order we ſhould make back for *Ormuz*, which we reach'd in four Days, tho' 80 Leagues diſtant, after ſpending 35 in making that ſmall Way. In our Re-

turn

turn; we were met by ſome Barks of Robbers, which are never wanting in that Sea, and therefore, when any ſuch *Portugueſe* trading Veſſels ſail from *Ormus*, they have always a Convoy of ſome Foiſts, or ſmall fighting Ships. We put again into *Ormuz*, on *Friday* the 21th of *May*, and anchor'd in the *Bandel*, or Port on the Weſt Side, 39 Days after we departed that ſame Place, well fatigu'd and full of Vexation.

CHAP. III.

My ſecond ſetting out from Ormuz, *and reaching the Bottom of the Golph of* Perſia, *where entering the Rivers* Tigris *and* Euphrates, *I came to the City* Bazora.

HAving refitted and laid in Proviſions at *Ormuz*, we ſail'd again on the 17th of *June*, in Hopes of a better Voyage, being aſſur'd by ſuch as knew thoſe Seas, that the North Weſt Wind was not then ſo conſtant or violent, and ſome Difference we found, but not ſo much as they gave out. This time we kept without the Iſland *Queixome*, and running along the ſame Coaſt as before, paſs'd the Flats of *Kane*, and beyond them the Fort of *Rexel*, famous for the great Plenty of Corn and Fruit its Territory produces. It belongs to the *Xa*, or King of *Perſia*, ſtanding on the Edge of the Sea on his Side, and well Garriſon'd. Farther on to the Northward is *Regh Ceyfadin*, that is, the Strand or Shore of *Ceyfadin*, inhabited by *Arabs*, as is moſt of this *Perſian* Coaſt, and they Tributary to the *Xa*, tho' ſome for their Security in Sailing about, own the *Portugueſe* Authority, and take Paſſes from them to trade, without which they would be in Danger, from the *Portugueſe* Veſſels cruzing in that Streight. Thoſe of *Regh Ceyfadin* were at this time at Variance with the *Portugueſes*, on Account of Wrongs receiv'd from them, as was ſaid above, and therefore all the Inhabitants of the Iſland *Karg*, which is 3 Leagues from the Continent, were fled for Fear of four Galicts that were with us. This Iſland is about two Leagues in Compaſs, affording good Shelter againſt the North Weſt Wind, is Stony and Mountainous, has good Waters, ſome Palm Trees, and ſmall Cattle, and produces mighty Quantities of Onions, whereof whole Loads are carry'd to *Bazora* and other

Karg *Iſland.*

ther Sea Ports; the Inhabitants are almoſt all *Arabs*. Here we anchor'd on the 25th of *July*, and ſtaid four Days on Account of the contrary Winds. Thus far run the uncooth Mountains of *Perſia*, along the Edge of the Sea, and from this Place ſtrike farther up the Country, till out of ſight from the Sea, near to which the Land is ſo low, that it cannot be diſcern'd at a very ſmall Diſtance. Near this Place two mighty Rivers come down from *Perſia* to empty themſelves, the one at *Rexer*, and the other at *Regh Ceyfadin*.

Karab Channel,

Hence we directed our Courſe Weſtward, quite without Sight of Land, tho' we were very near it, by reaſon of its lowneſs, under the Conduct of a *Mooriſh* Pilot we took in at *Karge*, who tho' reckned the ableſt in thoſe Parts, was very near ſetting us a Ground, in a Channel call'd *Karah*, which ſignifies broken or ruin'd, they having a Tradition, that a great City ſtood in that Place, and was overwhelm'd by reaſon of the lowneſs of the Land. This Channel is about four Leagues in length, with many Flats, ſo that they always ſound all the way in paſſing it, and keep the Boat a Head, becauſe of the great uncertainty of the Depth, the moſt being but three Fadom Water. When out of it, we found more Water, ſaw Land on both Hands, and keeping cloſe to the *Perſian* Side, on the firſt of *Auguſt* came to an Anchor, in the Mouth of *Xat el Arab*, which ſignifies, the River of the *Arabs*, who call a great River *Xat*, and a ſmall one *Kor*, or *Wed*, from which laſt thoſe in *Spain* were call'd *Wedelquebir*, *Wedelager*, *Wedyana*, chang'd into *Guadalquivir*, *Guadalaviar*, and *Guadiana*, and ſo of others. This River, whoſe freſh Water is taken up near three Leagues out at Sea, is form'd higher in the Country of the two famous Streams the *Tygris* and the *Euphrates*, which meet at *Corna* the utmoſt Point of the Country of *Meſopotamia*, that lyes between them, three Days Journey above *Bazora*, where the *Turks* have a Fort, call'd as has been ſaid *Corna*, ſignifying a Point, commanding the Paſſage of them both, as they meet here, watering mighty Plains on both Sides; thoſe to the Northward being the *Perſian* Side, in the Poſſeſſion of *Morbarek*, the Son of *Moſelob* a powerful *Arab*, who holds them, and makes War on the *Turk*, pretending a Title to them, and *Bazora*, within which Diſtrict are the conſiderable Cities of *Magdom*, *Oeza*, and *Doreka*. A great part of them is Deſert, tho' not Barren, but left untill'd for fear of the *Turks*. Thoſe next to *Arabia* are fruitful, cultivated, and full of Palm-trees Orchards, and Gardens. Juſt at the Entrance this River fetches a great Compaſs, and then returns to its Courſe, being there from Weſt to Eaſt. The Breadth of it is about two Miles, and the Depth at this time, when loweſt was about ſix Fadom, little over or under,

Xat Arab River.

der, and the Stream very rapid. Along the Banks there are mighty Breeds of great and ſmall Cattel, abundance of Ducks and Geeſe, beſides other Birds and Beaſts. The Inhabitants are *Arabs*, who have Commerce among themſelves ſwimming on Skins blown full of Wind, and in this manner many of them came aboard our Ship to ſell Fowls, Geeſe, Milk, Butter, Dates, and other Proviſions, all very cheap. The Wind being contrary, and blowing hard, we went up the River very ſlowly, and having Sail'd up about eight or nine Leagues, came to a Place where it divides into two equal Parts, one whereof ſtriking to the Southward, enters *Arabia* and runs into the ſame Gulph of *Perſia*, at *Katifa* near *Barhem*, making an Iſland of that Spot of Land, above eighty Leagues in Length. The other Part is that we Sail'd on, and from thence upward, being all united it is wider, deeper, and more rapid. A little farther on, we found a ſmall Iſland in the middle, a League long, and about half in Breadth, pleaſant enough, and full of Palm-trees and Orchards, which dividing the Waters makes two ways, whereof that next to *Arabia* is deepeſt. Holding on our way, on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, by eight in the Morning we reach'd *Serrage*, fifteen or ſixteen Leagues from the Bar, where the greater Veſſels uſe to Anchor, till they unload, as we did, oppoſite to a Fort the Turks have on the Brink of the River, and the Lands of *Monbareka*, as they have others, both above and below it, to ſecure the Country under their Protection, from the Incurſions of the *Arabs*. I left the Ship and went up a Creek, that has about two Fadom Water, when the Tide is out, and above three at the Flood, which reaches above this Place, yet changes not the Taſte of the Water. Both Sides of it is all Corn Fields, Palm tree Groves and pleaſant Orchards, water'd by Trenches drawn from the Creek. Having gon leſs than a League up this Water, I arriv'd at *Bazora*.

Bazora City.

This City is inhabited by *Arabs*, and ſeated two Miles Weſt from the River *Xat Arab* before mention'd, to be compos'd of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the Creek already mention'd making the Communication with it, and has the ſame by Land, which is all divided by Trenches cut acroſs for uſe. It ſtands in a Plain, and contains both within and without the Fort about 10000 large and ſpacious Houſes, beſides the ſmaller, but the Building mean, being all mud Walls, which ſcarce hold three Years, before they run to Ruin. Thoſe of the poorer ſort are generally made of Mats, and Bundles of ſmall Reeds, whereof the Rivers produce great plenty. Here is a ſquare Fort, ſomewhat oblong, the Walls and Baſtions whereof, and there are ſeveral of them, all of Earth, and then almoſt decay'd. The whole encompaſs'd by a broad and deep

deep Ditch, fed from the Creek, within this Fort are near 10000 Houſes of all ſorts, and there is the main Trade, and the moſt conſiderable Part of the City, being the Reſidence of moſt Handicrafts, the Government and the Garriſon conſiſting of 3000 Men, *Turks*, *Curds*, and *Arabs*, beſides thoſe that belong to the Forts without. There is a *Baſſa*, who has the whole Power in Civil and Military Affairs; a Cuſtom-houſe, the Duties whereof are very conſiderable, ſo that they defray the Charge of the Garriſon and all other Expences, and there is much to ſpare. In the Arſenal are many good Pieces of Canon and ſome Galleys, but theſe few, ſmall, and ill ſhap'd. One of this ſort was launch'd whilſt I was there, and they have them not againſt the *Portugueſes*, as a certain Author has writ, well knowing they can do them no Harm, but to ſerve in the River and Parts adjacent, to curb the rebellious *Arabs*, from whom they gather great Tribute. Theſe Galleys, tho' ſmall, are exceſſive coſtly, becauſe the Country is quite deſtitute of Timber, and it is chargeable bringing it from other Parts. A Bridge of eight Boats lyes acroſs the Creek, and in other Places the People paſs over in Boats they call *Danequas*, made of any ſmall bits of Wood, for want of larger, and tho' built in that manner and not caulk'd they are very ſtaunch, being daub'd inſtead of Tar with a ſort of Bitumen they call *Quir*, which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. *Bazora* abounds in Proviſions, and particularly Dates, which are very good, and ſo plentiful, that great quantities are yearly ſent thence to *Bagdat*, and the Ports of *Perſia* and *Ormuz*, being the chief Suſtenance of the common People. The Land produces all ſorts of Grain and Greens, Wheat, Barley, Rice, Pulſe, in great Plenty, and very cheap; which things being alſo brought from *Rexer*, *Regh Ceyſadin*, and *Dorek*, the Price is much abated. There are mighty numbers of great and ſmall Cattle, and all ſorts of Fowl. The River has much Fiſh, but not good. Here is a Trade with *Ormuz*, which furniſhes all *India* Commodities; as alſo with *Barhen*, *Catifa*, *Laſan*, *Perſia*, *Bagdat*, and all *Arabia* on that ſide. The worſt thing here is an infinite number of Scorpions, ſome of them as big as ſmall Crabs. The Air is unwholeſome, the Weather exceſſive hot, the Inhabitants *Turks* and *Arabs*, moſt of the laſt being the Natives, and theſe generally well Featur'd, eſpecially Women and Children, the firſt of them reckon'd Unchaſt. They make uſe of Camels, Mules, Aſſes and Horſes, of which laſt there are great Breeds, and being very numerous and good, they are ſent to *Ormus* and thence to *India*.

When I came to *Bazora*, there were many Houſes ruin'd, both within and without the Fort, and then rebuilding with much ſpeed. This Deſtruction was occaſion'd eight or ten Days before my Arrival,

rival, by the blowing up of a Magazine of Powder, in which 5000 and odd Skins full of it were burnt, with ſuch a dreadful Noiſe, that they thought the whole Frame of the Univerſe had been torn in Pieces, doing incredible Damage throughout the greateſt Part of the City, which has now ſtood about 200 Years in this Place, being the third Situation it has had. It is above 50 Years ſince it has been poſſeſs'd by the *Turks*, by whom an *Arabian* Tyrant was ſupported, who ſeized and put it into their Hands. It is needleſs to ſpeak of the Cuſtoms, Habit, and manner of living of the Inhabitants, for being *Turks* and *Arabs* thoſe things are well known. All ſorts of Gold and Silver Coins are Current in the Country for their value; but what is Coin'd there in a Mint is of Silver and Copper. The *Larines* are of Silver, being a long Coin of two twiſted Branches, worth 65 *Maravedies*, that is, about eight Pence, another is call'd *Xays* round like a Royal, and near about the ſame Value, that is ſix Pence. This is not ſo true Standard as the former, which is extraordinary fine. There is no Structure of Note in the City; but there are ſome publick Baths, very decent and well ſerv'd, where the Method is, that Men go in till Noon, and Women from that time till Sun ſet, which is ſo religiouſly obſerv'd, that any Man would be moſt ſeverely puniſh'd that ſhould attempt to invert this Order. That Cut of Water, which as I have ſaid was made by Hand, runs far up the Country fertilizing ſpacious Fields, and watring abundance of Palm-trees. Some old People aſſur'd me, that it was formerly Navigable as far as a Town thirty Leagues diſtant, of which it now falls very ſhort, and is ſtill remarkable to be cut by Hand. I was carry'd about three Leagues up it one Day, to ſee a *Xeque*, or Lord, who is poſſeſs'd of many of the Lands I afterwards paſs'd through. His Name was *Xeque Mahamed Eben Raxet*, a Man for his Preſence and Aſpect, worthy of a greater Poſt. He diſcours'd with me a long time, by means of an Interpreter, and ſeem'd to be well pleas'd becauſe he had never ſeen any *Frank*, ſo they call the *European* Chriſtians, and he admir'd my Garb, Language, and Behaviour, curiouſly obſerving every thing. After many kind offers, and being treated with ſome Goats Fleſh, ill boil'd, which was no ſmall Favour, I took my Leave; and going back down the River, which is very pleaſant, I ſaw the *Mahometans* that were in the Boat with me, riſe up at a certain Place, and Pray with much Attention. I look'd towards the Place they fac'd to in praying, and diſcover'd a Houſe like an Hermitage ſtanding on the Banks of the River, and asking what Place that was, they anſwer'd it was Dedicated to *Iza Ben Mariam*, that is, *JESUS* the Son of *Mary*, ſhewing me a conſiderable Quantity of Land, and Palm-

Moors Worſhip Chriſt.

tree Groves, whoſe Revenues belong'd to that Chappel, which I much admir'd, for tho' I knew that the *Mahometans* honour him much by the Title of *Ruyalah*, which ſignifies the Breath of God, I had never heard that they Dedicated any Church to him.

CHAP. IV.

My Departure from Bazora *through the Deſert, and a Diary of my Journey, till I came to* Mexat Aly, *a City in the ſame Deſert.*

AT my coming to *Bazora* I took up my Lodging in the Houſe of one *Santo Fonte*, a *Venetian* Merchant, with whom I came from *Ormuz*, in order to undertake this Journey with him, and a *Criollo*, or *Indian* born Gentleman, call'd *James de Melo de Sam Payo*, as alſo another *Portugueſe*, whoſe Name was *John Pinto*, a very worthy Man, both of them more deeply engag'd and concern'd with the aforeſaid *Fonte*. Coming to Diſcourſe of our proceeding on our Way, I uuderſtood we muſt ſtay there four or five Months at leaſt, becauſe the River *Tygris* had not then Water enough for the Barks, which us'd to carry Goods to *Bagdat*, and there would be ſtill leſs till *Chriſtmas*, when it begins to riſe with the Rains, and there is no Sailing without, by reaſon there are many Shoals, and the Robbers have the Opportunity of ſetting upon the Barks, as they often do; beſides that when the Water is low they are not able to toe, or draw along the Veſſels, as they do almoſt all the way, which when the Water is deep enough laſts between thirty five and fifty Days, and when ſhallow, almoſt twice as long, as it hapned to a parcel of Boats that ſet out from *Bazora* twenty five Days before we arriv'd there, and was three Months on the way to *Bagdat* with much Trouble and Charge. Whilſt I was thus perplex'd, a *Caravan* began to fit out in order to go by Land, through the Deſert of *Arabia*, a Way before not frequented and uncertain. Deſpairing of an Opportunity in any time by the River, I propos'd to go with this *Caravan*, and conſulting about it with ſuch as were capable to adviſe me, they ſtarted a thouſand Difficulties; notwithſtanding all which I reſolv'd to go in this Company, ſince I had no Buſineſs of Moment to ſtay me, and might thus ſave Time. For the better compaſſing of it, I contracted with the Captain

tain of the *Caravan*, who was an *Arabian Mahometan* Inhabitant of *Bazora*, his Name *Agi Mahamed Benfalah Arſani*, by the Interpoſition of one *Muſtapha*, a Renegado Jew turn'd *Turk*, in whom the *Portugueſes* and *Venetians* trading there, repos'd much Confidence. He made the Bargain that he ſhould carry me, my Bed, and ſmall Equipage, to *Bagdat*, for 50 Ducats, and find me Attendance and Victuals, which was all the Way, as uſual with them, very little, naſty, and at unſeaſonable Hours. Some Amends was made by a Sack of choice Bisket and ſome Boxes of Marmalade, which he help'd me to ſpend more haſtily than 'tis likely he wou'd have done, had they been his own. I took with me 3 Bales of *Indigo* to defray my Charges, which he was alſo oblig'd to carry, clear of all Duties and Impoſitions; and this I found the cheapeſt, not ſo much for the Charge, as to ſave the Trouble I ſaw others put to, about paying the Duties for themſelves and their Goods. When I was ready to depart, *James de Melo* reſolv'd to go with me, without waiting for *Santo Fonte*, who could not diſpatch ſo ſoon, by reaſon he had abundance of Goods to diſpoſe of; ſo that he agreed with *Muſtapha* aforeſaid, and we ſet out, I being much oblig'd to another *Venetian* Merchant, whoſe Name was *Jerome Bon Tempely*, who did me many Favours.

Journey by Land to Bagdat.

On the South Side of *Bazora* is a large open Plain, where a great Market and Fair is kept; and on *Fridays* the *Mahometans* who are numerous and good Horſemen, meet on Horſeback to ſolemnize that Day, which is their Feſtival, and only diſtinguiſh'd from other Days in this Ceremony, and more punctual Meeting in the *Moſques*; for they make no Scruple of Working or following their common Buſineſs on it. Having taken leave of our Friends, on the 2d of *September*, we went to this Place, whence the *Caravan* ſet forward, and lay there that Night, which was the firſt of the many bad ones we afterwards had, waiting for our Captain, who had not yet diſpatch'd all his Buſineſs. The next Day being *Friday* the 3d we follow'd the reſt, I on a Camel, and my Companions on Horſeback. We rode about half a League thro' Palm-Tree Groves, and then enter'd upon deſart Plains that us'd to be overflow'd, and at this time were cover'd with Salt, made by the violent Heat of the Sun, of the Water of the *Perſian* Gulf, which tho' above ten Leagues diſtant, ſometimes drowns them; ſo that very much Land before fruitful, is quite loſt. We rode along a Bank rais'd by Hand, 6 or 7 Spans high and 5 in Breadth, for 4 Leagues, till we came to a Place call'd *Drahemya*, where we took up our Lodging, in the Ruins of the ſecond *Bazora*, whereof there are

Feilds of Salt.

ſome Remains to be ſeen, as the Walls of a great *Moſque*, part of thoſe which inclos'd the City, and of the Ditch, and it appears to have been a great City. There are ſome Wells of good Water, and the Land is cultivated, and yields Wheat, Barley, and Herbs. Thus far we travell'd to the Southward; and continued here all *Saturday* and *Sunday* following, beginning to feel the exceſſive Heat of the Sun, which is intolerable at that time. On *Monday* the 6th of *September* we mov'd, after much contending with the *Arabs* intruſted by *Xeque Mahomet Eben Raxet*, Lord of thoſe Lands, whom I ſaid before, I was carry'd to viſit, about ſome Duties to be paid by ſuch as travel that Way with Merchandiſe. The Uſage I now and at other times ſaw many met with, made me think all I had given the Captain well beſtow'd, to eaſe me of ſo much Trouble. Here we began to advance Weſt North Weſt, thro' Deſarts wonderful plain, leaving a very high Mountain 6 or 7 Leagues off, on our Left Hand, which I judg'd might be 2 Leagues in Length, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Gibel Sinam*, being that *Sinam*, where formerly the firſt *Bazora* ſtood. They ſay it has Plenty of Water, which is there taken by the *Caravans* that go from *Bazora* to *Mecca*, that being their Way. All theſe Lands and the reſt about are ſo very level, that the Mountain look'd like an Iſland in the midſt of the Sea. Having travell'd little above 2 Leagues we halted at Noon near certain Wells of good Water, in a Field full of *Coloquintida*, which the *Arabs* of the Deſart make uſe of to cure their Diſeaſes, infuſing it in Camels Milk. The *Arabs* call this Place *Bragacya* or *Cobrocya*, ſignifying *A Place of Ducats*. Here all the *Caravan* was together, which tho' ſmall, conſiſted of 150 Camels, 95 Aſſes, and 12 Horſes. Here we found ſome People, who as ſoon as they ſaw us made away, and we were inform'd they were wretched *Beduines*, that is, miſerable poor *Arabs*, who range about thoſe Deſarts by Families, naked, or clad in Skins of Beaſts they hunt for Food, as Deer, Wild Goats, and Aſſes, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, and the like. We broke up from hence about 4 in the Afternoon, travell'd thro' Plains like thoſe before mention'd, full of many Wells of good ſweet Water; paſſing by the Ruins of 2 great Houſes, formerly the Dwelling of thoſe who till'd the Fields, which are all call'd *Choa Badeh*; and having advanc'd about 2 Leagues farther, took up our Quarters in a barren Field, without any Water, to ſtay for one of our Camels, that fell under his Burthen, and was left behind.

Old Bazora.

Tueſday the 7th we ſet forward before Day, and travell'd thro' a mighty plain Country, and exceſſive dry, the Sun violent hot,

hot, and a ſtrong South Wind, which ſcorch'd like Fire. Our Journey was long; for meeting with no Water, we went till Noon above 5 Leagues and a half, and pitch'd our Camp in a Plain the *Arabs* call *Reamelah*, where were 3 Wells of dirty, thick and brackiſh Water; but much Thirſt made it go down very well. This Day 2 Camels fell three Times under me; for which reaſon the Captain to accommodate me the better, bought a good Camel and an Aſs of one of our Company, which he afterwards paid very ill for. This Journey was to the North and North Weſt. *Wedneſday* the 8th we ſet out before Day Weſtward, riding over ſandy Fields and dry Deſarts, till one in the Afternoon, for about 7 Leagues, and reſted in a Plain call'd as well as the other *Choa Bedeh*, exactly like a Threſhing Floor, and about 2 Leagues in Compaſs. In the midſt of it were 8 Cottages of *Beduines*, like thoſe before mention'd, cover'd with thick Cloths made of Goats Hair. Here were ſome Wells of filthy ſtinking Water, drawing ſome out of one of which, we pull'd up a great Poiſonous Snake dead. All this Day there was a mighty thick Smoke to the Northward, which they told us was on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, where the *Arabs* inhabiting thoſe Parts, burnt the Reeds in order to Sow. That was about 2 good Days Journey from us; and all the Way we ſaw many Hares and Field Mice: Theſe laſt are about as big as our common large ones, their Hair ſad Colour, with an Eye of white, their Ears, Fore Feet, and Tails, are like a Mouſe, but the End of the Tail, the Eyes and Head, are like a Rabbet, and the Hind Legs reſemble thoſe of a wild Goat: They are very ſwift at a ſort of leaping Run, make Burrows under Ground, and there are great Numbers of them in that Deſart, which the *Arabs* eat, and ſay they are good Meat. We left this Place at 4 in the Afternoon, and proceeding 3 Leagues farther, thro' a fatter Land, and not ſo plain, took up after Sun-ſet in a ſort of Vale without any Water, yet had ſome wither'd Weeds, and Abundance of large Snakes. This is alſo comprehended under the Name of *Choa Bedeh*. *Thurſday* the 9th we got up with the Dawn, and march'd about 6 or 7 Leagues over Sands and troubleſome Deſarts till Noon, when we came to a Well that was pav'd, the Water of it clear and freſh, but of ſuch a noiſome Scent, that there was no coming near it. I thought it might be occaſion'd for want of the Sun's Coming to it, and not being ſtirr'd, becauſe about 30 Fadom deep; but was undeceiv'd by ſeeing a Snake with Feet, drawn out of it in a Bucket, being 4 Spans in Length, and almoſt one in Breadth; a hideous Creature, by the *Arabs* call'd *Hheun* and *Hhyuna*, and

Field Mice.

and *Aben*, all which ſignifie Eyes. On the Way we found a *Gazelle* or Beaſt like a Roe, newly dead, without any Hurt we could perceive, but gueſs'd it might be bit by ſome Snake. At a ſmall Diſtance were abundance of Oſtrich Feathers, which the Camel drivers carefully pick'd up, being much valu'd in thoſe Parts. We ſaw very many Hares and Field Mice, and travell'd Weſtward. Going on again at 4 in the Afternoon the ſame Way, at the End of 3 Leagues we pitch'd our Tent in a great Plain, ſtrew'd with Salt, and without any Water.

Friday the 10th we ſet out two Hours before Day, through Lands like the laſt, towards the Weſt South Weſt, and at 3 Leagues End came among great Mountains of Sand, with ſome Shrubs, a very bad Way, inſomuch that what with that and what with the Heat of the Sun and Want of Water, ſome Camels and Aſſes periſh'd, and the Men almoſt ſpent, at one in the Afternoon, came to a plain Spot lying under a Bank of Sand, full of *Coloquintida*, and call'd by the *Arabs Hynigha*. Here was a Parcel of *Arabian* Robbers, who ſeeing the *Caravan* make ready to ſtand on its Defence, went away. There were ſeveral Wells, but all of them ſtopp'd up with Mud. When a little clear'd they all yielded Plenty of good pure Water, ſome at a Fathom, others at a Cubit, 2, or 3, in Depth; ſo that we fill'd our ſelves and took Proviſion, praiſing God, that he had afforded us that Relief when we were almoſt dead. This Day we travell'd about 8 Leagues, which might be reckon'd 14, conſidering the Badneſs of the Way, the Heat of the Sun, our Hunger and Thirſt, and the Dread of the *Arabian* Robbers that generally infeſt the Deſarts and wait where there is Water, in hopes of a Booty, and ſpare not one another, when they are of different Families or Tribes; and therefore the *Caravans* always hire ſome *Arabs* of thoſe Hords they may meet with, that they may be ſpar'd for their Sake, as we did; and they ſerv'd us to this Purpoſe, and as Pilots to ſhew us the Way and Waters; for there is no travelling without: Nor were we more afraid of Strangers, than of thoſe we had with us, becauſe they are a faithleſs, unſteady, and extraordinary covetous People, and being perſwaded that the *Francs*, which are the *European* Chriſtians, are all very rich, they never ceaſe meditating to rob, and on that Score ſometimes kill them. God be prais'd that he deliver'd us from them; for they had ſome Practices againſt us, and particularly againſt *James de Melo*, who was in the Company, becauſe they ſaw he carry'd himſelf haughtily, and expected much Attendance, which caus'd him Trouble enough all the Way; a thing he who deſigns to travel there, ought

Arabian Robbers

ought carefully to avoid, that he may be as little as poſſible obſerv'd by the *Arabs*, who rarely take Notice of Men for any Good, without ſome Hope of Profit. We were in ſuch a Condition when we came to this Place, that we durſt not venture any farther, and therefore lay there at Night, ſome *Jews* that came in the *Caravan* being gone before the laſt Night, in Company of an *Arab*, the Captain uſes to allow them upon ſuch Occaſions for their Guard, for which they give him ſome Conſideration at the End of the Journey. They go before, that gaining ſo much Ground, they may reſt on *Saturday*, when they muſt not travel without being left behind the *Caravan*. *Saturday* the 11th having reſted moſt part of the Day near the Wells, we mov'd at 5 in the Afternoon 2 Leagues to the North Weſt, and halted before Sun-ſet to ſtay for a loaded Camel that lagg'd behind; for this they are ſubject to, who travel with *Caravans*.

Sunday the 12th we ſet forward 3 Hours before Sun riſing, to the Weſt North Weſt, through a very Plain Country, with only ſome ſmall Hillocks, all good Land, but dry. Having gone a League and a half we found ſome Wells of good Water, but went on, and at 11 in the Morning came to a dry Channel, which in Winter they ſay has much Water, and I thought it likely by the Nature of its Situation and Capaciouſneſs. Over it, on a riſing Ground is ſtill an ancient ſquare Fort, with 12 Baſtions, 3 on each Side, made of burnt Brick and Lime, ſtrong and well built. Without it at about 60 Paces Diſtance, is a ſmall *Alcoran* or Tower ten Cubits high, tho' it appear'd to have been higher, of the ſame Structure, all decay'd with Age; yet it appears to be a Royal Fabrick, by its Goodneſs and the Place it ſtands in, where it could not be rais'd without mighty Coſt and much Labour, and Difficulty. It was done by an *Arabian* King, Grandfather to *Xeque Mahamed Eben Raxet*, whom I ſaid before I was carry'd to ſee, to ſecure the *Caravans* going that way before the *Turks*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Bagdat* and *Bazora*. The *Arabs* call it *Alcayzar* or *Kayzar*, which ſignifies, a Palace or *Cæſar*'s Houſe, for ſo they call all that belong to Kings or Princes. This they reckon the half way from *Bazora* to *Mexat Aly*, whither we were going. We found ſome Wells in this Channel, the Water of them clear and freſh, but of an intolerable ill Scent, yet Neceſſity prevail'd. This Journey was about 8 Leagues, and here we ſtay'd till four in the Afternoon, when we advanc'd three Leagues farther and halted at Sun ſetting. This Day five Camels dy'd with being over wrought, whoſe Fleſh all the *Caravan* fed on, and invited us to do the ſame; but we did not, tho' our Proviſions began to fall ſhort. *Monday* the 13th, the *Caravan* mov'd

Fort in a Deſart.

mov'd three Hours before Day to the North West, over plain Grounds, apt to be overflow'd by the River *Euphrates*, when it ſwells, being a ſmall Days Journey from thence, and they are full of Salt Peter, Stony, and have ſome wild Shurbs. Having travell'd about 7 Leagues by Eleven in the Morning, we halted on an uneven ſandy Field, to expect ſome Camels that were left behind, one of which dy'd, and being oblig'd to ſend another to fetch his Load, we lay there all that Night. The Water was on our Right Eaſtward, a little above half a League diſtant, which when brought was not very pleaſing to us, for tho' clear and thin, it was as Salt as that in the Sea.

Springs of Sayda.

Tueſday the 14th we held on our Journey, an Hour before Sun riſing through a Country like the laſt mention'd, and having travell'd about ſix Leagues by 11 of the Clock, ſettl'd in a Plain, half a League from ſome Wells there are among the Ruins of an ancient large Town, whereof only the Rubbiſh now appears, and theſe Wells, with ſome Palm Trees. The *Arabs* now call the Place *Hayun Sayda*, that is, the Springs of *Sayda*. The Water was not very good, yet better than the Day before. At four of the Clock in the Afternoon, we left this Place and went three Leagues farther. *Wedneſday* the 15th we began our Jonrney two Hours before Day towards the North West, and having travell'd about an Hour, ſaw a great Fire to the Eaſtward, which all the Company ſaid was made by *Arabian Beduyn* Robbers. The Country was not plain like that before, but Hilly, and having gone ſix Leagues, we took up at 10 in the Morning, in a Place the *Arabs* call *Kalb alſor*, that is, Cows or Oxes Heart, where was a Well of dirty ſtinking Water. Here, upon Information given by one of the Pilots of the *Caravan*, an *Arab* was ſeiz'd, being poſitively reported to be a Spy belonging to a Tribe or Hord of *Arabs* hard by, and had bore us Company from *Bazora*, to go and give Notice from that Place, for them to come and rob us; and tho' he confidently deny'd what was charg'd upon him, however to prevent all Danger, they carry'd him bound to *Mexat Aly*. The ſame Day we proceeded four Leagues farther, and incamp'd after Sun ſet, in a convenient Place, more orderly than before, intrenching our ſelves about with the Loads of Goods, the Men, Camels and Beaſts in the middle, all the Arms in Readineſs, and four Men the *Caravan* brought for that Purpoſe keeping Guard all Night very watchfully, with Fires, as well for Fear of the Robbers there are about that Place, as of the Lions, and the more for that one had the Day before attack'd a Man in our Company, but it pleas'd God he was not hurt; and it was a wonder,

der, that ſo many being in thoſe Parts, we ſaw very few, and thoſe not near.

Thurſday the 16th, ſetting out three Hours before Sun riſing, after two Leagues riding we came into a large Brake, through which in Winter runs a Rapid Stream, by the *Arabs* call'd *Hhanega*, ſignifying, the drowning Place; perhaps the Name might be given it from the Misfortune of ſome People or Beaſts; along this Brake there were ſome Trees and Green Graſs. After travelling about 8 Leagues North Weſt, we reſted at Noon, in a pleaſant Place, ſomewhat Shaded with Reeds and Shrubs, having Wells of good Water, and call'd by the *Arabs*, *Semat*. From three in the Afternoon till ten at Night, we march'd about five Leagues farther through an uncooth, dry, ſtony and uneven Country; having all this Days Journey ſeen many Flocks of wild Aſſes. *Friday* the 17th, having advanc'd two Hours before Day, we were alarm'd, as the Light appear'd, by 50 *Arabian* Robbers, who paſs'd before us on 25 Camels, for they commonly traverſe that Deſert by two and two on a Camel; and when they reſolve to fall on, they alight at ſome Diſtance, where they bend one fore Foot of each Camel, and tye it up which makes them not ſtir out of the Place, and then they give the Attack. Their uſual Weapons are Spears, Bows and Arrows, Swords, Bucklers and *Caniales*, which are like great Broad Daggers bow'd. Many of them alſo ride about the Deſert on Horſeback. The *Caravan*, that is, the Company of Travellers ſtood to their Arms, there being among us about 40 Archers, 12 Muſquetiers, 4 Horſemen with Spears, beſides ſome other Hand Weapons. The Robbers paſs'd by without ſtopping, we ſuſpecting they durſt not attempt us, being ſo few, and were gone to call more, but they did not return. However we kept upon our Guard, travelling in the beſt Order we could: Thoſe that were beſt arm'd, march'd in the Van, Skipping and Singing aloud, to encourage one another to fight the Enemy in Defence of themſelves and the Company. We perform'd this Journey, being between 3 and 4 Leagues at full Speed, in Sight of a great Lake form'd there by the Water of the River *Euphrates*, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Being ſo fearful of Robbers, and ſo ſpent with Riding, the Heat, Hunger, and Thirſt, that every thing diſturb'd and alarm'd us; ſo that making up to a Water to reſt, as we afterwards did, and perceiving ſome People about it, we concluded they were Robbers. All the Company made ready to engage them: but one of the *Arabian* Pilots or Guides, clapping Spurs to a Grey Mare he rode; for they rather make uſe of them than of Horſes, reckoning they are more fleet, ſafer, and

Hhanega *Stream.*

easier to be kept in the Deserts, came up with them wonderful swiftly in a Moment, and having view'd them, return'd to inform us they were *Beduin* Hunters, who had their Cottages there for the Sake of the Water, which ran in a great Stream, by the *Arabs* call'd *Utcela*. The Water was plentiful and good, the Place cool and shady, with Trees, Reeds, Rushes, and other Plants, and we came to it at one in the Afternoon, having travell'd 6 Leagues. At three we held on our Way, leaving the *Jews* there, because the next Day was *Saturday*, when they could not travel, and advancing 3 Leagues farther, took up our Lodging in a Plain where there was no Water. *Saturday* the 18th we mov'd 2 Hours before Day, over a plain Country to the North West, about 2 Leagues from the Side of the Lake; and having travell'd about 8, came to the Head of it, or North End, at one in the Afternoon. All the Lands we rode over this Day are sow'd with Wheat, Barley, Cotton and Greens, being water'd by a little fresh Brook that runs across them.

Utcela *Water.*

We had sight of the Town of *Mexat Aly* ever since Morning, as being seated on an Eminency over the Lake, to the Eastward, and that Scituation deceived us, making it appear nearer than it was. But particularly *James de Melo* thought so, and being desirous to rest, he rode before, his haste cost him his Horse, which dy'd with the Heat and Fatigue, and he himself fell sick. In this Place there was fresh Water and green Grass, but no shelter against the Sun, whose Reflection was violent. We made the best shift we could, but I far'd worse than many others, because I could not prevail upon my self to eat of a Dish of Rice my Captain had caus'd to be dress'd, with much of the Fat and Grease of a Camel that dy'd by the way, and my Wallet being very low, I was forc'd to have Patience till Night, when Provision was not much more plentiful. We left this Place at three in the Afternoon, travelling apace along the side of the Lake, between it and the Foot of the Rock adjoining to it, sometimes directing our Course North, sometimes East, and sometimes South. Having travell'd about six Leagues we came to *Mexat Aly*, an Hour after Night, going up a high and steep Hill to it from the Lake, at the Foot whereof many Men and Children came and saluted us all in general, and particularly their Kindred and Acquaintance.

Notable Cookery.

Being this Day, whilst the *Caravan* rested at the Head of the Lake, in the Hut of one *Xeque Alaby* my great Friend, he complain'd that a Camel he rode on was much hurt in his fore Foot, and that being an easy Goer it would trouble him if the Beast could not hold out the Journey. The words were scarce out of his

his Mouth, when they brought him the Camel, and with him one of the *Arabian* Pilots, or Guides; then cauſing him to lye down, the *Arab* took up his Foot, to ſee what it ail'd, and found a large and deep Hole in the bottom of it, which put him to great Pain. He cleans'd it with an Iron, picking out abundance of ſmall Stones and clammy Earth; when well clear'd, he ſtop'd it up with Cotton and burnt Rags, then took a Piece of Leather, big enough to cover the Foot and ſow'd it on, giving one Stich in the Foot, and another on the inſide of the Leather, juſt as they ſole a Stocken, ſo artificially that I was amaz'd at it, and thus the Beaſt could go and grew better, without receiving any other Harm. This I have mention'd to ſhow how able a Miſtreſs Neceſſity is, even among the moſt barbarous People.

Notable Cure of a Camel.

The Lake before mention'd, comes from the River *Euphrates*, whoſe Waters when there are Flouds run off that Way, by reaſon of the Diſpoſition of the Ground, and many others flowing in from other Parts of the Deſert, they form that which is like a Sea; and this appears by the Marks the Water leaves, which is fifty Spans higher at the time of Inundations, than when I ſaw them, which was the time they are loweſt. This Lake has no regular Shape, but runs out into ſeveral Bays, and extends more in Length than otherwiſe, the Circumference being between thirty five and forty Leagues, and the wideſt Place ſix Leagues over. About the middle of it is a Paſs that may be forded by Camels, when the Water is loweſt, which was at the time I was there, all other Parts are deeper. The Water comes freſh into it, but becomes ſalt there by reaſon the Land is full of Salt-peter, ſo that abundance of Salt is made of it, only by the violent Heat of the Sun, and ſerves the Towns about and *Bagdat*. The Water is not ſo ſalt when the Lake ſwells as when it declines. It has abundance of Fiſh great and ſmall, which make it reſorted to by infinite Numbers of Water Fowl, feeding there, and reſting in the many ſmall Iſlands it contains. The *Arabs* call this Lake *Rahemah*.

Rahemah *Lake at* Mexat Aly.

We arriv'd at *Mexat Aly*, as was ſaid before, on *Saturday* the 18th and an Hour after Night, and it being ſo late, all the *Caravan*, went to unload at a *Khan*, or *Karoancero*, ſo they call a Houſe built to entertain the *Caravans* and Paſſengers; being like the Cloiſters of our Monaſteries in Shape and Figure, with very little difference, divided into Chambers, each of them with a Door and Lock, and a Place to dreſs Meat, as alſo a common Privy. Some have a Well in the middle, others a Place for Cattle. Thoſe abroad in the Country are not thus divided. Some are able to contain three or four hundred Men, and ſome are given out of Charity, being built for this purpoſe by wealthy *Mahometans*,

A Caravanſera *deſcrib'd.*

where only a ſmall matter at Will is beſtow'd on thoſe who have the Charge of looking to them; others are hir'd, but at a very low rate. There are of theſe in *India*, where they call them *Chules*; but they are neither ſo well built nor ſo cleanly. In this *Khan* we took up our Lodging, becauſe it was Night. The Houſe was large, and tho' decay'd, appear'd to have been a curious and coſtly Structure. There we lay, no better accomodated than before, the Place being foul, ſtony, uneven, ill ſhelter'd, and unfit for Reſt, eſpecially for us who came ſo much Fatigu'd, that ſome of the Men fell ſick and no ſmall number of the Cattle dy'd. Our Supper conſiſted of Dates, ſower Milk, and Water, being a Preſent ſent my Captain, and no great Collation, for one that had ſcarce broke his Faſt all the Day, becauſe my private Stock of Biſcuit was then juſt ended. There was no Remedy but Patience, which is one of the moſt neceſſary things a Man ought to make Proviſion of upon ſuch Journeys. *James de Melo* and his Companion *Muſtapha*, who came before, and had taken a good Lodging in another *Khan* went to find me out in the Morning, and after Saluting and Embracing, as if we had not ſeen one another in a long time, they deſir'd me to go to their Quarters, which I would not do without poſitive Leave and Orders from my Captain, to avoid giving him I deſir'd to pleaſe, any occaſion to complain. They beg'd it of him, and when obtain'd I went along with them, and we continu'd together till our Departure.

Mexat Aly *Deſcrib'd.*

Mexat Aly, or *Mam Aly*, which is all the ſame, and ſignifies *Alis Moſque*, or Houſe of Prayer, is a Town founded almoſt a thouſand Years ago, for it is near ſo much ſince he dy'd. He was Nephew to *Mahomet* and his Son in Law, commonly call'd *Mortz Aly*, of whom his Conqueſts and Valour the Followers of his Sect, who are mortal, Enemies to the *Sunis*, profeſſing that of the *Turks*, tell ſuch Feats and Miracles, as are worthy to be laugh'd at, or rather lamented. Not to mention them, as foreign from our Purpoſe, and deliver'd by many, I will ſpeak of the Town, the Inhabitants whereof ſay that *Aly* being baſely murder'd by a Servant that had belong'd to him ſince he was a Child, at *Kufa*, a Town not far from this, now quite gone to Decay, the dead Body being waſh'd and anointed after their manner, was, as he had order'd before his Death, made faſt on a Camel, permitting him to go whither he would, but following to ſee where he made a Stand; and after many Turnings and Windings, he came to reſt in that Deſert, which is as ſolitary as may be. Thoſe who follow'd came up, and made a Grave for the dead Body in the ſame Place, which in Proceſs of Time, thro' the Affection and Concourſe of his Devotes and Followers

Aly's *Burial.*

Followers, was ſo enrich'd with Offerings, Gifts, and Preſents, that a ſtately *Moſque* and *Alcoran* or *Steeple* of curious Structure was erected to him, tho' now that Sect declining, the Number of the Offerings and Viſitants is ſmaller, and the Building has loſt much of its Beauty and Grace. The Ground being reputed Holy on account of that Body, there was ſo great a Reſort to it, that by degrees it grew up into a Town, which when in its flouriſhing Condition, about 50 or 60 Years ſince, contain'd between 6 and 7000 Houſes, moſt of them large and well built, as ſtill appears by the Ruins. At preſent there are not above 500 inhabited, and moſt of thoſe poor and ill furniſh'd. Some of the Inhabitants told me the Town had utterly declin'd ſince the Death of *Xa Thamas* King of *Perſia*, who had been a very great Friend to it. It was inclos'd with a Wall, which is now broken down in many Places; the *Moſque* and Houſes all built with Brick. It has no Water but of Wells, and that is ſalt; ſo that thoſe who will have freſh, are ſaid to bring it from a Trench, *Sultan Selim* the Great *Turk* drew from the River *Euphrates*, to 3 Leagues Diſtance, with immenſe Labour and Charge: We could not drink of it when we came thither, becauſe the Trench was foul and chok'd up, and they were cleanſing it as they do every Year. Here is great Scarcity of Wood, and all Neceſſaries are brought from abroad, as Sheep, Fowl, Wheat, Barley, Fruit and Greens; but the common Food of the Inhabitants is Dates, ſour Milk, and Cakes of Wheat and Barley. There is much Fiſh in the Lake, but they make little Uſe of it. Moſt of the People are white, but of a perverſe Diſpoſition. No *Chriſtian* or *Jew* ever ſettles in this Town, becauſe they are mortally hated, as are all *Mahometans* who profeſs not their Sect. They value themſelves upon being ſtrict Obſervers of it, inſomuch as to look upon it as a Sin to talk or converſe with the others, and are mighty nice, and perform many Ceremonies upon receiving any thing they have touch'd. There are ſtill to be ſeen ſome Ruins of *Sucos*, which were Markets built with Brick, as is uſual in moſt Towns in thoſe Parts, with Windows to let in the Sun and Light, ſo artificial, that they ſufficiently teſtifie it was a Noble Place. In *Aly*'s Moſque there are ſome Pieces of Value, and among the reſt 3 large Gold Lamps, ſet with Precious Stones, preſented by ſeveral Princes. The Country is ſubject to the *Turk*, to whom the Lord of it, who is an *Arabian* King pays Tribute; and here uſes to be a Garriſon of 50 *Turks*, at that time all abſent, being call'd to *Bagdat*, by reaſon of the War with the *Perſians*; and the Inhabitants being free from them,

them, were ſo maſterleſs and unruly, that they committed all ſorts of Violences and Outrages, without any Fear or Shame.

When the Company had reſted 4 Days, and left ſome of the Inhabitants of this Place that came in the *Caravan*, we ſet out again on *Thurſday* the 23th of the ſame Month, 3 Hours before Sun Riſing, travelling Northwards thro' extraordinary plain but barren Fields, yet along a beaten Road, on which we met Travellers on Horſebaek and on Foot, and Gangs of Camels and Aſſes. Having travell'd about 7 Leagues, by half an Hour after 11, we reſted in a *Khan* or *Karoanero*, which was old but ſpacious and well built, and near it in a curious Plain was a fine Well, and about 2 Musket Shot from it 15 Cottages or Tents of *Arabs*, with many Camels. Three Leagues ſhort of this Place, and about half a League from the Road, we ſaw a great Houſe with a high Tower, where is the Tomb and Body of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, call'd *Ezkhel* by the *Jews* and *Moors*, and held in great Veneration both on account of his Life and Sanctity, and for the Miracles they ſay God works there for his Servant's Sake. In this *Khan* where we reſted, by the *Arabs* call'd *Efegel*, *James de Melo* found himſelf ill of a Fever, which he had before ſome Symptoms of at *Aly*. He was oblig'd to travel on a Camel, as well for his Eaſe as becauſe his Horſe was not able to carry him; and he not being us'd to ſuch Fatigues, as bred daintily, which generally they are in *India*, was very impatient. It pleas'd God he mended upon twice bleeding and ſome Phyſick preſcrib'd him. We went thence at 3 in the Afternoon, and travelling over a hard Sand and very plain Country to the Northward, 6 Leagues till Sun Set, took up near another *Karoancero*, by the *Arabs* call'd *Geneza*, in a curious tho' dry Plain, where was a large Well of clean and good Water. *Friday* the 24th we proceeded on our Journey haſtily at 2 in the Morning, over a moſt barren Country, and at Break of Day diſcover'd the Town of *Mexat Ocem*, yet did not reach it till 9 in the Morning, travelling to the North Weſt. This Journey was about 7 Leagues when entring the City, we took up our Lodging in a *Khan* there is, very well built, which is allow'd for Charity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Deſcription of Mexat Ocem; *our croſſing the Country of* Meſopotamia, *and Rivers* Tigris *and* Euphrates, *and coming to* Bagdat *on the former of them.*

Mexat Ocem *deſcrib'd.*

MExat *Ocem*, or *Mam Ocem*, that is, *Ocem*'s *Moſque*, is a open Town of above 4000 Houſes, ſome of them well contriv'd after the Country Faſhion, but all of a mean Structure. It is inhabited by Native *Arabs* and *Turks* plac'd over the Lands belonging to it, none of whom were then in the Place, being all gone to *Bagdat* to the War; for which reaſon many *Agemis* or *Perſians* reſiding there had alſo left it, not thinking themſelves ſafe whilſt the War continued between the *Turks* and *Perſians*. All the Natives of *Mexat Ocem* are *Rafazis* or *Xyahis*, that is, of the ſame Sect with thoſe of *Mexat Ali* abovemention'd, and conſequently hate any other Religion, whether of *Mahometans*, *Chriſtians*, or *Jews*, of which two laſt none live there, and ſuch as only paſs thro' are ill look'd upon. All the Markets are built with Brick, and good Structures. The great Concourſe of Trading People from all Parts, makes it abound in Proviſions and Merchandize. Here is a *Moſque*, and an *Alcoran* or *Tower* dedicated to *Ocem* the Son of *Ali*, who is bury'd in this Place, and died in it for Thirſt, it being then a Deſert; for which reaſon all the *Mahometans*, and particularly thoſe of this Sect, look upon it as a very meritorious Act to give Water for God's Sake, to ſuch as ask it; and many go about the Streets with Skins full of it, and clean Braſs Cups, giving all that are a dry to drink, without requiring any thing for it, yet refuſe not what is freely offer'd them. The *Moſque* and *Alcoran*, conſidering the Place, are wonderful for Workmanſhip, Grandeur, and Coſt; and tho' very near as ancient as the Father's, being as well as that, founded and increas'd by the Devotion of the *Xyais*, it ſtill appears much more ſightly and beautiful. The Materials are Lime, Brick, and curious painted Tiles like thoſe we call *Dutch*, and ſome *Moſaick* Work. Proviſions are here very plentiful and cheap, as Wheat, Barley, Rice, Greens, Fruit, and Fleſh. The Air is more temperate and pleaſant than in thoſe Countries we have laſt ſpoken of. Here are ſome publick Wells of very good Water, pleaſant Trees, ſeveral ſorts of *European* Fruit. The Land is fertiliz'd by a Trench from the River *Euphrates*, which is 8 Leagues diſtant

Mahometan *Charity.*

diſtant, and ſupplies it when ſwell'd with the Rain. There is Plenty of great and ſmall Cattel, feeding on the Paſture about the Town, eſpecially in certain Plains, which being flooded in the Winter, are full of Graſs all the reſt of the Year. At the end of the Town, towards the River *Euphrates*, are 2 great ſquare Pools, which ſeem to have been formerly made for Recreation, by the Ruins of Lodgings and Galleries there are about them. They are very large, and now ſerve to receive the Water brought by the aforeſaid Trench, which is generally us'd when they want other. This Town, and that of *Mexat Ali* are both ſubiect to *Mir Nacer* an *Arabian* King, paying Vaſſalage to the *Turk*, who devours thoſe Lands; and yet whilſt I was there, the Horſes, Furniture, Veſts, and Arms of 34 *Turks*, a Troop of *Arabs* belonging to this ſame Town had murder'd and ſtripp'd, were publickly ſold; for all things being in Diſorder, by reaſon of the War between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, and the *Turkiſh* Garriſon, to whom thoſe Lands were diſtributed, being abſent, the Natives had nothing to ſtand in awe of. They generally make uſe of Camels, Horſes, Aſſes, and Oxen, to carry Burthens. The People are white, of an indifferent good Aſpect, not coſtly in their Expences, and moſt of the Men ride on Horſeback. This Town, as well as that of *Mexat Ali*, is very ſcarce in Wood, inſtead whereof they burn much Cow's and Camel's Dung.

My Captain came to be marry'd in this Town, to a Woman of his own Family or Tribe, being of the beſt Quality there, and went directly to lodge at his Bride's Houſe, which was new built, pleaſant enough, and had much Conveniency for his Camels and Servants. *James de Melo*, his Comrade *Muſtapha*, I, and many others of the *Caravan*, took up our Lodging in a *Khan* or *Karoancero*, whence my Captain carry'd me ſometimes to his Houſe, to dine with his Kindred and Friends, upon thoſe Danties they had at the Wedding, being courſe ſweet Cakes of Bread, ill made, not over cleanly, nor well bak'd; ſome Rice, Fleſh God knows how dreſs'd, in Pottage, Dates, and indifferent Fruit: All this on a round Skin ſpread upon the Ground; but the genteeleſt Part was, that every Man did eat with a Spoon; for it is frequent among the Country *Arabs* to have but one Spoon among 10 or 12, and every Man takes his Spoonful, waiting till it comes to his Turn again: The beſt of it is, that what they give is with a good Will and much Sincerity; for the *Arabs* outdo many other Nations in freely offering what they eat to any one that comes in or paſſes by, were there not other Abuſes that ſpoil all.

Poor Diet of the Arabs.

Whilſt

Whilſt we were in this Town there came Cuſtom Houſe Officers from *Bagdat*, with Orders to oblige the Merchants to go thither with their Goods, which many did, much againſt their Will. However they ſet out upon *Wedneſday* the 29th of *September*, only very few remaining behind, and we among them; becauſe our Captain did not furniſh us with Camels, for his were in ſuch a Condition, that Five of them dy'd ſoon, and the reſt were unfit to travel, and he being very covetous would not then hire others. After we had been there 8 Days uneaſy enough, for ſeveral Reaſons, and chiefly on Account of being log'd in a *Khan*, where was a Captain with 40 *Segmenes*, being Musketiers belonging to the *Turk*, tho' not *Turks*, who we dreaded might commit any Inſolency, as being a looſe, rude, boiſterous People, without any Conſcience, Honour, or Diſcipline. When theſe were ready to depart, being only quarter'd there in their way, a *Mahometan* came to me, and I know not why to me, more than any other of us there, and in the *Perſian* Tongue ſaid, we muſt be watchful and ſtand upon our Guard, for the *Segmenes* deſign'd when they went away, to take the Horſes belonging to my Companions, or at leaſt one of them. I return'd many Thanks and gave Notice to my Comrades, removing them to our Captains Houſe, where they were ſafe, and we continu'd upon the Watch in the *Khan*, till thoſe Men were gone. Thoſe few of us that remain'd of the *Caravan* ſo earneſtly entreated our Captain, that yielding to us, he prepar'd to bear us Company, attended by a Brother in Law of his own, a Man of Note and much honour'd with ſome of his Friends.

Segmenes *what they are.*

Being all met and furniſh'd, we ſet out from *Mexat Ocem* for *Bagdat*, on *Saturday* the 2d. of *October*, at 9 in the Morning, in much Dread of Robbers, that Road being as much Frequented by them as it is by Travellers. A great Part of our Day's Journey was along that Trench I have ſpoken of, whoſe Water ſpread abroad, fertilizes all thoſe Lands, which are very conſiderable. This Canal is about three Fadom and a half over, and one and half in Depth, along the Bottom whereof, being then dry, there were ſome Wells of good Water, and near them in the Sides of the ſame Channel were dug watering Places for Cattel. There lay alſo ſome Boats like thoſe they call *Danecas*, at *Bazora*, all daub'd with *Quir*, which is a Bitumen flowing Liquid, from two Springs at *Hyt*, a Town on the Bank of the *Euphrates*, and afterwards growing very hard. In thoſe Boats they run along the Canal when it has Water. This Day's Journey was through plain good Land, moſt Sow'd, eſpecially with Cotton, whereof they have much Plenty thereabouts. Having travell'd about 8 Leagues, at five in

Quir *Bitumen.*

the Afternoon we came to a *Khan*, that is ſtrong, ſpacious and cleanly, a Majeſtick Structure very capacious, and ſeated on the Bank of the River *Euphrates*, which runs there very ſmooth, and at that time being the End of the Summer, carries little Water. We did not croſs that Day becauſe it was late, but lay at Night on the Shore, keeping ſtrict Watch for Fear of Robbers, whereof there is no Scarcity.

Euphrates *River.*

Sunday the 3d of *October*, as ſoon as the Sun was up, we croſs'd the River in two Ferry Boats there are, paying a *Maydin* a Head or Pack, this being a Silver Coin worth 11 Maravedies, that is, about three Halfpence. Notwithſtanding all the Haſt we made, the Company and Baggage was not all over till ten of the Clock. This River, which is full of Windings, runs here North and South, ſo that we croſs'd to the Eaſtward; the Water was very muddy, and the Ferry Men aſſur'd me that it was above 30 Fadom deep in that Place, ſtor'd with Plenty of good Fiſh. The *Arabs* and *Perſians* call it *Forat*, and the *Hebrews*, *Parat*; the Breadth of it was there at that time about 200 Paces, but much more in the rainy Seaſon, for it riſes from four to ſix Cubits and upwards, and its Water reckoned moſt pure, is made uſe of to fertilize many plow'd Fields and Orchards. Being in *Meſopotamia*, which is juſt over the River, and going up a Hill, we came to another *Khan*, there is on that Side, above the River, not ſo ſtrong, ſpacious and well built, as that on the other Side oppoſite to it, yet convenient enough; ſeated on the Ruins of an ancient Town,

Mezayehb

call'd *Mezayehb*, whereof nothing now remains but the Name and ſome old Walls; but many Orchards abounding in Greens, Palm Trees and ſome *European* Fruits, all good and plentiful, fed by the Water drawn up from the River, running very low under thoſe Lands. This is done with an Engine conſiſting of Skins, which is drove by Oxen, an Invention of little Charge, eaſy and advantagious; tho' thoſe are better which being drove by the Stream of the River, throw up the Water as high and in as great Quantities as they pleaſe, as are us'd all along the Bank. Going up the River againſt the Stream, there are many Towns, the moſt Noted of them *Gedida* and *Hyt*, this laſt famous for the *Quir*, being the Bitumen above mention'd, which the *Portugueſes* in *India* call *Quile*, and uſe it to ſtanch the Ciſterns of Water they have in their Ships inſtead of Cask. Next follow *Hadyta*, *Haluz*, *Juba*, full of beautiful *Women*, *Mamura*, *Ana*, and many others as far as *Byra*, near *Aleppo*. Down the River a little above two Hours Travel, is *Hela* an ancient Town, in the way the Children of *Iſrael* paſs'd through going to *Babylon*, about which the Fields being in *Meſopotamia*, near the *Euphrates*, are all croſs'd by Ri-

Towns on the Euphrates.

vulets,

vulets, on which many Fruit Trees grow, and thoſe were the Rivers the Royal Pſalmiſt ſpeaks of in his Pſalm.

Having reſted at *Mozayebb*, till two in the Afternoon, we went up the Country of *Meſopotamia*, variouſly ſeated, but without any Mountain or notable Hill, our Courſe to the Northward, leaving the Place where the ancient *Babylon* ſtood, two Leagues from us, on the left Hand, and that is the moſt unfrequented Part of the Country, according to what was Prophecy'd of it. Travelling on a great Pace, at five in the Afternoon we paſs'd by a New *Khan*, handſome and ſtrong, ſeated in a Place moſt convenient for Robbers, becauſe many little Hills lying againſt one another, it is well contriv'd for Ambuſhes and Surprizes. This *Khan* was built out of Charity, at the Coſt of a *Turkiſh* Lady, Wife to an Officer of the *Grand Signior's* Revenue at *Bagdat*. We made no Stay, but going on with much Speed, came two Hours after Night to another *Khan*, call'd *Beremns*, that is, the half way Houſe, becauſe it is ſo between the two Rivers, a noble Structure, ſtrong and capacious. In it were 10 or 12 *Turkiſh* Troopers, who generally reſide there to aſſiſt Travellers upon any Occaſion. Oppoſite to this is another ancient *Khan*, inhabited by a few Families of poor People, who till ſome Grounds thereabouts and in it are certain Wells, the Water whereof is not very good, but it ſerves them, the *Caravans* and Paſſengers, there being no other without. A Muſket Shot from this is another old *Khan* or *Karoantcero*, gone to Ruin. It is about 8 Leagues from the River *Euphrates* to this Place. *Monday* the 4th of *October*, we ſet forwards very haſtily, at two in the Morning, to the Northward over Variety of Lands, ſome barren, others abounding in Paſture, which feeds numerous Flocks of great and ſmall Cattel, Camels, Horſes and other tame and ſerviceable Creatures, which drink of the Water of ſeveral Wells, eſpecially of two we ſaw well in Repair, Brick'd about, with each a Stone Trough or Ciſtern, which were the firſt Stones I ſaw in all the Way from *Mexat Aly* hither, and to *Bagdat*. When the Sun was up we diſcover'd that Part of *Bagdat*, which is in *Meſopotamia*, and the firſt thing of it the *Alcorans*, becauſe they being very high, and the Country not uneven, they appear four Leagues off. Having gone two of the four we found all the Way on both Sides, up to the Town Abundance of burnt Bricks, ſquare and decay'd with Age, ſome above Ground and others in Caves under it. This I take Notice of on Account of what I ſhall ſay hereafter of *Bagdat*.

Karoancero.

Having often Occaſion to ſpeak of theſe *Alcorans*, I will here deſcribe what they are, for the Information of ſuch as know it not. As in our Churches we uſually have Belfreies, ſo the *Mahometans*

Alcorans *what they are.*

build theſe to their *Moſques*, which tho' not all exactly alike, are generally ſhap'd like the Maſt of a Ship, being upright round and equal to the Round Top, and that is a Balcony, or Walk round it, from whence upward, like the Topmaſt it is ſhorter and ſlenderer. Within it are winding Stairs to go up to that Balcony, where the *Mulas* being Men appointed for that particular Service, at the uſual Hours, that is, thrice a Day, and twice in the Night cry out as loud as ever they are able, uttering theſe Words. *The great God, who has no equal, is only one, and I believe, and teſtify it and that* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger.* To this which is the eſſential Part, never to be omitted, they add other Expreſſions, ſtirring up the People to praiſe God; and in regard that the Book of *Mahomet*'s Sect is call'd *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, the ſame Name has been given to the Place appointed for proclaiming of it. Some of them in thoſe Parts are very majeſtick and coſtly.

I enter'd this Part of *Bagdat*, which is in *Meſopotamia*, at one in the Afternoon, but was before met by a *German* Youth I had known in *India* ſome Years, who had been inform'd that the *Caravan* was coming and I with it. He was here call'd *James Fernandez*, born at *Hamburgh*, where his right Name was *Joachim Ozemkroch*, being come thither 7 Days before from *Bazora*, it being three Months ſince he left that Place by Boat. One *Jafar* a Renegado, who had gone before the *Caravan* from *Ocem*, having told him I was coming, he ſent me a Letter thither which miſs'd of me, to adviſe me to be cautious what Way I took, the Renegado thinking I had deſign'd for ſhortning of the Journey, to take another not ſo much us'd and more dangerous, and therefore he gave me Notice of the many Difficulties and Hazards, there were then on the Road, by Reaſon of the War at *Aleppo*. We met at the Entrance into the Town, and he conducted me to his Houſe, where, and on the Way to *Aleppo*, on which we were Comrades, he oblig'd me with many Favours. This ſhows how advantageous it is to do good, when in our Power; for now after ſo long a time this Young Man requited the little Service I had before done him. I croſs'd the River with him, and at three of the Clock in the Afternoon enter'd the City on the other Side, having travell'd 10 Leagues that Day.

CHAP

Chap. VI.

The Deſcription of Bagdat.

Bagadad [as call'd by the Inhabitants, and by us *Bagdat*] a City of much Note, is ſeated on the River *Tigris*, which the Natives name *Digilah*, or *Diguylah*, as *Sevil* and *Triana* are on the *Guadalquivir*. The River runs thro' it North and South, very little inclining either Way, and when loweſt, as at the time when I went thither, is about 230 Paces over. It has a Bridge of 28 Boats, with Timbers laid athwart; and there is as much Diſtance between every 2 Boats as the Breadth of one of them, being 4 Paces, and the Ends of it are made faſt on both Sides to the Walls and Houſes, with large Iron Chains. Every Night it parts in the Middle, one half remaining on each Side, and the ſame is done at any time, when either the Wind or Water are too boiſterous, when there are Ferry Boats to croſs it, and as ſoon as calm, the Parts are joyn'd again. It is alſo divided every *Friday*, whilſt the *Baſſa* and People are in the *Moſque*, at their *Salah*, or *Prayer*, and when they come out united again. In Winter the River riſes 6 Cubits, or more, and ſometimes enters the City, ſtanding on a Bank rais'd little above it. The Water of it ſeem'd to me much more clear, pure, thin, and pleaſant, than that of the *Euphrates*, and it breeds Abundance of good Fiſh, which the *Mahometans* make their Advantage of. A *Maydin*, that is, the Value of 11 *Maravedies*, or about three Half Pence, is paid Toll for every Load of Goods, imported, or exported. Thoſe who come from *Meſopotomia*, as we did, to enter *Bagdat*, firſt paſs over thro' the Part that lies Weſtward of the River, croſſing a broad and deep dry Ditch, of the Earth taken from which is made a high Trench or Bulwark, ſerving inſtead of a Wall, to ſecure the Town from any Attack of the *Arabs*, who only can attempt it on that Side. There are 2 ſtanding Bridges over it, almoſt at the Ends. This Ditch was made in the Year 1601, by *Acen Baſſa Wazir*, who in the ſame Place alſo erected a Market, a *Khan*, and a Houſe of *Kaoah*, that is, a *Coffee-Houſe*, moſt beautiful Structures, ſtill call'd by his Name. I do not remember to have ſeen any Stone in all the Structures of that City, except the Gates of this *Khan*, and thoſe of a new *Moſque*, which ſtands on the Left Hand as you come off the Bridge into the City. Theſe Stones are white and very hard, but no Marble: and are brought from*

Bagdat *City.*

Bridge of Boats.

Tigris *River.*

No Stone at Bagdat.

from *Moſul*, lying up the River, and ſuppos'd by ſome to be *Niniveh*.

Suburb next Meſopotamia

This Part of *Bagdat* contains about 3000 Houſes inhabited, with the *Sucros*, or *Markets*, *Caroanceros*, publick Baths, and all ſorts of Handicrafts us'd among the *Mahometans*, and is as plentifully ſupply'd with all Neceſſaries as the City, and even more of ſome Sorts, becauſe moſt of the Proviſions come from that Side.

Coffee-Houſe.

Among the other publick Structues is the Houſe of *Kaoah* or *Coffee Houſe* abovemention'd. The *Kaoah*, which we call *Coffee*, is a Berry as big as a ſmall Bean, brought out of *Arabia*, which they grind, boil, and ſell in publick Houſes, built for that purpoſe, where all ſorts of Men of every Degree meet to drink, and ſitting in Order, have this Liquor brought them in *China* Diſhes that hold 4 or 5 Ounces, very hot, and every Man taking his Diſh, blows and ſips. It is black, and almoſt inſipid; and tho' they aſſign it ſeveral good Qualities, it has none certainly known, and only Cuſtom prevails with them to meet there to talk and divert themſelves. The more to attract the People they keep beautiful *Boys*, richly clad, who wait and take Money, beſides Muſick and other Diverſions which invite the Company, the greateſt Reſort being at Night in the Summer, and by Day in the Winter. This Houſe is on the Bank of the River, and has ſeveral Windows, and two Galleries over it, which make it a very pleaſant Place. There are ſome others like this in the City, and many throughout *Turky* and *Perſia*. On this Side without the Ditch and Trench, are the Ruins of ancient Structures, which ſufficiently demonſtrate the former Magnificence of that Town. Here ſtood firſt the great *Bagadad*, but not *Babylon*, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew.

Fort for the Baſſa's *Reſidence.*

Proceeding hence into the City, over the Bridge of 28 Boats, we enter it at a great Gate, beſides which there are 5 other Poſterns to the River. It is a large Mile in Length along the River, and on the North Point whence the Stream comes, ſtands a Fort where the *Baſſa* lives, being more large than ſtrong; an oblong Square, about 1500 common Paces in Compaſs, incloſ'd with a Ditch 8 Cubits deep, and 12 in Breadth. The Walls and Baſtions are of Brick, with ſome Embraſures at which there are Pieces of Canon. Within it reſides the *Baſſa*, with the principal People belonging to him, being between 1500 and 2000 paid and maintain'd by him. To this Fort, the Gate whereof looks to the Southward, joins the City Wall, with a Gate leading towards *Perſia*, without which all the Country is extraordinary plain and good Land, till'd and ſow'd, free from any Mountains or Hills to terminate the Sight; and therefore is ſome Years overflow'd in Winter, ſo that they go over it in Boats, and when this happens,

pens, they lay a Bridge from a Loophole of a Baſtion there is in the Middle of the Wall, for the Service of the publick. The Wall is a League and a half in Compaſs, the other End reaching to the River, after making a half Circle, but with ſeveral Saliant Angles in it for the better Defence. There are 2 other Gates to the Landward, one in the Middle, and another at the other End. About it runs a deep Ditch, and the Wall is of Brick, with Battlements, Saliant Angles, and ſeveral Baſtions, among which are 4 great ones, ſtrong and well built, to bear the Weight and Shock of the Artillery planted on them, which is numerous, heavy, good, and all of Braſs. *The Wall.*

The *Baſſa* here has the Supreme Authority in Civil and Military Affairs; but the Strangers have a Protector appointed by the *Grand Signior*, who ſtands up for them and the Merchants in Oppoſition to him and all other Officers, when they offer them any Wrong, undertaking their Defence with much Integrity, as happen'd whilſt I was there, in an Affair of much Moment, by which I underſtood how far this Protection extended; for he went ſo far as to put the Great *Turk*'s Officers into Irons, and oblig'd the *Baſſa* to deſiſt from what he had intended. *Protector of Strangers.*

The Forces appointed for the Defence of this City and the Country depending on it, are generally 14000 Men, Horſe and Foot, *Turks* and the other Nations they employ, of which Number between 4 and 5000 reſide in the City, and among them 1500 *Janiſaries*. The reſt are divided into ſeveral Governments and Poſts, and theſe are beſides, what we ſaid before, belong'd peculiarly to the *Baſſa*, and were with him in the Caſtle. *Forces.*

There are Ruins in *Bagdat* of ſumptuous Buildings, ſince the time the *Perſians* were poſſeſs'd of it, ſuch as the *Moſque*, they call the *Calefaha*'s, or of the *Calif*, and others on the River; the *Madraſa*, which was an Hoſpital, the Vaults in the Markets, and ſome old *Alcorans* which decay with Age. Beſides theſe Remains of what was, there is no new Structure worth taking notice of, excepting 2 *Moſques*, one of them on the Left Hand, entring the City at the great Gate, built by a *Baſſa* for his particular Devotion, in Honour of a peculiar ſort of Saint of his own. This is a coſtly Work, as may be judg'd by the Outſide; for it is not allow'd to any that are not *Mahometans* to enter their *Moſques*, eſpecially thoſe moſt reſorted to, without imminent Danger of Death, or being oblig'd to renounce their Religion; but this is not executed with the ſame Rigour in all Parts. The other *Moſque* ſtanding at the End of the City, near the Palm-Trees there are between it, and the Wall is very remarkable, as well for its Fabrick, as on account of an Aqueduct that conveys the Water to *Ruins and Structures.*

it

it from the River; a very coſtly Work, and no leſs uſeful to the People. Notwithſtanding one third Part of the Space within the Walls lies waſte, or full of Palm-Trees, there are in *Bagdat* above 2000 Houſes, moſt of them large and ſpacious, but of a mean Structure, few well contriv'd, all flat roofed, moſt without any Windows to the Street, and the Doors very ſmall. They are all of old Brick, taken from the Ruins of Ancient Buildings, and very many live only upon digging, and carrying it about to ſell. For this Reaſon 4 or 5 Miles about the Town on the Side of *Meſopotamia*, the Country is full of Holes, ſome of them very deep, the Brick being continually taken out from the Ruins of the ancient Edifices, which ſufficiently teſtifies the Grandeur of this Place in former times.

2000 Houſes.

Inhabitants. Moſt of the Inhabitants are civiliz'd *Arabs*, the reſt *Turks*, *Curdes*, and *Agemis*, or *Perſians*, which laſt were not ſo numerous at this time, becauſe of the War, and yet there were many. There are about 2 or 300 Houſes of *Jews*, 12 or 15 whereof they affirm to have been ever ſince the firſt Captivity. Some of them are wealthy, but the greater Part extremely poor; they live in a ſeparate Quarter, with full Freedom of their *Kanis* or *Synagogue*. There were 10 Houſes of *Armenian Chriſtians*, and 80 of the *Neſtorians*. The Natives of *Bagdat* are generally white, handſome, of a good Diſpoſition and Affable. The Men for the moſt part go on Horſeback, being clean and coſtly in their Apparel, as are the Women, many of them beautiful, and generally they have good Eyes. They all go cover'd in the Streets, with Cloths like Veils, which they call *Chandales*, but not black, and over their Faces a fine black or ſanguine Colour Gauze, ſo that they ſee all without being ſeen, tho' they are willing enough, and therefore purpoſely uncover themſelves ſometimes.

Baths. There are many very curious Baths, ſome only for Men, and others for Women, all being much addicted to the Uſe of them. In the midſt of the City towards the River, there are 7 or 8 Streets of Shops of all Goods, and Handicraſts us'd among the *Mahometans*; beſides as many *Khans* where Merchants reſide, and they are much frequented. They are all ſhut up every Night with great Iron Chains, and at the End of them is a Paſs, which they call *Pange Aly*, that is, the *Hand*, or *Fingers of* Ali, becauſe, as they give out, *Ali*'s Hand appear'd there on the Wall, and left its Impreſſion; wherefore they have there a ſmall Oratory, before which they light many Candles at Night. In this Place generally ſits a *Bolugo Baſſi*, that is, a *Head*, or *Chief of Muskeiiers*, from *Bolugo*, a *Musketier*, and *Bax*, the *Head*, whence alſo I ſuppoſe is deriv'd the Word *Baxa*, or as we ſpeak it *Baſſa*, as it were a *Head* or *Chief in Government*; ſo *Cazel Bax*, *Red Head*,

Ridiculous Devotion.

Head; and *Cara Bax*, *Black Head*, the Names of Tribes and Martial Men among the *Turks* and *Perſians*. This *Bolugo Baſſi* ſits there to attend all thoſe *Succor*, or *Markets*, and ſecure them, that neither Buyers nor Sellers may be wrong'd, or any Violence committed; and he makes up all Differences or Diſputes happening between Parties verbally, either by fair Means, or Severity, according to the Nature of the thing. And in caſe he cannot wholly reconcile, he turns them over to the *Cadi*, who is the Civil Judge, for him to adjuſt the Difficulty. This I think, is an excellent Method, and ſo effectual, that tho' there were ſo many Soldiers, and they ſo inſolent, as in time of War, I do not remember during my Stay there, which was two Months, to have ſeen or heard of any Violence committed in thoſe Streets. Bolugo Baſſi.

Bagdat enjoys a moſt ſerene, temperate, and wholeſome Air, ſaving that being very ſharp, thoſe who are not careful of themſelves, are apt to take Cold. The Summer and Winter are as in *Europe*, with only this Difference, that the Heat is exceſſive, and the Cold moderate. They commonly make uſe of Camels, Horſes, Mules, Aſſes, and Oxen, to carry Burthens, there being great Numbers of them all. The Country about yields much Cotton and Silk, which is all wrought and us'd in the City, where there are above 4000 Looms for Woollen, Linnen, Cotton, and Silk, and none of them ever idle. All the People of *Bagdat* generally ſpeak three Languages, being *Turkiſh*, *Arabick*, and *Agemi*, or *Perſian*, but the commoneſt is the *Turkiſh*. In time of Peace, and even in War, Merchants reſort thither with Abundance of Commodities from *Perſia* and *India*, by the Way of *Bazora*, up the River, or thro' the Deſerts, on both Sides of it, and ſo from *Haramit*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Tripoly*, and ſeveral other Parts; for clearing of whom there are 3 Cuſtom Houſes, one for thoſe of *Syria*, which they do in their Paſſage, on the other Side of the River, and 2 within the City for all the reſt. Here is a Mint, where they coin Gold, Silver, and Copper; and two Houſes to exerciſe Shooting with the Bow and Firelock. Tho' ſo diſtant from the Sea, it abounds in Salt, brought from the Lake I ſpoke of at *Mexat Ali*. Among other things I ſaw and obſerv'd in this City, one was a great Street full of Gold and Silver-Smiths, all of them *Mahometans*, who make much curious and coſtly Work, and not one among them of any other Sect or Religion. This I took Notice of, wondring much at *Boterus*, who in the Account he gives of the Manners of the Nations in *Africa*, ſpeaking of the *Jews*, ſays, they obtain'd Admittance there by means of this Art, the *Mahometans* being forbid the Uſe of it. I know not whence he took it, ſince we ſee the contrary in ſeveral Places.

Air.

Weaving.

Trade.

Errour of Boterus.

A Tomb. Without that Part of *Bagdat*, which is in *Meſopotamia*, in a little Houſe is a Tomb, held in great Veneration, both by *Mahometans* and *Jews*, for there they ſay lies the Body of a *Jewiſh* High Prieſt. The Monument is like a great Cheſt of Lime and Stone, and at the Head of it is a Copper Plate, with ſome *Arabick* Characters in Relief, which import *Yehſhuah Koengadoh*, ſignifying Joſhua *the High Prieſt*. They ſay he was a Holy Man, and all honour him as ſuch, affirming that God has wrought Miracles for his Sake.

Difference between Bagdat *and* Babylon. All thoſe who write of it, generally confound this City of *Bagdat* with that of *Babylon*, which in my Opinion is occaſion'd by the Nearneſs of the Place, where the other formerly ſtood, being but one good Days Journey off. Now to ſhew there is much Difference between them, it is enough to declare that *Babylon* ſtood upon the River *Euphrates*, and *Bagdat* is on the *Tigris*; however for the farther Satisfaction of the Reader, I will deliver what there is in the *Mahometan* Hiſtories and Records, concerning its Original and Foundation.

Bagdat *founded by* Abujafar, An. 763. In the Year of the *Hegira* 145 according to the *Mahometan* Reckoning, which was of *Chriſt* 763, one *Abujafar* then *Calif*, came from *Kufa*, a City in *Arabia*, then the Court and Reſidence of the *Califs*, to this Part of the Country; and liking the Situation, with ſome other Conſiderations, he founded this City on the Weſtern Bank of the River *Tigris*, where now ſtands that Part of it abovemention'd, which is in *Meſopotamia*; and ſuch was its Greatneſs, that as has been obſerv'd, there are ſtill Remains of its Magnificent Structures for 5 Miles about. On the Eaſt Side, where now the City is, being in *Curdeſtan*, there was no Town of Note, but only ſome Farms and Gardens, whence it ſeems to have had its Name; for *Bagadad* in the *Perſian* Tongue, ſignifies *a Place of Orchards*, from *Baga*, *an Orchard*. In the Height of its Proſperity there happen'd ſo many Inundations of the *Tigris*, that it declin'd by degrees, and went to Ruin, till *Almoſtazen Billah*, the Son of *Almoktady Billah*, ſucceeding in the *Califſhip*, *An.* 487 of the *Hegira*, which was of *CHRIST* 1095, 342 Years after it was founded in that Place, he judging the Eaſt Side a better Situation, as it really is, remov'd the City thither, as it now ſtands. This alſo was once much greater, and at this time, between the Houſes and the Wall, there are large Hills, tho' the Land is very level, theſe being made of the Ruins, and many mighty Structures converted into them.

Old Babylon. This is the preſent *Bagadad*, or *Bagdat*, as we corruptly call it, and ſuch was its Foundation; for of *Babylon*, ſo call'd from it's being ſeated in the Place call'd *Babel*, as is ſtill affirm'd among thoſe

thoſe People, and ſeated where I mention'd before, nothing has remain'd for many Ages but the Name; and tho' ſome Footſteps of it may be ſeen, they are inconſiderable. This may ſuffice as to the Original of *Bagadad*, and to conclude, I muſt ſay that I do not remember I have ever ſeen ſuch dirty Streets any where, as thoſe of this City, and *Bazora*; for being looſe Earth, and not pav'd, every Shower of Rain fills them with Mud.

The *Baſſa* had lately been Governour of *Bazora*, whence he departed by Way of the Deſert, 3 Days before we came to that Place. His Name was *Iſſuf*, or *Juceph Paxa* an Eunuch, by Nation a *Xerquez*, whoſe Place is worth yearly 200000 *Chequines*, being about 250000 Ducats, whereof he ſpends at moſt between 30 and 40000. It is worth ſo much in time of Peace; for in time of War he makes what he pleaſes. When we were upon our Departure, there came to him 15 *Capgis* from *Conſtantinople*, being the *Grand Signior*'s Porters, and brought him the Title of *Wazir*, or *Vizier*, as we call it, with a Patent to continue his Government for 7 Years, as alſo a Veſt of Brocade, a Sword, and a Gold Chain for his Horſe's Bridle, which are the Gifts the Great *Turk* uſes to ſend to thoſe he raiſes to ſuch Dignity. Among the *Baſſaſhips*, or Governments in the Gift of the *Grand Signior*, the firſt is that of *Mecere* or *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, the ſecond this of *Bagdat*, and the 3d that of *Tabriz*. When we came to the City, it was under great Apprehenſions of the *Perſians*, who were ſaid to march towards it, as had been done not long before by *Ala Verdi*, *Wazir*, or *Vizier*, and Captain General to *Xa Habas*, King of *Perſia*, who took about 300 Soldiers in a ſmall Engagement, in Sight of the Walls, and the next Night departed with ſuch Precipitation, that he left Part of his Baggage behind, yet the Cauſe of his Flight was not known. The *Perſians* afterwards made ſeveral other Inroads into *Curdiſtan*, a Country very near *Bagdat*, whoſe Capital is *Suſter*, ſaid to be *Sus* or *Suza*, where *Ahaſhuerus* kept his Court, and the Paſſage between *Eſther* and *Haman* happen'd. Thoſe Lands are divided from the Territory of *Bagdat* by the River *Dialah*, which running to the Southward about a Days Journey from *Bagdat*, falls into the *Tygris* 5 or 6 Leagues below it.

The Baſſa's *Revenue.*

Here we waited an Opportunity to ſet forwards, becauſe no Body durſt travel till there was News from *Aleppo*, which had been 3 Months beſieg'd, becauſe the *Baſſa* that was in it, would not deliver it up to the Beſieger, tho' he brought poſitive Orders from the *Grand Signior*, there being ſome private Quarrel between them. During the Siege the Inhabitants endur'd much Famine and other Hardſhips, as I was afterwards told there. Not

Siege of Aleppo.

only we but all *Bagdat* was very impatient, having had no Account how Affairs went in two Months, when it pleas'd God, that on the 26th of *November* early in the Morning, three Expreſſes came together to the Houſe of *James Fernandez*, the *German* where I was, who brought Letters importing, that the Country was reſtor'd to Peace. It is eaſy to Judge how much we rejoic'd, and immediatly prepar'd for our Journey, ordering the Camels we had already half hir'd, to be brought from *Ocem*, for ſo far they went to fetch them.

CHAP. VII.

Our Departure from Bagdat, *we croſs* Meſopotamia *again and come to* Anna, *on the River* Euphrates.

HAving order'd our Affairs and the Camels being come, we went over the River from *Bagdat*, to the other Side in *Meſopotamia*, on *Sunday* the 12th of *December* 1604, at five in the Afternoon, and lay that Night in the Field, between the Trench and the Houſes. *Monday* the 13th at nine in the Morning we ſet forward with 130 Camels, and 75 Aſſes, and having gone a League and a Half, halted to pay the Duties there receiv'd for *Mir Nacer*, an *Arabian* King of the Hord, or Tribe of *Eben Emana*, being the ſame that is Lord of *Mexat Aly* and *Mexat Ocem*. This was done with much Trouble and Vexation.

Bax Dulab

The Place is call'd *Bax Dulab*, that is, the firſt watering Wells, or the Head of them, becauſe there were ſome of foul ſtinking Water to ſupply the Orchards. Before my Departure from *Bagdat*, I had advis'd with ſuch as I thought could direct me, about what Beaſt I ſhould choſe to ride that Jounrney, and tho' they were of ſeveral Opinions, yet the moſt agreed, that in Regard the Winter was then coming on, and to ſave all Trouble, the beſt way was to go in a Cradle. I thought the Advice good, and accordingly follow'd it, as did *James Fernandez* and *James de Melo*. A Cradle is what the Name implies, being about four Spans and a half in Length, and two and a half in Breadth, cover'd with an Arch, and ſo lin'd that a Man may be in it defended againſt the Cold and Rain. It is laid on as half a Camels Load, that is, one on each Side of him, as *James Fernandez*

Travelling Cradles.

nandez and I went, or elſe ſome other thing to ballance, as *James de Melo* had a Box, or Cheſt. Theſe Cradles frequently have a private Place in the Seat, which commonly ſerves to hide ſome things of Value. In theſe a Man travels warmer and quieter, without any Care of a Horſe, or his Meat, both which are always expos'd to every fancy of the *Arabs*, who perhaps borrow your Horſe, and return him, if they pleaſe, and if ſo it is when they have run him out of Wind, which they do without any Reſpect of Perſons, whenſoever they pleaſe, and I have ſeen it done to *Turks*, for whom they have no Manner of Regard, if they meet them abroad alone. Beſides it is uſual with them to take away your Horſes Barley, for their own, if they want, which is as good as killing him, becauſe there is none to be had on the Road at any Rate. I will not ſpeak of the Hazard of a Horſe's falling Lame, as happen'd to *James de Melo.* All this is ſav'd by going in a Cradle, for if one Camel tires, or is lam'd, they give you another, the Owners always taking ſome ſpare ones, to carry the Burdens by Turns, or to ſupply the Defect of any one that dies, or is diſabl'd; and it is the Cuſtom, when any Merchant hires Camels, to allow him to every ten that carry Burdens, one gratis, for his own Equipage. We therefore conſidering the Seaſon, and to ſave Trouble, made Choice of Cradles, and went in them to *Aleppo.*

Tueſday the 14th, at Sun riſing we departed the watering Wells, and travell'd Weſtward over good plain Lands, with only ſome ſmall riſings. Having gone about three Leagues, we came to the Ruins of a great City, whereof there now remains ſtanding a high *Alcoran*, and two Pieces of a thick and ſtrong Wall, of Brick and Stone, which Place the *Arabs* call *Karkuf.* Next we enter'd upon excellent Lands, but deſert and untill'd, excepting ſome ſmall Part a few *Arabs* ſow for their Maintainance, which anſwers plentifully. In this way we ſaw many Flocks of Sheep, Abundance of Wild Swine and *Gazeles*, being like Roes, and theſe were purſu'd by Companies of *Beduyn Arabs* hunting them. We went on without halting, till four in the Afternoon, when we ſtay'd in a Field the *Arabs* call *Aſlayah*, ſo the whole Territory is Nam'd, from a Town of the ſame Denomination. All along this Way, being about ſeven Leagues there are Trenches gone to decay, which formerly brought Water from the River to refreſh thoſe Lands, and the *Euphrates* and theſe overflowing drowned them all. *Wedneſday* the 15th, we mov'd before Sun riſing to the North Weſt, over mighty Plains, where we ſaw ſome *Gazeles* and Swine. Having paſs'd half our Days Journey, we went a conſiderable way along a dry Channel, lying on the right

Karkuf *Ruins.*

right of us, which when it Rains carries very much Water, and what had already fallen had made ſome Puddles in it, much reſorted to by Herons, and other Birds. I was aſſur'd, that in the Rainy Seaſon, they went on it in ſmall Boats as far as *Bagdat*. Having travell'd ſix Leagues we came againſt a Ridge, lying on our Left, about three Leagues diſtant, on which there appear'd two high *Monaras*, or *Alcorans*; and at the Foot of it, on the farther Side next the Bank of *Eufrates*, is a Town of *Arabs*, who are great Robbers. At four of the Clock, after travelling ſeven Leagues, we pitch'd in the Brake of a Channel, a Place pleaſant enough, by the *Arabs* call'd *Aohenhat*, that is, bring Eyes, or Springs, there having been ſome in certain Wells, which were then dry, and oblig'd us to go far to fetch ſome bad enough, from other Wells Weſtward of us.

Aohenhat

Thurſday the 16th, we ſet out an hour before Day to the North Weſt, through a very plain Country, bnt the Land various, and travell'd ſeven Leagues by four in the Afternoon, when we ſettl'd in a Place that had no Water, nor any particular Name, but from the Neighbourhood of another ſo call'd, goes under the Denomination of *Om errus*. All the Water we found by the way was thick, white, filthy and ill ſcented, and had a loathſome Taſt, and were the Weather hot it had been worſe, for then we ſhould find neither good nor bad. *Friday* the 17th, we march'd a little before Sun riſing, ſtill to the North Weſt, over extraordinary plain and good Lands, and having gone two Leagues, ſaw about the Diſtance of three from us on the Left, a *Moſque*, with a high *Alcoran*, which the *Arabs* call *Mexat Sandabiah*. About five Leagues farther we came to the Side of a dry Channel, with ſome Wells, whoſe Water was like thoſe before, whereof the Camels and Aſſes drank, and we took ſome with us to ſerve farther on. This Place the *Arabs* call *Ogolet Xeque Mahamed*, that is, the Wells of the Top of *Xeque Mahomet*'s Leg, thoſe People naming the Diſtance between the Foot and the Knee *Ogolet*, perhaps ſome one of that Name dug them. We had travell'd about eight Leagues, when a great Rain oblig'd us to encamp, at four in the Afternoon, in a Place deſtitute of Water, call'd by the *Arabs Ogolet el Kelb*, that is, the Wells of the Dog's Leg, from ſome there are above a League diſtant. It is wonderful to ſee how plain and good thoſe Lands are, and no leſs Pity that they ſhould lye deſert and waſt.

Om errus.

Mexat Sandabiah.

Ogolet Xeque Mahamed.

Saturday the 18th, we mov'd after Sun riſing, very wet with the great Rain in the Night, our way to North Weſt, through a plain good Country, leaving the three Wells of dirty ſtinking Water, which I ſaid gave Name to the laſt *Manzel*, on the right hand,

Manzel what it is.

hand, not far from the Road. The *Arabs* call the Place, where the Caravan lyes *Manſel*, and is the ſame as the *Latin Manſio*. Next we came upon uneven Ground, Brakes and ſtony barren Hills, along which we travell'd a conſiderable Space, till we came to a great dry Channel, all of it, and the Ground about of a white, ſcaly, brittle Stone, ſhining like Borrace. We pitch'd upon the Bank at three in the Afternoon, becauſe there was a Well of Black, thick, foul and very ſtinking Water. The Days Journey was above ſix Leagues, and this *Manſel*, or Station the *Arabs* call *Gomegme*. This Night ſuch a heavy Rain fell, that we and our Goods were well ſoak'd, notwithſtanding our Tents. Gomegme.

Sunday the 19th, we began our Journey when it was Day, keeping ſtill to the North Weſt, over an uneven, craggy and ſtony Country, like the laſt, ſometimes lighting upon ſpacious Plains, ſome of them clean and good Land, but moſt foul and full of Flints, Having gone about eight Leagues by four in the Afternoon, we ſtay'd in a pleaſant, tho' dry Vale, by the *Arabs* call'd *Abu regemo*, that is, the Father of him that was ſton'd, from a Heap of Stones gather'd in it by Hand. The Water here was poyſonous. Abu regemo.

Monday the 20th, before Sun riſing, we advanc'd to the North Weſt, through various Sorts of Lands, ſome good, ſome Stony, and went about eight Leagues, by four in the Afternoon, when we halted by a dry and uneven Channel, by the *Arabs* call'd *Seylat*, leaving about half a League behind us a Well of Water that was bad enough, yet tolerable in Reſpect of what we had paſs'd. Seylat.

Here about the firſt Part of the Night ſix *Arabs* fell in among us, and we being ſurpriz'd, they put all the *Caravan* into Confuſion. We ran to Arms, and two of them being taken, upon Examination appear'd to be Shepherds, who having left their Cattle to others, were going that way to a Village, with ſome Camels, and eight or ten Sheep, ſome of which we bought, and kept ſtrict Watch the reſt of the Night. Our Company was now divided, ſome being gone to *Hyt*, others to *Hadyt*, and others to *Juba*, Towns lying along the Bank of the River *Euphrates*. *Tueſday* the 21th, we got up with the Day, and proceeded North Weſt about two Leagues over uneven ſtony Land, till we came to a Brake under which lyes a deep Channel full of Water in rainy Weather, but then dry. Paſſing this Place we went on through ſpacious Plains of good Land, with ſome mixture of Hills and Roughneſs, and being over theſe Flats, a great Part whereof was till'd and ſow'd, came to the Bank of the *Euphrates*, where we reſted at four in the Afternoon, over againſt an Iſland there is in the middle of the River, with a

Farm

Zawyhe and Nazéria.

Farm, about 30 Palm-Trees, ſome watering Wells, and ſow'd Grounds, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Zawyhe*; but the Place we were in, and all the Territory about it, they name *Nazeria*. Here the River runs North East and South Weſt, and is about 400 Paces over. The Palm and other Trees hereabout, were the firſt we had ſeen ſince our Departure from *Bagdat*. The Soil on both Sides the River is very fat. All this Way we found much *Origanum*, very tall and grown, and of an extroardinary Fragrancy. The Day's Journey was good 6 Leagues. Here we underſtood there was a *Caravan* at *Ana*, bound for *Aleppo*, which was a great Satisfaction to us, believing we ſhould loſe leſs time; and here we kill'd a Sheep we had bought of the Shepherds, which was ſome Refreſhment, having eaten no Fleſh in all the Way from *Bagdat*.

Melyk Nacerya.

Wedneſday the 22th we ſet out with the Sun along the River Side, following its Windings, which are many, on a narrow Way the *Arabs* call *Medyk Nacerya*, that is, *the Streights of* Nacerya, from the little Way there is between the Mountains and the River that was on our Left. Being paſs'd theſe Mountains and Streights, along which we had Sight of ſome Towns, Groves, Palm-Trees, and watering Wells, on the farther Bank of the River, we fell into open, plain, and good Grounds, cultivated, ſtriking off a good Diſtance from the River, becauſe there it takes a Turn. Then we return'd to it, and after ſome little bad Way, follow'd on over the ſame Plains North Weſt and Weſt, North Weſt as far as a dry Channel, where the *Caravan* took up at 3 in the Afternoon, without any Water, but what we had taken at the River, when we left it, in Skins always carry'd for that Purpoſe, without which it were impoſſible to paſs that Deſert and others much leſs. In theſe Parts, along the River, there are many Farms, Mills, and ſeveral great Wheels, which being drove by the River, bring up Water to moiſten thoſe Fields, which are moſt of them till'd and ſow'd. From henceforward almoſt all the Land near the River is Mountainous. This Place, where we lay at Night, the *Arabs* call *Ved Garabah*, that is the Channel that is Boundary to the City; for I ſuppoſe, the Liberty of *Anna*, whither we were going, extended ſo far. Our Days Journey was about 7 Leagues. This Night 3 Men on Horſeback paſs'd by us, being Merchant *Curdes* going to *Anna*, where their Goods were, and had been making their Complaints to the *Amir*, who is Lord of thoſe Lands, of Wrongs done them by his Officers. Before Break of Day a Thief got in among our Company, and took away an Aſs belonging to a *Mahometan* Inhabitant of *Anna*, without being obſerv'd by any but the Owner, who tho' he ſaw him

Ved Garabah.

him lead the Beaſt away, had not the Courage to cry out, and the Thief to get off the ſhorteſt Way, cut ſome of the Cords of *James de Melo*'s Tent.

Thurſday the 23th we were going before Day, over various ſorts of Lands till Noon, when we went down high and craggy Mountains towards the River *Euphrates*, that runs at the Foot of them, and on both whoſe Banks, the Town of *Ana* we were deſign'd for ſtands. This half Day's Journey was about 5 Leagues. When we began to deſcend from the Mountains, *James Fernandez*, my Comrade, and I, came out of our Cradles. I took the Ridge of the Hill, the better to obſerve the Situation of the Town, and what elſe is thence to be ſeen, which is a conſiderable Diſtance. Having done it I follow'd the Company, which was then near the River, on whoſe Bank, ſtill of the Side of *Meſopotamia*, we continued that Afternoon and the next Night, which was very troubleſome, keeping ſtrict Watch for fear of Robbers, but glad it had pleas'd God to bring us ſo far in Safety. My Comrade, as ſoon as we reach'd this Place, croſs'd the River, to procure Leave for us to go over, which cannot be done without it, and tho' he took much Pains, could not obtain it; but after he was return'd tir'd and vex'd, two of the *Amir*'s Officers brought it him at Night, by the Procurement of a *Jew*, to whom *James Fernandez* was recommended. They would have had us go over immediately, but we forbore becauſe it was dark, fearing ſome Trouble or Miſcarriage, ſo that it was put off till Morning, and the Officers went away, but not without being well paid for their needleſs Trouble. *Friday* the 24th in the Morning we paſs'd over the River which the *Arabs* call'd *Xam*, leaving *Meſopotamia*, by thoſe People nam'd *Jazirey*, that is, *The Iſland*, from its lying between the two Rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which the Name *Meſopotamia* denotes. Having landed all our Goods and Equipage, we ſet up our Tents on a riſing Ground, with much Rain, and reſted our ſelves, but not much, the Rain and Baſeneſs of the People obſtructing. The Way we took from *Bagdat* hither, is not the ſame the *Caravans* uſually go; for they ſtrike higher to the Northward, which is farther about; and for this Reaſon, as alſo becauſe this is ſafe, as leaſt frequented, it was choſen rather than the other.

Chap. VIII.

The Description of Ana *on the River* Euphrates.

Antiquity of Ana.

ANA, which in *Arabick* ſignifies *Pain* or *Trouble*, ſeated on the Banks of the River *Forat* or *Euphrates*, is a Town of great Antiquity, according to the Tradition of the Inhabitants, beſides which the Scripture moſt certainly informs us of it; for in the 2d Book of *Kings*, Chap. 19, we read that *Sennacherib* King of *Aſſyria* threatning *Hezekiah*, ask'd of him among other things in his Letter; *Where is the King of* Hamath, *and the King of* Arpad, *and the King of the City of* Sepharvaim, of *Hena*, and *Ivah*. [Theſe two laſt are ſo written in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation; but the *Latin* calls them *Ana* and *Ava*.] Which plainly demonſtrates its Antiquity, and this clearly appears to be the ſame with that there mention'd, becauſe he could not well paſs out of *Aſſyria* into *Paleſtine*, unleſs he had firſt ſubdued theſe that lay in his Way, which is my Opinion under Correction, not queſtioning but in ſo many Ages it muſt be much chang'd from what it was. *Ana* is ſeated on both Banks of the *Euphrates*, upon a Winding that runs North Eaſt and South Weſt. At the North End of this Turning is an Iſland (beſides many other both above and below, all cultivated) about a Mile in Compaſs, with a Wall round it, but decay'd with Age, On the North Point of it ſtands a Fort, kept by a Garriſon of 100 *Turks*, with ſome Cannon; and without it are Houſes, Palm-Trees, Gardens, and a Market, and there was a publick Bath, when it belong'd to the *Cazel Bax*, or the *Perſians*, who were Maſters of all thoſe Lands and *Bagdat*. The River here runs between uncooth and high Mountains, and on the Side of *Meſopotamia* there is but 100 or 200 Paces of Land between them and the Water; and to the Weſtward of the River, at the Place they call *Xam*, from 2 to 500 where wideſt. On this narrow Spot ſtands the Town, conſiſting of only 2 Streets, one on each Side of the River, of which that on the Side of *Meſopotamia*, being about 2 Miles in Length, is neither very Populous, nor inhabited by any but labouring People. The other on the Side of *Xam*, is above 2 Leagues in Length, and there is the beſt of the Town. The Street runs directly along the Middle of that Slip of Land, the Houſes built on both Sides, all of them one or two Stories high, ſquare, and flat roof'd, tho' ſmall; only the *Moſque* is til'd, and the Water fall is but one Way, nor do

Fort in an Iſland.

The Town.

I remember to have ſeen any other Houſe til'd in all thoſe Parts. Every Houſe has its little Spot of Ground, or Outlet, ſome towards the River, and the others to the Mountains, and in them Abundance of Palm, Orange, Lemmon, Citron, Pear, Quince, Fig, Pomgranate, and many other Sorts of *European* Trees, beſides Abundance of Olive, as large as great Cheſtnut Trees. The Soil is ſo good, aſſiſted with the River-Water, that it produces all things in great Plenty and Exuberance, generally each Palm Tree Root brings forth 4, 5, or 6 moſt fruitful Trunks. Where the Plain is proper, they ſow Wheat and Barley, which always thrives well. The Air is moſt ſerene, the Houſes all of Stone and Plaiſter of *Paris*, or elſe of Lime, Stone, and Clay. Between the Mountain and the Grounds belonging to the Houſes, is a moderate Ditch, which in Winter ſerves to receive the Water, and divert it from overflowing them, and in Summer to hold the Water drawn up with Wheels from the River to refreſh them. The whole Number of Houſes on both Sides, may amount to 400, of which 120 belong to *Arabian Jews*, who are not rich, but live decently, and are well look'd upon by the Lord of the Place and his Officers, tho' they pay for it according to Cuſtom. Theſe have Houſes and Lands of their own, as well as the *Mahometans*, to whom all the reſt of the Town belongs. Theſe are divided into 2 Factions, the one deſcended from the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, and theſe are *Mahometans* in Name and outward Shew, and in other Reſpects look upon *Mahometaniſm* as it deſerves, bnt are ne'er the better themſelves. Their Anceſtors worſhipp'd the Sun, and I believe they ſtill retain this and other Superſtitions in private, which beſides its being told me by many, I conjectur'd, by one who came frequently to our Tent, whilſt we were there, and always diſcours'd about the Sun, asking me what I thought of him, and what Opinion the Chriſtians had of his Beauty, Motion, and Effects, highly extolling his Excellency. The other *Mahometans* are Strangers that have ſettled here by degrees. The Lord of this Place is an *Arab*, call'd *Amir Hamed Aburixa*, the moſt potent of all that Part of *Arabiſtam*, and yet ſubject to the *Turk*, who has beſtow'd many of theſe and the other Lands about upon his own People. The Duties of all Goods and Commodities paſſing that Way, are paid to the *Amir*, beſides a ſmall Acknowledgment to the *Turk*. It is ſet at ſo much a Load, and not by Number, Meaſure, or Value; and each Load pays about 5 Ducats; but reckoning the Frauds and Extortions of the Officers, they will amount to 10 and better. This is to be underſtood of valuable Commodities, as Silk, Cloth, *Indigo*, Spice, and the like; for Galls, Dates, and ſuch others, they pay a Ducat a Load, which

Fertility.

Jews.

Natives.

Duties on Goods.

with the Exactions may be two. This Country affords an infinite Quantity of Dates, carry'd to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Damaſcus*, and other Parts to ſell. The common Sort of People live on them, and other Proviſions are not dear, except Rice, that is brought from *Bagdat*, to whoſe Government this Town is ſubject. Yet here is one great Inconveniency for Strangers and Travellers, and is that they have no publick Market to buy any Neceſſaries in, except Mutton, which was not to be had when we came. It is by the *Amir*'s Order that they have no publick Market to eaſe the Inhabitants from Trouble; becauſe the Country *Arabs* are ſo inſolent that they fear neither God nor the King, when they have an Opportunity to rob; however, thoſe who want any thing may buy it in private Houſes. About 30 great Barks belong to the Town, and ſerve to carry Paſſengers, and trade to other Places up and down the River, in the midſt whereof there are many Mills, and it has Plenty of good Fiſh, whereof the *Mahometans* make ſmall Account. The Natives are generally white and ſome of them live decently. They commonly wear great looſe Garments of Sheep's Skins down to their Heels, open before from the Neck to the Breaſt, and from the Belly downwards, with very wide Sleeves. When it rains they turn the Wool outwards; but when the Wind blows or it is cold, they turn it in; and this Habit over their other Cloaths, is uſual throughout the Country. Here is Plenty of white Salt, brought out of *Meſopotamia*, from a Mine they call *Sine Sela*, 2 Days Journey diſtant; but Wood is very ſcarce.

No Market.

Habit.

This Place is the common Road for the *Caravans*, going and coming to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, by them call'd *Tarabolis*, *Damaſcus*, and *Bagdat*, tho' they may go other Ways, paying the Duties. At our coming hither we found 2 Gangs or Companies, that had been 2 Months waiting for an Opportunity of going to *Aleppo*. One of them was of *Curdes*, carrying Silks; the other of *Moſulis*, being Merchants of *Moſul*, a Town of *Diarbeh* or *Karaemit* in *Meſopotamia*, on the River *Tygris*, trading in fine Stuffs, whereof there is Plenty, as alſo Galls, which are ſent thence every Year to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Damaſcus*, and *Bagdat*, from which laſt above 12000 Camel Loads go every Year to *Bazora*, thence to *India*, and as far as *China*. They uſually bring the Camels to feed here on the Side of *Meſopotamia*, becauſe there is little Paſture on the other Side, and that far off and dangerous, and fetch them over the Day before they ſet out. To ſerve them on the Road they carry Sacks of Barley Meal, and Cotton Seed, and other things, which they work up with Water into Balls as big as Oſtriches Eggs, and give them at Night beſides their Grazing for

Trade of Galls.

Camels Food and other Particulars.

for tho' they are Creatures that endure much Want of Food and Water, yet not ſo very much as ſome have writ of them; nor do they carry ſo great a Burden, 600 Weight being themoſt that is laid on the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt of them, with which they only travel 8 or 9 Hours, and very often fall lame. There is much Difference between Camels, for thoſe of Hot Countries are more fit for Labour, than ſuch as are of Cold. The Camels have a Bunch in the middle of the Back, which is a great Conveniency for carrying the Load; and there are ſome that have two, forming as it were a Saddle between them; theſe are properly call'd Dromedaries. They all ſhed their Hair every Year in Winter, and it grows again in the Spring. Some are very ſwift in travelling, but they are few. They all load and unload lying on the Ground; and there only needs tying up either of their Fore Feet bow'd, as they lye on the Ground, to make them quiet. To conclude it is a Creature that expreſſes its Pain with doleful Cries, and perfect Tears. In all theſe Countries the Men Spin much Wool with Spindles, and the Women with Wheels; but I do not remember to have ſeen ſo many Men at it any where as here. *Spinning.*

Some *Mahometan* Merchants Inhabitants of this Town came in our Company from *Bagdat*, and intended to go on with us to *Aleppo*. They being come to their own Houſes, and thinking it more Diſcretion to ſpend the Depth of the Winter in them, than without Shelter in the Deſerts, would not proceed any farther at that time; but made us ſtay, to bear them Company; when it ſhould ſuit their Conveniency to travel. Thus the Duties being adjuſted on the 28th of *December*, and we very well pleas'd expecting to be gone in two or three Days, the *Amir*'s Officers hinder'd us, not permitting the Camels to paſs, at the Requeſt of the Merchants of *Ana*, pretending that *Dendal* lay in the Way to rob us, he being a Nephew of the *Amir*'s, and rightful Heir to thoſe Lands, from whom the Unkle had uſurp'd them. We diſprov'd this Fiction by the Teſtimony of ſome Perſons that came from thoſe Parts, and affirm'd, that *Dendal*, and a Brother of his were gone with their Followers towards *Egypt*. This Fraud being detected, they invented another, that *Aleppo* was again beſieg'd; but perceiving that nevertheleſs we were reſolv'd to venture, they deſir'd us to wait for 60 Camels that were ſending to fetch the *Amir*'s Dates, to be carry'd to *Aleppo* with us, which would return in eight or ten Days, and then we ſhould preſently depart. We were therefore oblig'd to ſtay here all the dead of Winter, in the Cold, Rain and Snow, under *James Fernandez*'s Tent, without whoſe Kindneſs and Aſſiſtance,

ſiſtance, I ſhould have far'd very ill this Journey. We lay by the River Side, looking upon that Place as ſafer than any Houſe in the Town, being jealous of the Avarice of the *Arabs*, which made us very watchful; for we were expos'd to the Importunity of all the *Beduynes*, that would call at the Tent to eat and drink; and none of the *Arabs*, from the higheſt to the loweſt think this any Shame, if they cannot ſteal, which they like better. The worſt is, that they beg as if it were their due, and take what is given, as if they did you ſome Honour and Favour; and the more you give them, the more they crave, all which muſt be manag'd with Patience and Diſcretion, and after all it is hard to avoid Trouble.

Whilſt we ſtay'd here many *Turkymans* paſs'd over with great Flocks of Sheep from *Jazirey* to *Xam*, driving them to ſell at *Damaſcus*, *Tripoli*, *Aleppo*, and even as far as *Conſtantinople*. They here pay 20 Ducats Duty and Paſſage, for every Thouſand Heads. There alſo came ſome Camels from *Moſul* loaded with Galls. This delay troubled us very much, ſeeing all Hopes of our Departure put off, and our ſelves conſum'd with Cold, continual Watching, Frights, Oppreſſion, and the Importunity of the *Arabs*. This muſt have made an End of us, had it laſted; but it pleas'd God that the *Curdes* and *Moſuli* Merchants, growing weary of ſo many Delays, agreed to go with us, notwithſtanding the New Obſtacles rais'd by thoſe of *Ana*, which occaſion'd much Contention; but all Difficulties being overcome, we caus'd the Camels to be brought over from *Jazirey*, in *Meſopotamia*, to *Xam*, where we were, on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *January* 1605, and the ſame Day in the Afternoon, came the Camels, with the *Amir*'s Dates, that had been ſent for.

Chap. IX.

Our Departure from Ana, *and Journey through the Deſert to* Sukana.

Thurſday the 13th of *January* 1605, after freſh Conteſts and Debates, we departed from the River at 9 in the Morning, and leaving it behind us, went up a Mountain, not ſo high as craggy, and having travell'd about a League of bad Way, enter'd upon a ſmoother, but not more fruitful Country, where we

we ſtay'd, for all the *Caravan* to join. The *Arabs* call that Place *Tel alyud*, that is, the *Jew*'s Hill, becauſe they have their Houſes at the Foot of the Mountain, on the other Side, in the midſt of the Town, next the River, and from them that Diſtrict takes Name. The Robbers had the Night before, in this ſame Place, fallen upon ſome *Turkyman* Shepherds, who were there feeding three great Flocks of Sheep. Theſe ſeeing us ſet up our Tents, drew up cloſe about us with their Cattel, which put us upon our Guard, fearing ſome Villany, which they, tho' Shepherds are apt to commit, when they meet with a fair Opportunity, and are bold and reſolute. The firſt Watch fell to my turn that Night, for during this whole Journey either by Sea, or Land, in Towns or Deſerts, I took my Turn of ſtanding Sentinel, unleſs it were in great Cities. Having perform'd my Watch, with much Difficulty, as being in a Fever I went in, and lying down in my Cloaths on the Bed, which was a Blanket laid on a Cheſt, with ſeveral Knots of the Cord that bound it; as ſoon as I had laid my ſelf, and began to feel my Fever and Head-Ach encreaſe, I heard my Comrade, who had taken my Poſt calling me in Haſt. I got up, laid hold of my Arms, and ſtood at the Door of the Tent, with my Firelock preſented. The Occaſion of it was, that the Robbers had fallen in among the Cattel very ſoftly, and the Sheep making ſome Noiſe, the Shepherds and others ran out, and put them to flight, ſo that they carry'd but one off. Telalyud.

Saturday the 15th, we continu'd in the ſame Place with much Vexation, becauſe thoſe we had agreed with did not follow us, being hinder'd by Difficulties, thoſe of *Ana* ſtarted after our Departure, perſwading the Drivers of the Camels belonging to the other Merchants to delay their Paſſage, on Pretence that *Aleppo* was again beſieg'd, and the Road infeſted by *Dendal*, and *Fyad*, the *Amir*'s Nephews. Whilſt we were under this Affliction, without any Remedy but Patience, and our Confidence in God, there came this ſame Morning a *Caravan* from *Damaſcus*, which paſſing by the Place where we were, in the way to the Town, certainly inform'd us, that *Aleppo* was clear, and the Road ſafe; which was ſo certainly true, that 8 or 10 unarm'd Men, had brought 100 Loaded Camels all that Way, without any Misfortune. This News ſomewhat ſatisfy'd us, and rais'd our Hopes of departing ſpeedily. *Monday* the 17th, 80 Camels more came to the ſame Place from *Juba* and *Haddyt*, loaded with the *Amir*'s Dates, to go along with us; and this ſame Morning the *Curdes* came out of *Ana*, with Part of the *Moſulis*, ſo that things began to be diſpos'd for the Departure of the *Caravan*.

Friday

Friday the 21th of *January*, it began to move about 8 in the Morning, we being the firſt, whom ſome others follow'd, all that march'd at that time making 120. Camels. We travell'd almoſt four Leagues to the Weſtward, over Mountains, uncooth and barren Lands, and then fell into others that were plain and full of Paſture, on which many Flocks of Sheep were feeding. In the midſt of this Plain, are two high and round Mounts, ſeparated from one another, which give Name to all that Territory, therefore by the *Arabs* call'd *Ruman hen*, that is, two Pomgranates, a Name very proper conſidering their Shape. Having paſs'd them, and advanc'd three Leagues, we halted at four in the Afternoon, in a pleaſant Meadow, full of green Graſs, but without Water, the reſt of the *Caravan* not following us, being detain'd by the Cuſtom Houſe Officers, becauſe ſome had not paid the Duties, putting it off till that Day, for to avoid Confuſion they uſe to do it in the Field, when the *Caravan* is ſetting out. The Payment being by the Load or Bale, is eaſily adjuſted, and there is a much better Method obſerv'd herein among the *Mahometans*, than in *Europe* among Chriſtians. *Saturday* the 22th, we departed thence, and travell'd Weſtward, with a very high Wind, and cold Weather, ſometimes over good Plain Fields, and ſometimes through Brakes and Vallies, and over Hills. We had gone about five Leagues, when we came to a *Manſel*, where the *Caravans* uſe to ſtay, but we paſs'd on, becauſe there was no Water, and to ſhorten the next Journey, that we might reach the River, for all the way to it there is no Water. That *Manzel* is call'd *Jubab*, ſignifying, Wells of Water. At five in the Afternoon, we encamp'd in a Field without Water, by the *Arabs* call'd *Mecazar Jubab*, having gone five Leagues. All along this way there were many Flocks of Sheep Grazing.

Ruman hen.

Jubab *and* Mecazar Jubab.

Sunday the 23th, we mov'd at Sun riſing toward the North Weſt, over various Sorts of Land, till we came to a mighty Channel, then dry, the Bottom whereof, as far as we could ſee, was all of ſolid white Stone, as hard as Marble, and as ſmooth, as if it had been pav'd by Art, along which there were Abundance of little Caves, or Hollows, which the *Arabs* ſaid were made by the Rain, of which Water they were full. Men and Beaſts drank of it, and the reſt was put up in Skins, there being no other thereabouts. As ſoon as ever we had taken it, two *Turkymans* come up a Horſe back, with their Bows and Quivers, being luſty likely Men, to ſee whether there was any Water for their Cattel, and we were not pleas'd at the Sight of them, becauſe it is beſt and ſafeſt to ſee no body along thoſe Ways. We would willingly have reach'd the River this Day, but one of the *Crudes* obſtructed

obſtructed it, becauſe he waited for the *Caravan*. Therefore leaving that Channel, we proceeded a little farther, to lie at the Foot of one of two Mounts, which like the laſt mention'd ſtand in the Midſt of great Plains, and give Name to them, being call'd by the *Arabs*, *Aden then*, that is, *The two Ears*, a Name very proper. I went up to the Top of one of theſe Mounts, which are equal in Height and Shape, whence, the Country being ſo plain, a great Extent round about is diſcover'd. We halted here at one in the Afternoon, and it was ſo cold this Night and the next Morning, that at Break of Day we found the Water frozen in the Skins. This Days Journey was 5 Leagues.

Monday the 24th we march'd at Break of Day Weſtward, the Lands like the laſt as far as the River, which there glides very gently. That Place is a *Manzel* for the *Caravans*, by the *Arabs* call'd *Kahem*, from a little Tower or Tomb ſtanding on the Bank of the River, either built by, or containing the Body of one of the Name of *Kahem*, which is the ſame as *Cain* among us. The *Arabs* have a Tradition, and moſt of the Company aſſur'd me there had been a great and noble City in this Place, which they highly magnifie, and ſtood on both Sides of the River; but no Footſteps remain of it at preſent. We had travell'd about 6 Leagues to this Place; moſt of the Camels which carry'd the *Amir*'s Dates had left us, and were gone another Way 2 Hours before, the Owners of them, who were Inhabitants of *Sucana*, being gone thither to reſt them, whilſt the *Caravan* came up. Only we and the *Moſuls*, who could not make up 40 Camels, came to this Place, and not thinking it ſafe for ſo ſmall a Company, as being much frequented by Robbers, we reſolv'd to go find out the reſt, and keep them Company. The *Moſuls* were for expecting the *Caravan*, being afraid, and with good reaſon, to croſs the Deſart, which commences there, with ſo ſmall a Number; ſo that both Sides perſiſting in their Opinion, we came to hard Words, and were not far from Blows; but my Comerade *James Fernandez*, who was chief of the Strangers and Merchants, was poſitive, and in Spite of the *Moſuls*, made us move towards the others, whom we found after travelling 2 Leagues, juſt at Night Fall, in a Place the *Arabs* call *Telul mana hyat*, that is, *The Hills of the Wells of Water*, from one we found there full of Rain Water, which is dirty and loathſome enough; but Want made it appear clean and pleaſant. The *Moſuls*, who would have made us ſtay by the River, perceiving we were gone, follow'd, thro' Fear againſt their Will, and join'd us far in the Night.

Kahem Manſel.

Telul mana hyat.

Tueſday the 25th we advanc'd at Sun-riſing, towards the North Weſt, over ſeveral Sorts of Land, till 5 in the Afternoon, when we enter'd upon ſpacious Plains, and in the midſt of them found about 40 Houſes of *Turkymans*, with their Families and Cattel, Sheep, Camels, and Mules grazing about. The Houſes are all round, the Roofs convex, the Frame within of Poles or Canes, and the Covering without of Felts. They are all moveable, and ſo contriv'd, as to be roll'd up together, and carry'd on Camels from Place to Place. Some of them were very cleanly and curious, hung within, particularly the *Xeque*'s, which was large and handſome. Theſe *Turkymans* are true *Turks*, of the firſt that came out of *Turkeſtan*, and being pleas'd with a Country Life, they ſtay'd in theſe Fields, before poſſeſs'd by the *Arabs*, with their Families and Cattel, in *Tayffas*, ſo they call thoſe the *Arabs* name *Cabiley*, and we Tribes, and the *Tartas*, *Orda*, or as we ſay *Hords*, which is the ſame. They are brave either on Foot or a Horſeback, well Limb'd, ſtrong, patient of Labour, and reſolute in any Undertaking, living on their Breed of Cattel; but if they meet with any Opportunity of robbing, will not let it ſlip. Whilſt the Ewes graze, they keep their Lambs ſhut up in a Houſe; and in the Evening, when the Dams come home, let looſe their Young, which all preſently find out and know one another, as well as if there was no Number of them; when they are together they tie the fore Feet of the Ewes, that they may not ſtray, and the Lambs may ſuck quietly. When we came thither, I ſaw above 600 Lambs let out of a Houſe, and it was pleaſant to ſee them and the Ewes meet. When full they ſhut them up again, and the Ewes go back to graze. I thought this a good, ſafe, and advantageous Method of Breeding. The Men live upon Milk, and ſuch things as they make of it, and tho' they had ſo much Cattel, would not ſell us a Sheep, unleſs it were ſome ſalted and hung Carcaſes of ſuch as died naturally, or by ſome Misfortune, which we would not have, and the Owners of the Camels bought them. We being apprehenſive of ſome Trouble from thoſe wicked People, *Muſtapha*, who went with *James de Melo*, pretended he was the *Amir*'s *Chaus*, that is, his *Envoy*, or *ſpecial Meſſenger*, and that he who carry'd the Dates was his Servant, putting me into the Number, alledging that I had Skill in Phyſick, and was ſent by the *Amir* to chuſe ſome things they were to buy at *Aleppo*. This Fiction made them ſhew us ſome Civility and Reſpect, treating us with ſome of their Sheeps Milk, which was no ſmall Dainty. Their Women do not conceal themſelves, but are of a very ſturdy Diſpoſition; they generally look after the Cattel. They are clad almoſt after the Manner

Turkyman *Houſes.*

Who they are.

Breeding of Lambs.

Women.

Manner of the *Galicians* in *Spain*, all of them wear Neat's Skin Boots, ſhort Petticoats, cloſe Doublets, and very long Cloths wrapp'd about their Heads, in the Shape of a Pyramid. The *Arabs* call this Place *Meeenah*, and it has no Water.

Wedneſday the 26th we left this Place at Break of Day, and travelling about 3 Leagues North, came into a Plain as ſpacious as the Eye could reach over, almoſt all inclos'd with a Ridge of fat Land, like a great Trench. Quite acroſs it ran a Channel, no leſs level and even, about 50 or 60 Paces over, and tho' then dry, ſhew'd it muſt look very pleaſant when full of Water. In this Place was another *Hord* or *Tribe* of *Turkymans*, with great Flocks of Sheep, many Camels, and other Beaſts; the People decent and cleanly, but not ſo eaſy and civil as the laſt. They ask'd for ſome Dates, and were told none could be given, becauſe they were the *Amir's*; but if they would take them they might. They made no Anſwer; but it plainly appear'd, that a little Matter would have perſwaded them to take the Dates and all the reſt; nor were we well pleas'd to ſee their Greedineſs. Near the Channel were 3 Wells of Water, where their Cattel drank; and our Camel Drivers fill'd their Skins and other Veſſels, and ſo we went on. The *Arabs* call this Place *May al Meecenah* or *Methenah*, that is, *The Water of* Meſnah. We proceeded over ſeveral Sorts of Lands, moſt of them extraordinary good and plain, meeting ſome more Shepherds and Camels, and ſeeing many Hares, till having gone about 10 Leagues, we ſettled in a very plain Field without Water, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Tabakt Seguer*, where we endur'd much Thirſt, the Water we had brought being ſo foul and ill ſcented, that there was no drinking of it. Tabakt Seguer.

Thurſday the 27th we mov'd at Break of Day, over extraordinary plain good Lands, towards the North Weſt, and having gone about 3 Leagues, paſs'd thro' a dreadful Channel then dry, by the *Arabs* call'd *Sehel*, and the uſual *Manzel* of *Caravans*. There were ſome Wells of good Water, at which we partly quench'd our Thirſt, and travell'd on till about 5 in the Afternoon, when we encamp'd in a very plain Field of hard Sand, in which there were ſome Wells of good Water. The *Arabian* Name of this Place is *Jubeba*, and our Days Journey was 7 Leagues. Jubeba.

Friday the 28th we proceeded as ſoon as it was Day to the Northward, over very plain, clean, and good Lands, only here and there ſome Stones. We met a great Flock of Camels, belonging to *Turkymans*, grazing; and having march'd 7 Leagues, encamp'd about Sun Setting, in a Place without Water, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Ragem al Kayma*, that is, *The Heap of Stones of the Pavilion* or *Tent*, from one there was for a Land Mark, made in

that Shape. In all this Way we ſaw no Mountain, Hill, Eminence, or uneven Ground, but only when we took up our Quarters at a great Diſtance from us, a Mountain the *Arabs* call *Gibel el Bexar*, that is, *The Mountain of* Bexar, the Name of a *Hord* or *Tribe* of theirs living on it; and perhaps it was in Memory of this, that the *Arabs* gave the Name of *Bejar* to the City in *Spain*, which is the Title of a Duke. We ſaw many Hares, and hunted ſome, with a Dog my Comerade brought, call'd *Merzoko*, which in *Arabick* ſignifies *Good Fortune* or *Good Luck*, but he never had any ſo good as to catch one. The Truth is, I think none I ever ſaw in any Part of the World, ran ſo faſt as theſe.

Saturday the 29th we got up half an Hour after the Sun, and advanc'd North Weſt, over very plain good Lands, with the Mountain *Bexar* on our Right; and having gone 7 Leagues, took up at Sun Setting, among 10 or 12 Houſes of *Turkymans*, who fed their Cattel thereabouts. Here as we were unlading, began a bloody and dangerous Fray, between our Camel Drivers and ſome of the *Moſuls*; for falling from Words to Blows, there were ſome broken Heads, and we had enough to do to appeaſe them, which coſt us much Trouble, rather for our own Sakes than theirs. The Occaſion of it was about going to *Sucana*, a Village where thoſe who carry'd the *Amir*'s Dates liv'd, and they would wait there, as was ſaid before, till the *Caravan* came to *Tayba*, which is another Village in the Way; and it being inconvenient for us to part from them in thoſe Deſarts, we were oblig'd to follow whither they pleas'd, contrary to ours and the Inclinations of the *Moſuls*, whom they had before promis'd to bear us Company as far as *Tayba*: Now the *Moſuls* contending that we ſhould perform our Journey without them, and our Men oppoſing, becauſe they would not break Company, and expoſe themſelves to Danger, they fell together by the Ears, ſo that ſome of them came off with bloody Noſes, and at length our Men prevail'd, and we were oblig'd to keep Company with thoſe that carry'd the Dates. This Place is call'd *Ketef el Hel*, and has no Water, for which Reaſon we had provided before; ſaw Abundance of Hares, and great Flocks of wild Aſſes.

Ketef el Hel.

Sunday the 30th, at Sun Riſing we ſet out towards the North Weſt, over plain good Lands, having high Hills and Mountains in Sight, from half a Day's Journey backwards. In theſe Plains we ſaw many great Flocks of Cattel belonging to *Turkymans*, and many of their Houſes, but all ſeparate and remote from one another. Theſe were of the Tribe call'd *Beghdely*, which alone, among all thoſe that graze upon the Plains, does not acknowledge the

the *Amir*, becauſe it makes 8000 Horſe moſt Archers, with ſome Fire Arms, ſo that they are above any Vaſſalage. Still we found very many Hares and wild Aſſes, and about an Hour and a Half before Sun Setting began to go down Brakes and craggy courſe Land, yet good, and came an Hour in the Night to ſome Wells of very bad Water, where the *Turkymans* were giving Drink to their Camels and Cattle. This Day's Journey was about 9 Leagues, to this Place by the *Arabs* call'd *Naquid*, ſignifying, the Deputy to any Maſter. Here we lay all Night with little Safety, and many Apprehenſions, having ſomewhat higher on our Left a Channel famous in thoſe Parts, tho' then dry, call'd *Gadyr ather*. *Monday* the 31th of *January*, we were up two Hours before Day, the Night extremely Dark, and mov'd on North Weſt, over a very plain and ſpacious Vale, between Hills and Mountains, making all poſſible Haſt, as fearing to be ſet upon thereabouts by Robbers. Thus we went till 9 of the Clock with much Rain, and then reach'd a Village, call'd *Sukana*, ſeated on a Neck of Land, between two Mountains, where we took up in an ancient, but ſpacious and ſtrong *Khan*, about 100 Paces ſhort of the Town, which conſiſts of 150 Houſes, all of them, ſmall, poor and mean, made of unburnt Bricks, Mud Walls, and ſmall Stones, and inhabited by *Arabs* and *Turkymans*.

Gadyr a ther.

This Town deriv'd its Original from a Fort, ſtill ſtanding in the middle of it, but much decay'd, built in that Place for the Security of the *Caravans* going from *Damaſcus*, and *Tripoli*, to *Bagdat* and *Bazora*, or returning thence; as was *Taybah*, for thoſe of *Aleppo*, which us'd to be convey'd thus far by ſuch a Number of Soldiers as was thought requiſite, who having brought them ſafe to this Garriſon return'd home. This Method has been broken ever ſince thoſe Lands fell under the Dominion of the *Turks*. I remember there ſtill was a little Iron Gun on the flat Roof of the Fort, which I ſuppoſe ſerves to ſcare Robbers. About 200 Paces to the Southward of it, is a Spring of ſulphureous, hot, ſtinking Water, riſing and flowing into a round Pool, which is the Work of Nature, whence it runs to the Southward, and waters ſome Orchards and plow'd Lands thereabouts. That Water gives Name to the Place, for in *Arabick*, *Sukan* ſignifies Hot, all the Inhabitants drink of it, and there both Men and Women Bathe themſelves without any Shame, which done, they go pray in a *Moſque* there is hard by the Pool. The Salt they uſe there is made of the over-plus of this Water, after it has ſupply'd the Orchards and Lands, and is join'd by another, not ſo bad, which meets it at a Diſtance from the Source, in a Valley full of Salt Peter. In ſhort, it is an open Village, very poor and

Sucana Village.

A hot Spring.

and wretched, where every thing is ſcarce and dear, eſpecially Wood, inſtead of which they burn Camels and other Beaſt's Dung dry'd. The Air is unwholeſome, the Proviſions ſcarce and unſavory; and yet as bad as the Town is, I ſaw ſome Women like Angels in it. Here we ſtay'd five Days, not without Trouble from the Inhabitants, for there is no Town without a Mayor, Bailiff, or High Conſtable, and every one of them fancies himſelf as great as a King, that being as uſual there as among us. We kept ſtrict Guard, being as much afraid of the Inhabitants, as of thoſe abroad. Here *James de Melo*, forgetting where we were, that it was not in *India*, where Paſſion has ſome regard to Reaſon, fell into a Rage with a Camel Driver, threatning him with his Sword, which might have coſt him dear, had not much Intreaty and Complyance prevail'd. He met with ſome other Croſſes in this Journey, for want of conſidering and weighing the Difference of Times and Places; for thoſe who either cannot, or will not do ſo, had better ſtay at home. We waited here for Advice of the Arrival of the *Caravan* at *Taybah*, having a Man there on Purpoſe to bring it us, that we might go join it; which being brought on the 5th of *February* in the Morning, we immediatly loaded and ſet out.

CHAP. X.

Our Departure from Sucana, *and joining the* Caravan *at* Taybah, *whence we ſet out for* Aleppo, *and were attak'd by Robbers.*

SAturday the 5th of *February* we left *Sucana*, at 9 in the Morning, and having travell'd about two Leagues Weſtward, along the Foot of a Mountain, ſtruck up it to the Northward, for two Leagues more of uncooth and dangerous Way, which we were forc'd to travel a Foot, and then came into a very ſpacious Vale, abounding in Paſture, enclos'd with Hills, aad at the Foot of one of them, which lyes to the Northward, on a riſing above the reſt of the Valley, ſtands a Town of above 250 Houſes founded on the Ruins of an ancienter that belong'd to *French* Chriſtians. There is ſtill ſtanding a Tower or Belfrey built with Lime and Stone, which ſerves for an *Alcoran*, and under it a filthy *Moſque*, ſupported by Pieces of ſtately Marble Columns, which

Taybah *Town.*

which did belong to the Church in that Place. Here is a Tolerable Fort of Earth, on the Ruins of an ancienter, which was of Stone, and the Remains ſhows it to have been a good Structure and conſiderable Place. The Town is cloſe built, the Houſes of Clay and Mortar, the Walls of them Square, but the Roofs of the ſame Materials and Pyramidal. They call it *Taybah*, that is, a healthy Place, from the *Arabick* Word *Tayb*, ſignifying Health, or good Diſpoſition, becauſe the Air and Temperature is ſerene. At a ſmall Diſtance from it is a ſulphureous Spring, like that of *Sucana*, but much more tolerable, and better kept, as are ſome Gardens and Orchards on one ſide of the Valley. The Inhabitants are *Arabs*, living on their Cattle and Tillage. This Town and *Sucana* are alſo ſubject to the *Amir*, who is Lord of *Ana*, who holds them as a *Sangiach*, under the *Turk*; and as the *Caravans* of *Damaſcus* and *Tripoli* paſs through *Sucana*, ſo is *Taybah* the Road for thoſe of *Aleppo*, and in both of them a Duty of about 50 or 60 Maravedies being under eight Pence is paid for every Camel, either loaded or unloaded, for there are Camels carry'd to be ſold at *Aleppo*; but the Extortions of the *Subaxyes*, which are the Tax Gatherers, make this Duty much greater.

We came to *Taybah*, where the *Caravan* was in the Field a little before Sun ſet, having travell'd ſix Leagues. I had ſcarce time to ſee the Town, in Company with a *Mahometan* who was my Friend; yet made a Shift to take a View of it, and return'd into the Field to the *Caravan*, which now with ours made up 600 Camels, beſides ſome Horſes and Aſſes. This Night we lay ſomething more quiet, becauſe of the Strength of the Company, which amounted to about 200 Men, of ſeveral Nations, yet all this could not prevent that which afterwards happened.

Sunday the 6th of *February*, we departed *Taybah* at Sun riſing, and travell'd Northward, over very plain and good Lands, abounding in Paſture, with Mountains on both Sides, at a great Diſtance. This continu'd two thirds of the Day; and after that uneven Mountain Grounds till Sun ſet, when we pitch'd in a Place without Water, by the *Arabs* call'd *Habe Oje*, that is, the crooked Way, our Journey having been 8 Leagues. In thoſe Plains we paſs'd over, the Inhabitants of *Taybah* uſe to hunt the *Gazeles*, Creatures like Roes, which they do after this Manner. They ſet up two Rows of ſmall Rods about a Cubit high in the Midſt of the Field, forming a long and wide Lane, and to every Rod they tye a Rag, that may Wave with the Wind. In the Midſt of that Lane they make ſeveral great Pits, cover'd over with Straw and Graſs; then running about the Mountains and Plain in ſmall Gangs or

Hunting of Gazeles

or Companies, they put up the Game, and drive it towards the Rods. The Creatures being in fear of thoſe that purſue, and terrify'd by the Motion of the Rags faſten'd to the Rods on both Sides, fall into the Pits, where they are taken dead or alive. *Monday* the 7th the *Caravan* broke up before Sun Riſing, and having march'd 7 Leagues to the Northward, over various Sorts of Lands, both as to Goodneſs and Poſition, till Sunſet, lay that Night at the Foot of certain Mountains, near ſome Wells of very bad ſtinking Water, by the *Arabs* therefore call'd *Abumemten*, that is, *The Father of the ill Waters.* All the Fields from *Taybah* hither, were full of ſeveral ſmall Tufts of Buſhes, moſt of which were Roſemary,

Tueſday the 8th the *Caravan* mov'd after the Sun was up, to the Northward, over very plain good Lands, with a Ridge of high Mountains at a great Diſtance on the Left, on one of which ſtill remain the Ruins of a great City once inhabited by Chriſtians, which I ſaw far off, tho' not diſtinctly; but all the *Mahometans* and ſome *Armenian* Criſtians affirm'd it as a moſt certain Truth, aſſuring me there were Altars, ſtone Croſſes, and Pieces of Buildings of a wonderful Structure, ſtill ſtanding. Having advanc'd 5 Leagues, we took up our Quarters, by reaſon of a heavy and continual Rain, which began in the Afternoon, and laſted all the reſt of that Day, and the following Night, with much Cold till Morning, when we were all well ſoak'd, no Tents, or other Coverings being ſufficient to defend us; and yet we were very thirſty, there being no Water in the Place. *Wedneſday* the 9th the Day came on very cloudy, cloſe, and foggy; for which reaſon the *Caravan* did not ſtir till 9, and having travell'd little above half a League, was ſuddenly ſet upon by about 300 *Arabian* Robbers on Horſeback, arm'd with Spears, and giving loud Shouts; for by reaſon of a thick Fog, we did not ſee them till they were in the Midſt of the *Caravan*, out of which they preſently cull'd 200 Camels, which they could eaſily do, becauſe they uſually travel in ſeparate Gangs, to avoid Confuſion. We preſently alighted from our Cradles, and handling our Arms, ſome Firelocks, and others Bows and Swords, ſoon gather'd all the reſt of the *Caravan* in one Place, and fac'd them, ſo that they durſt not break in again, tho' they attempted it. It was diſmal to ſee, when we were almoſt at our Journey's End, after ſo many Fatigues as I cannot expreſs, ſome robb'd of their Camels, others of their Goods, and many of their poor wretched Cloaths; for tho' of ſo little Value, they ſtripp'd them naked, with wonderful Quickneſs and Inhumanity. It pleas'd God they touch'd none of our Gang, and being convinc'd that there was

Caravan aſſaulted by 300 Robbers.

no

no more Booty to be got without imminent Danger, they went away with what they had, leaving us melancholy and fearful, leſt they ſhould return ſtronger. By good Fortune, the greateſt Part of what they ſtole, conſiſted of Camels and Dates, belonging to the *Amir*, who is Lord of that Country, of whom I have ſpoken before. A Servant of his, who had Charge of them, being much concern'd at this Misfortune, reſolv'd to go to them; and having ſecur'd himſelf and his Horſe, by a certain Oath and Ceremony us'd among the *Arabs* in ſuch Caſes, and religiouſly obſerv'd, he went to them, and underſtood that the Robbers were of two *Hords*, or *Tribes*, the one of *Ebenkaiz*, and the other of *Eben Rabyah*. Thoſe of the latter were commanded by a Brother in Law to that very Servant of the *Amir*, who ſeeing him, and conſidering what had happen'd, was very much concern'd; and being about to reſtore the Camels, for there was no returning the Dates, which had all been diſtributed in a Moment, thoſe of the other *Tribe* would not conſent to it. They fell to Blows about it, and thoſe of *Eben Rabyah* got the better, from whom they took ſome Spears, and moſt of the Camels, which being deliver'd to the *Amir*'s Servant, he return'd with them to his Company. Upon his Return, the Galls that lay ſcatter'd about the Ground were pick'd up, the beſt that cou'd be; for as ſoon as thoſe Robbers have taken a Camel, they rip up the Sack the Loading is in, and if it be Cloathing, or any other thing for their Turn, they carry him away loaded, if not, they leave the Load and carry away the Camel, which is what they value moſt. Thus we waited till the Afternoon, when as I have ſaid, the *Mahometan* return'd, and we ſtay'd there that Night, to put Things in Order, Two *Arabian* Merchants, Father and Son, being both of them wounded with Spears. That Place is call'd *Garra* or *Serige*. We kept good Watch all the Night, and I being upon it in our Quarters, near Midnight, heard ſome mighty haſty Groans, towards the farther Part of the *Caravan*, which alarm'd the whole Company: The Occaſion was, that a Thief at Night, ſlily getting into the *Caravan*, made up to ſome Camels, and having unty'd one to carry him off, was diſcover'd, and being forc'd to fly, would not go without ſome Booty, and laying hold on a *Mahometan* Merchants Turbant, who lay aſleep cloſe by, ran away with it. The Merchant waking, made that Noiſe, which avail'd him very little. Such Tricks the *Arabs* often play, and ſometimes they prove coſtly.

Garra *or* Serigè Manſel.

Thurſday the 10th at Sun Riſing, the *Caravan* advanc'd Northward, over good Land, tho' not plain. We march'd all that Day without ceaſing, and having travell'd 8 Leagues, encamp'd

a little before Sun Set, becauſe it began to rain, not that it was much, but by reaſon it made the Camels ſlip and fall, which oblig'd us to lie there all Night. That Place is call'd *Drahem*, the Name of a Fort formerly erected on a Hill hard by, which ſtill retains that Denomination. There was no Water, and the great Want of it oblig'd us to go for it two Leagues off, upon Aſſes by Night, with much Dread; however it was brought, and we quench'd our Thirſt, which had fatigued us very much. In this Place came up to us an *Armenian*, whoſe Name was *Jacob*, whom we had known at *Bagdat*, whence he came 16 Days before on Horſeback, going for *Aleppo*, ſtay'd with us there that Night, and bore us Company the next Day, telling ſome News that diverted us, and made the Journey eaſier. *Friday* the 11th the *Caravan* march'd from *Drahem*, over excellent Land, for a good Space, till we came to the Point of a Mountain, by which we paſs'd, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Corna Zebad*, that is, *The Point of Civet*, or the *Civet Cat*, which is generally a *Manſel* or *Reſting Place* for *Caravans*. Being come to this Point, we ſoon diſcover'd other Mountains on our Left, along the Foot whereof we went rounding a very great Lake, call'd *Gebul*, above 30 Leagues in Compaſs, and form'd by the Water of a Spring, riſing in a Town there is on the other Side of it, and the Spring is nam'd *Ahen dahab*, that is, *The Golden Source* or *Spring*, for the great Value of its Water, which joins with the Rain in that ſpacious Place, and by its Nitrous Quality and Diſpoſition makes it Salt, and in Summer the Heat of the Sun turns it almoſt all into Salt, ſo hard that it may be paſs'd over either on Foot or on Horſeback. It belongs to the *Grand Signior*, who farms it for a great Sum of Money, whence it is carry'd to *Aleppo* and other Parts. Holding on our Way, we came into narrow dangerous Paſſes, between the Lake and the Mountains, and ſome ſo ſlippery with the Rain, and difficult, that ſeveral Camels fell, and coſt much Trouble to be got up, and what ſtill made worſe for us, it rain'd and was very cold and foggy. By the Way we ſaw the Ruins of ſome Towns, and ſome Houſes ſtanding, but empty, and on the Top of a high Mountain, the Foundations and Part of a great and curious Structure which appear'd to have been a Church; for all theſe Parts were inhabited by Chriſtians. We halted not all the Day, and at Sun Setting came to a deſert Village, call'd *Acle*, ſeated at the Foot of a pleaſant Hill, in a delightful Plain on the Bank of the ſame Lake. It contain'd about 100 ſmall Houſes, but well built of unburnt Brick, all of them vaulted in the Shape of Pyramids; ſome of them founded on wrought Stones, the Ruins of another Town of more Note that ſtood there. They had been abandon'd

Drahem Hill.

Lake of Salt.

Ruins of Chriſtian Structures.

bandon'd by their Inhabitants, who are great Knaves and Robbers, and were gone for fear of others greater than themſelves; to a Place 2 or 3 Leagues off. On the North Side of it is a never failing Spring of very good Water. Here we took up at Night, having travell'd 7 Leagues this Day.

Saturday the 12th after Sun-riſing we ſet out to the Northward, along the Bank of the Lake, over excellent Land, with great Mountains or Lakes from 2 to 4 Leagues Diſtance from us. Having gone about 3 Leagues, we paſs'd through a Town of about 300 Houſes, built like thoſe before, but larger, founded on the Ruins of another of more Conſequence, as appears by the Remains of it. The Name of it is *Melhuah*, that is, *Salt Town*; for *Mel* in *Arabick* ſignifies *Salt*, from the great Quantity of it there made and taken out of the Lake. About a Mile farther we paſs'd through another Town of about 120 Houſes like the laſt, call'd *Safyra*. Two Leagues beyond that we met with a ſmall Stream of pure clear Water, flowing from 2 Springs, over which we paſs'd, call'd *Ahen Macuba*, that is, *The Springs of the Ruſhy Grounds*, becauſe there are ſome thereabouts. Not far from hence we came to a Town call'd *Tal Aron*, that is, *The Hill of Thorns*, becauſe it is at the Foot of ſuch an one, and contains about 500 Houſes, like thoſe beforemention'd, but larger and more ſightly. We were here inform'd, that at *Gebrahin*, a large Town, thro' which we were to paſs this Day, there were 300 *Seghmen* Muſqueteers, who being at Variance with the *Baſſa* of *Aleppo*, had withdrawn thither, bidding us to look to our ſelves. Hereupon, fearing ſome Miſchief muſt befall us if we fell into their Hands, by unanimous Conſent we very haſtily croſs'd over plow'd Lands, for about 2 Leagues, to ſtrike out of that Road, and ſeek another, for fear they ſhould ſee and purſue us; and being got into the Way again, follow'd it as far as one of the many Villages there are in thoſe Fields, which they call *Tel Axarab*, where the *Caravan* took up, becauſe the Camels were very much tir'd. This was about 4 in the Afternoon, and thoſe of our Gang conſidering how much of the Day ſtill remain'd, how little Safety there was againſt the Mutineers, and that the City was but 3 Leagues off, we reſolv'd not to ſtop till we came to it. Thus being join'd by ſome others, among whom were 8 armed Men and 26 Camels, we held on our Way towards *Aleppo* on Foot, travelling hard, and with our Arms in our Hands, eſpecially after we were got in among the Gardens, which extend 2 Leagues without the City, and made ſuch Haſte, that we enter'd the Place at Sun-ſetting, having travell'd above 9 Leagues this Day, being juſt a Year and a Day ſince I ſet Sail from the Bar of *Goa*, and juſt 2

Melhuah.

Safyra.

Tal Aron.

Tel Axarab.

Arrival at Aleppo.

Months ſince my Departure from *Bagdat*. We proceeded thro' the City to about the Middle of it, where we took up in a *Khan*, in which 2 *Venetian* Menchants liv'd, to one of which, whoſe Name was *John Baptiſt Bagozzy*, the Goods my Comerade brought were conſign'd; who having put them up there, went away to lodge with one *John Dominick Ruſpiny* his Friend, deſiring *Bagozzi* to lodge me, till he could provide for me, which he and his Companion did, giving me a Bed by my ſelf, very decent and convenient, and treating me ſo affectionate and curteouſly for 2 or 3 Days I ſtay'd there, that I was very much oblig'd; but this is a frequent Practice among thoſe *Venetian* Gentlemen towards Strangers.

CHAP. XI.

Of the City of Aleppo.

Aleppo *or* Hhaleb.

Aleppo, ſo call'd by the Chriſtian *Franks*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*, and by the *Moors* and *Turks*, *Hhaleb*, is the ſame City formerly by the *Jews* nam'd *Aram Sobah*, Capital of the Province of *Comagena* in *Syria*. It is a Town of very great Antiquity, ſeated between 4 Hills, and taking up ſome Part of them. It enjoys a temperate Climate and pure Waters; for beſides thoſe brought to it by Aqueducts from the *Euphrates*, which is 2 Days Journey diſtant, and are diſtributed throughout the City, into many publick and private Fountains, ſome of them of curious Workmanſhip; it is waſh'd round by the River *Singa*, by the Natives call'd *Kikan*, and by the *Hebrews*, *Kikanos*, which improving the natural Goodneſs of the Soil, renders it extraordinary fruitful, and therefore for a conſiderable Space about, it is beſet with Gardens and Orchards, forming a pleaſant and delightful Proſpect by their Number and various Situations. However it is ſometimes ſubject to the Plague, whether occaſion'd by the Air of the Country, or brought from other Nations trading thither, among which are *Venetians*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Singa *River.*

Suburbs.

Within the Walls its Figure is round, and they are ancient, built after the *Mooriſh* Manner; but without them the Suburbs are longer and larger than the City within. The whole City is divided into 45 Wards, 20 whereof are within the Walls, and the other 25 much greater without, which at the Ends of them have

have ſome Sort of Works and Gates. It may contain in all 26000 Houſes, handſomely built, generally of Stone, well wrought, but ſome in particular as ſpacious, curious, and coſtly as can be imagin'd. Nor are only thoſe of the *Turks* and *Moors* ſuch, but even ſome of thoſe belonging to *Jews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenian* Chriſtians are ſo noble, that they may ſerve to entertain Princes. There are 300 *Moſques* in *Aleppo*, 7 whereof are magnificent Structures, the Roofs of moſt of them and thoſe of almoſt all the *Alcorans*, ſome whereof are wonderful ſtately, cover'd with Lead, and moſt of thoſe Structnres being vaulted, and ſhap'd like Domes, it makes them very beautiful to behold. *Houſes.* Moſques.

There are in the City ſeveral *Khans*, of thoſe I ſaid before were like the Cloiſters of Monaſteries, where Merchants Strangers lie with their Goods, and there the Natives keep theirs, becauſe they are ſtrong and ſafe Buildings, all of Stone, with great Gates, and maſſive Iron Chains, and in the midſt of them, and at the Gates of ſome *Moſques*, curious clean Marble Fountains, with Plenty of good Water, ſome whereof for the more Neatneſs have Braſs Cocks, that may run no more than is neceſſary, and the reſt is convey'd away by ſubterraneous Paſſages. Khans.

There is a Royal Hoſpital, endow'd with a great Revenue, tho' the Officers do not furniſh it ſo well as the Prince expects, a Fault too common in other Places, where Chriſtian Charity ſhould be more prevalent. There are ſeveral *Succos*, that is, *Market Places* or *Squares*, all ſhut up, built with Stone and vaulted, very ſtrong and handſome, full of Shops of all Sorts. *Hoſpital.*

In the midſt of the City, the Streets whereof are all pav'd with Marble, is a high Hill, equally divided on all Sides from every Part of the City, as round as a Heap of Corn, on which ſtands a Fort, which the *Mahometan* and *Jewiſh* Tradition ſays was founded by *Joab*, *David*'s General; but it may be ſuppos'd to have been afterwards improv'd. They alſo affirm the Patriarch *Abraham* reſided ſome time on that ſame Place, and his Charity they tell us, gave Name to it and the Town; becauſe the Holy Man us'd to diſtribute ſome of the Milk of his Cows among the Needy, who being us'd to it, came at the proper Hour for their Portion, and when they came, ſaid *Hhaleb*, which in the *Syrian* Tongue ſignifies, *Have they milk'd?* From which Queſtion the Name was given to the Place. I write what was there told me by many. *Fort built by* Joab.

To return to the Caſtle, the Situation of it is naturally ſtrong, and by what is ſtill to be ſeen, it ſeems to have been help'd by Art; yet at preſent it is not ſo tenable as it might be; for tho' it overlooks the City, and has ſome Canon, and there is round the

the Hill a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water, with a Bridge over it, the Walls are not very ſtrong, and the Contrivance is mean; beſides that it has no Water but a Well, and that rather ſalt than brackiſh. An *Aga*, with a Company of *Janizaries* generally reſides in it, and the *Baſſa* lives below in the City. Within the Caſtle they coin Gold and Silver; the Silver Money call'd *Xays*, ten whereof make a Piece of 8, and *Madines*, 5 of which go to a *Xay*. This Mint, and the Cuſtoms were then farm'd by the *Jews*, and the Cuſtoms alone, by reaſon of the late War, yielded that Monarch 200000 *Chequines* clear yearly, and every *Chequine* is worth about 13 *Royals*.

Mint.

Inhabitants. The Tower is inhabited by Native *Mahometans* and *Turks*, and the two *Arabian* and *Turkiſh* Tongues are thoſe generally us'd, tho' by reaſon of the Trade ſome ſpeak *Italian*, *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Spaniſh*. Beſides thoſe *Mahometans* and *Turks*, ſeveral *Chriſtians* live there as Natives, *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Chaldeans*, and *Greeks*. There are alſo *Jews*, and of them about 1000 good Houſes, in a ſeparate Ward; but within the Walls, where they have a great Synagogue, which they affirm was built 1500 Years ſince, and is ſtill ſtanding. Many of them are rich, moſt Merchants, the reſt Brokers and Handycrafts, as Goldſmiths, Lapidaries, and the like.

Jews.

Chriſtians. There are about 1500 Houſes of Native Chriſtians, almoſt all of them without the Walls, and there every Nation has its Church, but all near one another, ſmall, poor, and of a mean Structure; and if a Stick or Stone of them drops out with Age, it muſt not be repair'd upon Pain of Death. They have their Secular Prieſts, who may marry, and Friers of the Order of St. *Gregory* and S. *Baſil*, who profeſs Chaſtity. They have alſo an *Armenian* Biſhop, and he that preſided in my time, was generally reputed of a Holy and Exemplar Life, and ſuch I took him for, ſome times I diſcours'd with him.

The Baſſa. A *Baſſa* has the Government of the City for no certain time, with a Garriſon of 3000 *Janizaries*, beſides other numerous Troops, eſpecially *Segmens*, whoſe new Invention and Numbers have very much eclips'd the Reputation of the *Janizaries* in thoſe Parts. This *Baſſa* is Supreme in Civil and Military Affairs.

The Cadi. There is a *Cady* who is Judge in Civil and Criminal Matters, and both *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* aſſur'd me, that he who then ſerv'd the Place, beſides being an excellent Philoſopher, was extraordinary upright in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

The Mufti. The Spiritual Government is in one they call *Mufti*, anſwerable to a Biſhop with us, and among them a Place of great Honour and Authority. When I came thither, this Dignity was poſſeſs'd by a Brother to that *Mahometan* my Friend. I mention'd

ſpeaking

ſpeaking of the Cure of his Camel's Foot, who went before another Way from *Mexat Ocem*, without any *Caravan*, and being come to *Aleppo* long before us, and inform'd of my Arrival, found me out immediately, viſited me ſeveral times very lovingly whilſt I ſtay'd there, ſending me very choice Preſents, always offering to ſerve me upon Occaſion; and thus convincing me how advantageous it is to do Good, without Reſpect of Perſons; ſince for ſome little Service I had done him, when it was in my Power, I found ſo much Favour from him in a Place, where it might have ſtood me in Stead, had I needed it.

Beautiful Women.

The People are generally fair and beautiful; and tho' the Women keep their Faces cover'd in the Street with a Sort of Gauſe; ſo that they can ſee without being ſeen; yet the Beauty of the Children is an Argument of theirs. They generally are well dreſs'd, as are the Men, moſt of whom ride about on Horſeback. There are many curiots and cleanly Baths about the City. All Neceſſaries for Life are very plentiful except Fiſh, becauſe it is remote from the Sea; and yet I have ſeen *Venetian* Gentlemen make extraordinary ſplendid Entertainments of it, brought from *Sconderon*. At the time I was there all things were dear, becauſe it had endur'd a cloſe Siege for a long time, laid by the *Baſſa* then governing, who coming with the *Grand Signior*'s Commiſſion, was refus'd Admittance by his Predeceſſor, for a Politick Reaſon, which was not out of the Way. He alledg'd that the Perſon appointed to ſucceed him, had Lands of his own cloſe by, and it was not therefore convenient for his Maſter to give him that Government ſo near them, ſo that if he had granted him that Poſt, it muſt be becauſe he was not rightly inform'd, for which reaſon he would not reſign, till his Sovereign had a true Account. However, he was at laſt oblig'd to quit upon a ſecond Order, and went away to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him, as I was inform'd by Perſons of Credit, 500000 *Ducats*, or *Chequines* which amount to more, all gotten in two Years he had been Governour there.

Turkiſh Policy.

Europeans at Aleppo.

The *Franks* trading there being *Venetians*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, live in *Khans*, for the greater Security of their Perſons and Goods, and each of theſe Nations has its Conſul, who is Chief, to decide Controverſies among them, and treat with the *Baſſa* in all things that are for the Advantage of his Country; for which purpoſe he has a *Druggerman* or *Interpreter*, maintain'd at the publick Coſt. In my time there were 14 Families of *Venetians*, beſides the Conſul's. Every Family beſides Servants has two Heads, one to ſerve in the Abſence of another; and if the firſt dies, or goes away, the ſecond ſucceeds him, which I thought a good Method to keep up the Commerce without Interruption. The Trade

Venetians.

of

of this Nation there is worth between a Million, and a Million and a half of Gold Yearly, ſent from *Venice* in 5 or 6000 Pieces of Woollen Cloth, about as many of Silk and Brocade, Abundance of Cocheneal, and the reſt in Plate. The Returns are Raw Silk, Indigo, Galls, Cotton Raw and Spun, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Piſtachoes, precious Stones, Seed Pearl, Gold Coin, and other Commodities. From all this Stock they deduct ſo much *per Cent*, for a Bank they call *Cotimo*, which is to pay an Apothecary, a Surgeon and Chaplains, theſe being *Franciſcan* Friers, who are very well furniſh'd, having a Chappel in a *Khan*, where the Merchants meet to hear Maſs and Sermons. It alſo ſerves to defray the Preſents made to the *Baſſa*, and other Officers, the *Druggerman*'s Salary, and the Expence of three Expreſſes ſent together every Month, by the Way of *Conſtantinople*, that in Caſe one or two fail, the third may go through. In ſhort, the Conſul's Expences in three Years, for ſo long they commonly hold the Place, amount to between 60 and 80000 Ducats or *Chequines*, which are not disburs'd without the Conſent of the Merchants, who Ballot after the *Venetian* Manner. The Conſul is always a Gentleman, and the Guardian of the Friers a Man of Note, who has Power from the Pope to abſolve in all Caſes reſerv'd, provided it be not falſifying of Bulls and Letters. This is the Form and Method obſerv'd by the *Venitians* reſiding there, who live great and ſplendid, behaving themſelves nobly; from ſeveral of whom I receiv'd many Favours during my Stay, and it is uſual with them to do the ſame by all Strangers they have a good Account of.

French. The *French* alſo have their Conſul, and the Perſon appointed to it for Life by the King, ſtays in *France*, and ſends one over in his ſtead, who pays him near 3000 Ducates a Year for it. This Man has alſo his Chappel in his Houſe or *Khan*, and a Chaplain to ſay Maſs, where ſome of them go to hear it. There were five Families of them reſiding there in my time, but the Number of thoſe that go and come is much greater than that of the *Venetians*. The *French* Trade may amount to 800000 Ducats, of which they pay 4 *per Cent*, beſides the *Turk*'s Duties, that is, two for the Conſul, and two more for the *French* Embaſſador, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, and moſt of theſe 800000 Ducats go over in Plate. In other Particulars they are far ſhort of the good Government of the *Venetians*. [*The Reader is to obſerve, that ſince the Author's Time, the* French *Trade is vaſtly improv'd, as is the* Engliſh, *and there are many Alterations in other Particulars, but it is worth knowing how things were then, and how they are at preſent ſhall appear by latter Accounts from thoſe Parts, which*

are

are to follow this.] The *French* Conſul has a particular Privilege from the *Turk*, of protecting any Foreign Chriſtian, that is not of thoſe Nations allow'd to Trade there, and any ſuch under his Shadow, enjoy the ſame Immunities as the *French*, which is made uſe of by ſome *Flemmings* and *Luqueſes*, to trade there. *Engliſh* There were three Families of *Engliſh*, with their Conſul, who is a Merchant, and their Trade might amount to 300000 Ducats, little of it being in Money, but Cloths, Kerſeys, Lead, Tin, Copper, Arms and the like. Five or ſix *Venetian* Ships were employ'd Yearly in that Commerce; two or three *Engliſh*; and above twenty *French*. There were alſo two Families of *Dutch*, trading to the Value of 150000 Ducats, which is always to taken for the Common amount, for ſometimes it may be more, and ſometimes leſs. *Dutch.*

This City is 80 Leagues from the *Mediterranean*, and all that goes or comes by Sea, is Shipp'd off, and landed at the Port of *Alexandretta*, which the *Turks* and *Moors* call *Scanderone*. The greatneſs of the Trade of theſe Nations in that Place, may be underſtood by this Particular, that only the Hire of the Camels to *Hire of Camels at* fetch and carry Goods to and from the Port, tho' generally very reaſonable, riſes to at leaſt 80000 *Chequines* a Year, which is Aleppo. near 90000 Ducats; a Sum I ſhould have doubted of, had I not computed it very particularly with ſome of thoſe Gentlemen, for my own Satisfaction.

They weave Abundance of good Silks at *Aleppo*, and in the *Manufactures.* Country about it very much hard white Soap is made, great Quantities whereof are exported to ſeveral Parts. For common Uſe they have very neat Copper Veſſels tinn'd, and the poorer Sort of Earthen Ware, whereof much Plenty is there made, but not fine. They have alſo Glaſs enough made in the adjacent Towns, indifferent Good. There are very curious Coffee Houſes, *Coffee* remarkable for Structure and Ornament, ſet out with many Lamps, *Houſes.* becauſe the greateſt Reſort is uſually at Night, tho' they are alſo ſufficiently frequented by Day. There are alſo publick Places to exerciſe the Bow and Musket, and riding, for every *Saturday* in the Afternoon, Abundance of Men go out into the Fields a Horſe back, ſometime 1000 ſtrong, exerciſing themſelves by Skir- *Exerciſe.* miſhing with Reeds, inſtead of Spears.

Every Year after the *Ramadan*, which is the *Mahometan* Caravan Lent, a *Caravan* ſets out from *Aleppo* for *Mecca*, which joins *of* Mecca. another at *Damaſcus*, and thence they travel together. When I was there, one went off on the 4th of *March*, and it was wonderful to ſee the great Concourſe of People, and with what Pleaſure and Applauſe the infinite Numbers of Men, Women

and Children, of all Ages and Conditions, attend those that are going two Miles out of Town. The *Bassa* himself, the *Mufty*, and all the great Men went out to bear them Company, and there was a curious mock Skirmish with Reeds, and much Musick, all out of Zeal for their false Religion, for they believe their Sins are forgiven for accompanying those Pilgrims going to *Mecca* or *Medina*. In this *Caravan* there were near 3000 Camels, and many Horses, besides a great Number of other Beasts of Burden. It contain'd about 800 Men, Women and Children, a vast Quantity of Commodities, and a greater of Money, which is thence sent to *India*.

Gates. The City of *Aleppo* has 10 Gates, which are all shut at Night, and at one of them, that is under a Tower, is a dark Hollow, or Recess, grated before, and with a Tomb, held in great Veneration by the *Mahometans*, with Lamps and Candles continually burning about it. The *Franks* call that *St. George*'s Gate, and some think his Body lyes in that Place, because the *Mahometans* say, that is a holy Knight, but it is most likely to be some one of their own, held in that Repute. Four Days Journey from *Aleppo*, that is, two to the River *Euphrates*, and two from it up in *Mesopotamia*, is the most ancient City *Orfa*, formerly call'd *Ur*, where the *Chaldeans* would have burnt *Abraham*, and there is a Place in it to this Day bearing that Name, and held in great Veneration. They there shew a Spring, whose Water breeds good Fish, to eat whereof is reckon'd a Sacriledge; because they say it sprung miraculously, to quench the Fire they would have burnt the Holy Patriarch in. Within this Town is a Well, which they affirm is the same, of whose Water *Rebecca*, whom they call *Rafka*, gave *Abraham*'s Servant and his Camels to Drink, when he went to seek a Wife for *Isaac*. I will conclude with *Aleppo*, where I have made too long a Stay, and return to my Journey in the next Chapter, and conclude this, declaring that the Country is good, tho' scarce of Wood; but the People wicked, and not at all affable.

Orfa the City Ur.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

My Journey from Aleppo *to* Scanderone, *with the Deſcription of the Country and that Place.*

I Had been near 2 Months at *Aleppo*, waiting for a Ship to carry me to *Venice*, for they are not to be met with at all times; when we were inform'd that one, which was then loading at *Scanderone*, had near taken in all it was to carry from that Port. Upon this Intelligence, we who deſign'd to take our Paſſage in her, made ready, and having provided all Neceſſaries, departed that City on *Holy Tueſday*, the 5th of *April*, 1605, having join'd Company with 2 *Venetian* Gentlemen, which were *Peter dal Ponte* and *Dominick Calegary*, from whom I receiv'd many Favours, both at *Aleppo* and during our Voyage. *James de Melo* went alſo with us, as did ſeveral other *Franks*, who were not of our particular Gang, all deſigning for *Venice* in the ſame Ship. We left the City at 4 in the Afternoon, attended by all the *Venetian*, and moſt of the *French* Nation, of whom we took leave in loving Manner, at a Village 2 Miles diſtant, that being the Boundary of ſuch Courteſy, they ſhewing a Concern, proceeding from their Goodneſs, worthy my perpetual Remembrance, and laying on me an Obligation not to be requited. We travell'd thence to the Northward, and paſſing by many Villages, lay that Night in one call'd *Nibul*, well pleas'd but ill accommodated. This Place is 4 or 5 Leagues from the City. *Departure from* Aleppo.

Wedneſday the 6th we were going before Break of Day, between uncooth, ſtony, and barren Mountains, along which we ſaw the Ruins and Remains of ſeveral ancient Towns and Caſtles, and of ſome Churches. Thus we held on till Noon, when we came down from the Mountain to a deep but ſpacious Plain, where we alighted to reſt a while and eat a Bit, for we had not yet broke our Faſt; but the Place being without Shelter, made us ſoon break up and go on. We croſs'd a River of good clear Water, call'd *Afrin*, about 70 Paces over, running Eaſt and Weſt, fordable in ſome Places, and ſo we almoſt all of us paſs'd it on Horſeback. A He Mule paſſing laſt, that carry'd my Bed and a Basket belonging to *James de Melo*, miſs'd the Ford, all the Loading was wet, and the Beaſt had like to be drown'd. *James de Melo* had ſome Papers in the Basket, which he ſaid were of Conſequence, and ſeeing them in the Water, he ran up roaring

and crying they were worth mighty Matters. The *Venetian* Gentlemen, as being well acquainted with the Country, had hir'd 2 *Segmens* at *Aleppo*, one of them an Officer and the other his Brother, to bear us Company to *Scanderone*, becauſe there is little Safety in travelling that Country, eſpecially for Chriſtian *Franks*, without ſuch a Guard. One of theſe ſeeing *James de Melo* ſo much concern'd, leap'd into the Water, and took more Pains for the Basket than he ought to have done, ſince it caus'd us as much Trouble as we enjoy'd Satisfaction before; for the *Segmen* having fetch'd the Basket out of the Water, ſaid the Owner of it had declar'd it was worth 10 or 12000 Ducats, and therefore he would be paid for his Labour accordingly. There was a long Debate and much Uneaſineſs about it, which was at laſt compounded for Money, that being the ready Remedy in all Places for ſuch Evils, when rightly apply'd. We were afterwards inform'd, that the Chief of the *Segmens* had ſaid at *Aleppo*, that 20 Ducats we gave him for conducting us were too little; but he would find ſome Opportunity by the Way to advance his Wages, and ſo it prov'd; for the Controverſy yielded him above as much more. I was not ſurpriz'd at that manner of Proceeding, remembring I had ſeen greater Wrongs, by ſome People in our Parts.

When this Controverſy was adjuſted, we held on our Way, and went to paſs that Night in a very ſpacious Meadow, where a great Number of Horſes were grazing; the *Turks* uſing to put theirs to Graſs in the Spring, before they take the Field. We ſettled by 2 Streams of Water, the one Sulphurous, the other Freſh and perfectly Good, and yet there were not above 4 Paces Diſtance between them, keeping a good Guard all Night. *Thurſday* the 7th we got up two Hours before Day, travelling over very good Land, to others Uneven and Mountainous; after which follow'd ſome Boggy, and the Water there is on it breeds much Fiſh, look'd upon as unwholeſome; and in the Fields there are Abundance of wild Boars, which not being eaten by thoſe People, are not hunted, and conſequently multiply very much. Next we came into another very ſpacious Plain, which we croſs'd, in Sight of a very long Chain of exceſſive high Mountains, and paſſing over 2 Stone Bridges, built upon neceſſary Paſſes, the one of good running Water, and the other of Mud and Mire, came at Noon to reſt us under the Shade of the Wall of another great and ſtately one, call'd *The White Bridge*, giving Name to the River that runs under it, the Breadth whereof is about 50 Paces, but deeper than the other before, tho' not ſo pure and clear. Both of them breed good Fiſh. Having reſted there till two in the Afternoon, we croſs'd over the remaining Part of the Plain,

Bridges.

till

till about half an Hour after 4 we began to go up the Mountain. Before I go any farther, I muſt declare in a few Words, that I know not what was moſt obſervable in the Way we travell'd ſo far this Day, whether the Poſition, the Goodneſs of the Soil, the Proſpect, the Variety of Flowers, their Fragrancy, the Diverſity of Birds, and Sweetneſs of their Notes, the Springs, the Rivers, the Lakes, or the Beaſts that were grazing. It was then Spring, the Climate temperate, the Air ſerene, the Land fruitful, whence any one may infer, how much Satisfaction the Eyes and other Senſes muſt receive, and how much Occaſion there was to praiſe God. We began as I was ſaying, to aſcend the Mountain, which is no way inferior to the Plain; for it is full of Springs, and Streams to Admiration, and cover'd with Lawrels, Myrtles, Planes, Olive, Fig, Almond, *Piſtacho*, Pine, and Beech-Trees, beſides a thouſand Sorts of Herbs and Flowers, the Sight and Scent whereof make the Fatigue of the Aſcent the more eaſy, tho' of it ſelf it be painful, by reaſon of its great Height and Steepneſs. The Tops were bury'd in deep Snow, and being ſo lofty girt round by the Clouds, over which their Heads reach'd, and among the Brakes, which are many and dangerous, there are ſome Vales of good grazing Land. Travelling up the Mountain, we had a full Proſpect of all thoſe Plains and what was in them, as if they had been lay'd down in a Landskip, and diſcover'd that the two Rivers, the Springs, and Streams we had paſs'd by, ran all to form a Lake, which I judg'd might be 5 or 6 Leagues in Compaſs, lying near a Hill, on which the City of *Antioch* once ſtood, and the Ruins ſtill are. We went up the Mountain, till half an Hour paſt 6 in the Afternoon, when meeting with a gentle Stream, fit for our Purpoſe, we ſtay'd there all Night.

Deliciouſneſs of the Country.

Ruins of Antioch.

On *Good Friday*, being the 8th of *April*, we were ſtirring two Hours before Day, and having gone up Hill an Hour longer, the Way ſometimes good and ſometimes bad, began to deſcend again to the Northward, and towards Break of Day came to a Town, ſeated on the Sides of a large Brake, and call'd *Bilan*, whence the Name is communicated to all the Mountain, therefore call'd *Gibel Bilan*, that is, *The Mountain of* Bilan. This Situation is not ſo good as others about it, and yet with the Help of Water, which riſing on the Top of the Mountain, falls and ſpreads all over, it produces all things as well as if the Soil were of the beſt. The Quantity of Water is ſo great, that tho' it be divided by Art into 7 Streams, each of them has as much as makes a handſome Current, beſides that which is convey'd into a Receptacle, and runs thence through 3 great Pipes into a Pool, all of curious clean Stone Work, the Waſte whereof makes a Stream, which

Bilan *Town.*

which at 5 or 6 Paces diſtance, falls down a Brake, into a common Privy built over it, with three diſtinct Rooms and Doors, the cleanlieſt, moſt curious, and beſt fitted after their Manner, of any I ever ſaw among the *Mahometans*. There is in the Town a large *Khan*, handſomely built with Lime and Stone, ſerving to lodge the *Caravans*, when they are benighted there. Here is alſo a Coffee-Houſe, another belonging to the *Cadi*, and ſome others, as alſo a *Moſque*, with an *Alcoran*, all of them of Stone. Beſides which there were near 400 little Houſes, without any upper Rooms, all flat roof'd, containing only one Chamber, built with ſmall Stone, Clay, and Earth. This Town was much ruin'd and half unpeopled, by the frequent paſſing of the *Segmen* Soldiers; for whereſoever Soldiers come, tho' never ſo regular and well diſciplin'd, they do more Miſchief than Locuſts. We ſtay'd there no longer than till the Mules came up with the Baggage, which was about half an Hour, and then continued going down the Mountain, which the lower we went was the better Land, and look'd more pleaſant. It was Morning, and the freſh Air ſpreading abroad the Fragrancy of the Flowers, and the Noiſe of the Waters falling down the Brakes, moving the Nightingales and other Birds to ſing, we could ſcarce be ſenſible of the Fatigue of Travelling. Thus diverting our Toil with reflecting on ſuch Variety of things as occurr'd to the Sight, we got to the Bottom of the Mountains, and enter'd upon the Plain, being in Sight of the *Mediterranean*, and of the Ships along the Shore of *Scanderone*, in a Bay ending there, between *Comagena*, which is Part of *Syria*, and the Lands and Mountains of *Caramania*, that was oppoſite to us Northward, about 10 Leagues diſtant. At our entring upon the Plain, there ruſh'd out of an Ambuſh on us 5 Horſemen with Spears, appearing to be *Turks* by their Habit and the Langurge they ſpoke to us in, who frighted us ſufficiently; but were ſoon known to be *Venetian* Merchants reſiding there, Friends and Correſpondents to thoſe we went with, and having Notice of our coming, met and kept us Company to their Houſes; ſo that our Surprize was turn'd into double Satisfaction. After a Friendly Salutation, we croſs'd over the Plain, which is for the moſt part Fenny, and therefore very unhealthy, to the Shore, where the Port of *Scanderone* is, ſo call'd by the *Turks*, and by the *Franks Alexandretta*, which is the ſame thing. Here formerly ſtood a Town, incloſ'd with ſtrong Walls of Lime and Stone, ſome Remains whereof are ſtill extant, with the Ruins of Houſes within them. A thouſand Stories are told of this Town, which I paſs by as uncertain and of little Moment. At length we came to the Shore, where are ſome Houſes belonging to *Franks*, living

Scanderone *Port.*

living there for the Conveniency of Trade, which formerly was convey'd to *Aleppo*, 80 Miles diſtant hence, from *Tripoli* in *Syria*, whence upon ſome Differences with the *Baſſas*, the Chriſtians retir'd to this Place, about 15 Years ſince, yet like it not very well, becauſe of the Inconveniency of carrying their Goods ſo far by Land. Here are ſome few Timber Houſes, either cover'd with Boards, or thatch'd, except 3, which are of Lime and Stone, flat roof'd, and on the Top of one of them are 2 or 3 Braſs Guns, wherewith they ſometimes defend themſelves againſt any roving Scoundrels that pretend to moleſt them. Among thoſe Houſes there are 2 Churches, the one of the *Latin Franks*, ſerv'd by an *Italian Franciſcan* Frier; the other of the *Greeks*, under a Religious *Greek Caloyer*. Three Vice-Conſuls reſide there, the *Venetian*, the *French*, and the *Engliſh*, ſubordinate to their Conſuls at *Aleppo*. This is the Bay of *Layaza*, deſcrib'd by *Arioſto* in his 19th *Canto*, and there are ſtill the two Caſtles, one to the Northward, at the Foot of the Mountain the Sea beats againſt, now almoſt ruin'd; the other to the Southward, ſtill entire; theſe forming the Points of the Half Moon the Port did, and now does repreſent; tho' the Sea having thrown up Sand on the Shore, that on the South is at ſome Diſtance from the Water. It is call'd the Gulf of *Layaza*, taking the Name from a Town and Port that bears the ſame Denomination, of very great Antiquity, which is oppoſite to it, on the Coaſt of *Caramania*. There is a great Reſort of Ships to this Port, for beſides the *Venetian*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, coming to it, there are abundance of *Caramuſales*, being Veſſels very like the *Portugueſe Caravels*, coming from *Egypt*, *Alexandria*, *Tripoli*, *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Conſtantinople*, and ſeveral other Ports, with Merchandiſe and Proviſions. Here we kept *Eaſter*, which was on the 10th of *April*, with very much Satisfaction, and the Ship only waiting for us, as ſoon as it was over we embark'd, as ſhall be ſaid in the following Chapter. Layaza Bay.

CHAP. XIII.

Our Departure from Scanderone, *and Arrival at* Cyprus.

ON *Tueſday* the 12th of *April* we embark'd in a *Venetian* Ship that had been there 10 Months, being detain'd by the War at *Aleppo*; and had it ſail'd at its proper Time, I muſt

must have ſtay'd ſome Months longer for another, unleſs I would have gone on board a *French* or *Engliſh* Ship, ſome of which are always there; but that was not for my Purpoſe, becauſe beſides their being unſafe for Paſſengers, I had Buſineſs that oblig'd me to go to *Venice*. This Ship was call'd *La Rizarda*, by reaſon the Owner was one *Francis Rizardi*, a Citizen of *Venice*; ſhe was above 500 Tun Burthen, this her firſt Voyage, well Arm'd and Officer'd, and carry'd 23 good Pieces of Braſs Cannon. We ſet Sail at the End of the 2d Watch; but the Wind proving contrary, caſt Anchor again immediately; and *Wedneſday* the 13th weigh'd again in the Morning, plying about with a contrary Wind and calm, till on *Friday* Morning the Wind came a little to Eaſtward, ſomewhat favourable, with which we ran along the Coaſt of *Syria*, as far as Cape *Canzir*, or, *Of the Swine*, 70 Miles, or 24 Leagues diſtant from *Scanderone*, being all vaſt high Mountains, cover'd with Abundance of Snow, *Caramania* lying on our Right Hand, about 20 Miles from us, a Mountainous Country, whoſe Hills are inhabited by many Sorts of People. It was pleaſant at Night to behold the many Fires they made about their Dwellings. There, on the Edge of the Sea, ſtands the Fort and Town of *Layaza* beforemention'd, formerly great, and now inconſiderable. The Wind did not ſerve as we ſtood, for which reaſon the Pilot tack'd, and we held this Courſe, till he gueſs'd we were between the Iſland of *Cyprus* and the Continent, and then ſteer'd to the Southward, which Rumb we held a Day and a Night. *Wedneſday* the 20th in the Morning, we found the Point of the Iſland bore Eaſt of us, we being without it to the Southward, which was our right Courſe. Here the Wind came up fair, ſo that we ran all Day cloſe by the Iſland, for the Port of *Salinas*. Being within 20 Miles of it, the Wind on a ſudden veer'd about to Seaward, ſo that we could not put in till the next Day, being the 21th, at 11 in the Morning. The Wind being ſcant, we came to an Anchor with ſome Difficulty, near 3 Ships that were there before us, 2 of them *Venetians*, and the 3d *Dutch*, loading the common Commodity of the Country, which is Cotton, of which ours was to take in what ſhe wanted.

Cape Canzir.

Cyprus Iſland.

They reckon 200 Miles from *Scanderone* to the neareſt Point of this Iſland, which is above 280 in Length, and 700 about, being between 50 and 60 diſtant from *Caramania*, that lies North from it, and has no Port of any Note on that Side. The Land is not very Mountainous, but fruitful, and all it produces is very good, but yields not near ſo much at preſent, as it did to the *Venetians*, when they were Maſters of it. Abundance of Cotton grows in it, whereof above 5000 Packs are exported every Year, and

and each of them weighs at leaſt 20 *Spaniſh Arrobas*, which is 500 Weight, beſides 3000 Packs of fine Wool, for which the *Venetians* trade thither, and have a Conſul there, as have the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Flemings*. It yields ſome Silk, Sugar, very much good Wine, Abundance of Cheeſe, and other things, which formerly brought a good Trade to it; but it is much decay'd, ſince poſſeſs'd by the *Turks*. The Natives of it are *Greek* Chriſtians, but after the *Greek* Manner. This is the only Place in which I ſaw Chriſtians ſubject to the *Turk* wear Hats on their Heads; for in all other Parts I paſs'd thro', they are only allow'd to wear a Cloath great Hood or Cap, generally lin'd with Furs or elſe a blue or ſtrip'd blue Linnen wrapp'd about their Head; this for the *Greek*, and the *Armenians* red; and the *Jews* in ſome Places red and blue round Caps; but here nearer the Court, Murrey or Violet Colour Caps, almoſt like thoſe the Secular Prieſts wear in *Portugal*, and this inſtead of the yellow Linnen Cloath they formerly wore. None of theſe Nations is allow'd to wear a white Turbant, but only the *Turks* and *Moors*, among whom the green is permitted to none but *Xarifes*, being the Deſcendants of *Mahomet*, whoſe peculiar Privilege that is to be known by, and if any other ſhould preſume to wear it, he would be ſeverely puniſh'd. Such of theſe as cannot afford a green Turbant, may put a Bit of green Silk on the white one, ſo that no others may uſe green except Soldiers, for they are lawleſs.

Product.

Inhabitants.

Turbants.

To return to *Cyprus*, the Natives in their Tongue call it *Chipro*, as the *Portugueſes* do; the *Italians* from the *La in Cipro*; the *Turks* and *Moors Kobros*; and hence the Gold *Cruzados* ſeem to be call'd in thoſe Parts *Kobroſi*. On the South Side of it are ſome Ports, among which this of *Salinas* is the beſt, ſo call'd from the many Salt-Pits it has, whereof much is carry'd to *Venice*, on the States Account, for no private Perſon may carry any, and in the Fraight of it is diſcounted the Loan of 10000 Ducats the *Seigniory* or *State* allows to thoſe that build any Ship of 500 Tun Burthen, or upwards. This Harbour tho' open, is good and deep. Great Ships anchor about half a League from Land, in 12 or 15 Fathom Water. The Capital Towns of the Iſland are *Nicoſia* and *Famagoſta*, now nothing like what they were; the reſt of it is full of many Towns and Villages. When we came to this Port of *Salinas*, the *Baſſa* of the Iſland was there, building a Fort on the Edge of the Sea, being apprehenſive of ſome Deſcent from the Fleets of *Spain* and *Malta*, then in thoſe Seas. The Fort was not large but ſtrong, and well contriv'd to ſecure the Harbour. About half a League up the Country from the Port, is the Town of *Arniqua*, where the *Francks* trading thither

Cyprus *Iſland.*

Arniqua Town.

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Cyprus *Iſland.*

Arniqua Town.

thither reſide, conſiſting of about 300 ſmall Houſes, flat roof'd, built with Stone and Clay; but appears to have been a very conſiderable Place before the *Turks* had it, and has ſtill a ſquare Stone Tower Standing, which now ſerves for an *Alcoran*, having belong'd to a Monaſtery of *St. Francis*, of the Cloiſter whereof there is ſtill one Side, with the Columns and Cells, now ſerving for Cazerns, to quarter Soldiers. Oppoſite to it are the Ruins of a Palace, where the Magiſtracy reſided.

Spaniards *not ſafe in* Turky.

As ſoon as we came to an Anchor the *Venetian* Gentlemen landed, and *James de Melo* with them; but I ſtay'd aboard for more Safety; becauſe *Spaniards* can never be ſo free in the *Turkiſh* Territories, being oblig'd, if they are wiſe to be always upon their Guard, and very cautious, for Fear of being known and falſly accus'd, eſpecially ſuch as cannot temporize and comply like that Gentleman. In ſhort, his own Companions oblig'd him as ſoon as they were a ſhore, to return to the Ship, fearing he might be taken Notice of, for his Behaviour and bring them into Trouble, eſpecially conſidering the *Baſſa* was upon the Place, ſo that he went a ſhore no more. Two Days after they ſent me a Note; importing, that if I pleas'd to partake of what little was there to be had, I might Land, they then expecting me on the Strand. I did ſo, and went with them to *Arniqua*, where we took up in the Houſe of one *John Baptiſt de Franciſco*, their Friend, who entertain'd us during our Stay, with much Civility, Affection and Generoſity. When they all met to ſpeak with the *Baſſa*, who was then on the Walls of the Fort he erected, I bore them Company, took particular Notice of the Work, and of the *Baſſa*'s Diſcourſe, which by his Anſwers diſcover'd his ill Inclination.

The *Venetian* Gentlemen had a Chappel there, and for their Chaplain a *Franciſcan* Frier, a Godly Religious Man, as appear'd by his Behaviour, who without any Deſert of mine, merely out of his Goodneſs and Humanity, Expreſs'd his Affection a thouſand Ways to me whilſt I ſtaid, and at my Departure made me ſome Preſents of Relicks and Refreſhments out of a Garden he cultivated with his own Hands. Diſcourſing with him upon ſeveral Matters, he told me, that upon the Information of the Natives, he had ſome times taken of the Earth of one certain Part of the Iſland, and extracted pure Gold from it, by melting, to a conſiderable Profit, aſſerting the Truth of it on the Faith of a Religious Man, and that the *Turks* knew nothing of it, nor would the Natives diſcover it to them. Which I verily believe on the Report of that Religious Man, who had no Advantage in telling me ſo.

Gold in Cyprus.

On

On the Shore I ſaw ſeveral Heaps of a very fine Earth or Clay, of ſeveral Colours, Dark, Green and Red, dug in ſome Parts of the Iſland, whence they told me the *Dutch* carry'd it to the Low Countries for dying. The Land produces the true Turpentine Trees yielding excellent Turpentine. Here is much extraordinary good *Laudanum*, coming from certain Plants like wild Sage, and the way to gather it, is by running a ſtraight Rope over them, to which the Gum flowing from them clings; for they ſay they wither and decay, if touch'd with the Hands, or any other Inſtrument. There is alſo a conſiderable Trade of Calamint, Opium, Agarick and Saffron, all brought from the Continent of *Caramania*, which produces them good and in Plenty. Tho' that Iſland is naturally fertil, plentiful and cheap, we found it very ſcarce and dear, by reaſon of a general Mortality there had been among Cattel, ſo that the Ground could not be till'd as it us'd to be. This Country is very hot in Summer, and the Sun hurtful, to ſuch as are not us'd to it,

Earth for dying.

Chap. XIV.

Our Departure from Cyprus, *and Voyage as far as* Zant.

When our Ship had taken in her Loading and was ready, we that were a ſhore went aboard, for thoſe Gentlemen would not ſuffer me to return to the Veſſel when once landed, till they went themſelves. We embark'd on *Sunday* the firſt of *May* in the Afternoon, and ſail'd on *Monday* the ſecond, in the Morning Watch, when leaving the Port of *Salinas*, we met with uncertain Winds, rather contrary than favourable, till on the 11th Day of the Month in the Morning, we diſcover'd, to the Northward very high Mountains of *Caramania*, all cover'd with Snew, oppoſite to *Caſtel Roſſa*, which is reckoned half Way through. The ſame Day holding on our due Courſe Weſtward, with a Levant Wind, we diſcover'd about the Length of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, near five in the Afternoon four Galleys. The Ship made ready, being well furniſh'd with Canon and good Gunners, plenty of Ammunition and other Fire Arms. The Galleys were ſoon up with us, and tho' known to be of *Malta*, the Maſter would not ſuffer them to come aboard, knowing that other *Venetian*

Ships returning from *Syria*, as we did, had at other Times ſuffer'd from Chriſtian Ships and Galleys, coming up as Friends. The Galleys made a Smoke, which was a Signal of Security, but being ſuſpected of no good Deſign by their Manner of approaching, they oblig'd them to keep off. Which they perceiving purſu'd the Ship in a Line all the reſt of the Day, right a Stern, firing at her in that time 24 Shot from their Long Head Guns, but without doing any Harm; being anſwer'd by 2 of 6 large Canon, we had a Stern. Night came on, the Wind ſtiffned, and held till Morning, during which Time we ran about 80 Miles, and the Sea was high, and yet, the Galleys chas'd us till Day, when the Sun riſing, the Wind calming, and being near us they ſlacken'd Sail, which they had not done before, and made another Signal, and were anſwer'd. Then taking a better Method, they ſent a Boat aboard with a Knight of *Malta*, and the Commodor's Pilot in her, who having ask'd Leave, were admitted. They deſir'd the Purſer would go ſpeak with the Commodore of the Galleys, who could not, becauſe he was Sick, but ſent his Mate, as thoſe Ships generally have. He there made his Excuſe, alleding they did not know the Galleys, and had Orders not to truſt any, becauſe of the Frauds and Deceits practis'd by the *Turkiſh* and *Mooriſh* Pirats, as was true enough. This, and a ſmall Preſent ſent him, of Piſtachoes and Waſh Balls ſatisfy'd him, and he gave us Notice of ſome Corſairs there were in that Sea, and particularly of a great Ship commanded by one *Spinola*, a *Genoeſe*, and Knight of *Malta*, who had fitted out in *Sicily*, whence Ships frequently go out a roving, againſt the Conſent of their Order. *James de Melo* ſtay'd in thoſe Galleys, having been aboard the Ship till then, and went away diſguſted.

Candia *Iſland.*

Friday the 13th, we diſcover'd the Iſland *Scarpanthus*, and the next Day the Eaſternmoſt Headland of *Candia*, which is 60 Miles from the City, and they reckon 400 from the Weſtermoſt Point of *Cyprus* to this. We coaſted along the South Side of this Iſland, at 20 Miles Diſtance, plainly diſcerning the famous Mount *Ida* and others of equal Height, all cover'd with Snow, with croſs Winds, till the 23th of *May*, when we paſs'd them. This Iſland is almoſt as big as *Cyprus*, has Harbours on both Sides, but more to the Northward, inhabited by *Greeks*, ſubject to the *Venetians* [*They were ſo when the Author writ, but now to the* Turks] who there keep a good Garriſon, and daily fortify it more and more, fearing to loſe it to the *Turks* as they did *Cyprus*. The Contrary Winds and Currents, put us ſo much from our Courſe, that we were almoſt drove upon *Barbary*; whence the Wind veering ſtrongly to the Weſt, we ſtood again to the Northward

ward for 3 Days, till on *Saturday* the 28th we made a ſmall Iſland, about 5 Miles in Compaſs, call'd *Strival*, plain and without any other Habitation but a Monaſtery of *Caloyers* or *Greek* Religious Men, with ſome Cattel. It has good Water; and there the *Chriſtian* and *Turkiſh* Galleys generally furniſh themſelves. As the Day clear'd up we ſpy'd the Iſland of *Zant* we ſteer'd for, being about 50 Miles North from the aforeſaid ſmall Iſland. We made up to, and rounding it on the Eaſt Side, caſt Anchor in the Northern Port, at 6 in the Afternoon. Strival Iſland.

Zant is 60 Miles in Compaſs, girt almoſt round with high Mountains, in the midſt whereof is a moſt ſpacious Plain, all full of Vineyards, Olive Gardens, and Corn Fields, which laſt afford only 4 Months Proviſion, the reſt being brought from abroad; for which Reaſon, the State of *Venice*, to whom the Iſland belongs, has always great Stores of Millet in it, to ſupply the People at any time of Want. It is almoſt incredible how much is exported from the Vineyards and Olive Gardens, conſidering the Narrowneſs of the Ground; for they every Year, one with another, make between 15 and 20000 *Arrobas*, that is, 200 or 250 Tun of Currants, 16 or 18000 Pipes of Wine, and above 500 of Oyl, and the Wine is extraordinary good; for which reaſon the Iſland is reſorted to by *French*, *Engliſh*, and other Ships. The Air is not very healthy, but the Soil produces much excellent Fruit, green, wholeſome and fragrant Flowers, and Abundance of Honey; yet it wants Wood, which is imported from abroad, nor has it Plenty of Fiſh. In the City and about it there is much Water, but the other Parts of the Iſland are ſcarce of it, and I was aſſur'd they moulded their Bread in ſome Places with Wine at times, for Want of Water; I did not ſee it, but was told ſo by Perſons of Credit. It has 2 Harbours, the beſt of them on the North Side, where ſtands the chief Town, containing about 3000 Houſes, built with Lime and Stone, and til'd, the Structure reaſonable good, at the Foot of a high Mountain, on which is a Fort, where the Governour reſides, a Place impregnable by Art and Nature, furniſh'd with much good Cannon, a ſtrong Garriſon, and all other things requiſite for its Defence. The Natives are *Greeks*, and among them in the City, there are about 30 or 40 Families of trading *Jews*, beſides others diſpers'd in the Towns and Villages, wherof the Iſland has ſome few, to one of which call'd *Gayetan*, I was carry'd one Day to ſee the Feſtival of a *Greek* Saint, reſorted to by almoſt all the Inhabitants of the City, from which it is 3 Miles diſtant. As ſoon as we came into the Town, we found great Fires in the Streets, at which they were roaſting between 3 or 400 whole Sheep, whereof, Zant Iſland. Greek Feſtival.

whereof ſuch as go to the Solemnity, buy to eat. Then the Men and Women of the City and other Places, join with thoſe of this ſame Town, and dance to the Vocal Muſick of one ſinging certain Verſes, and all the Dances anſwering by way of Chorus. After which they have Tilting and other pleaſant Diverſions. The other Harbour on the South Side, 5 Miles diſtant from this, croſſing over the Plain, is call'd *Chery*, having a Town on it of the ſame Name, and near by a Lake, whence continually flows a great Quantity of a black thin Bitumen, like the *Naphtha* of *Babylon*. They alſo make Salt in the Iſland for their own Uſe, and ſome is exported. Thoſe who trade here, beſides the Product of the Country, export Silk, Wax, Hides, *Zafran*, Galls, and other Commodities, imported in conſiderable Quantities from the *Morea*, formerly call'd *Peloponneſus*, lying oppoſite to the Eaſtward, but 10 Miles diſtant, on one of whoſe Mountains appears a ſtately Caſtle, vulgarly call'd *Caſtel Torneze*. All that Country was conquer'd by the *Turks* [*and is ſince recover'd by the* Venetians.]

The Night after we put into this Iſland, a *Turkiſh* Galley came into the Harbour, flying as they ſaid from 2 *Chriſtian* Galleys that had chas'd her; and the next Morning 7 arriv'd, belonging to the State of *Venice*, which were afterwards join'd by 3 more. As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Galley was in the Harbour, Enquiry was made whether ſhe was free or forfeit, and after many Debates they diſcharg'd her, ſo that ſhe ſhould immediately depart the Harbour; becauſe it appear'd that the King of *Argier* was going aboard her to *Conſtantinople*, Upon Summons from the *Grand Signior*, and yet moſt Men believ'd this was a Fraud. According to Articles between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, no Galley belonging to the former, may put into any Port, or ſail in the Seas under the Dominion of the latter; and ſuch as ſhall be found in them, may be lawfully made Prize, and if they make any Reſiſtance, all the Men put to the Sword, provided it be done within 24 Hours after taken; for when that time is elaps'd, they may not kill any Priſoner nor detain him Captive; but they are bound to ſet them all at Liberty; and whoſoever ſhall do the contrary, is ſubject to be ſeverely puniſh'd.

Agreement between Turks *and* Venetians.

We ſtay'd aboard the next Night after our Arrival in the Port, and went all aſhore the next Morning, where tho' we had Certificates of the healthy State of all the Ports we had been at, they made Difficulty enough to admit and give us Pratique; for the State of *Venice* is extraordinary nice in this particular; and as a ſpecial Favour, we were kept shut up in a Warehouſe, whilſt the Officers belonging to the Pratique, or to take Care that no Ships from Places infected be clear'd, conſulted about us; and tho'

Care to prevent Infection.

tho' the Governour, the Proveditor of the Navy, and other Perſons of Note, all Friends to *Peter dal Ponte* our Comerade, earneſtly ſollicited on our behalf, we could not be diſpatch'd till 3 in the Afternoon, when they declar'd us to be free, ſo ſtrict are they in this Particular. I was amaz'd to ſee what Abundance of Preſents and Refreſhments were ſent *Peter dal Ponte*, whilſt we were ſhut up there; for tho' we were near 40 of us, and did nothing but eat and drink all the Day, there was enough left to give the Guards they had ſet over us, tho' we did not pay them, as is us'd among us. This Obſtacle being remov'd, *Peter dal Ponte* taking me and *Dominick Calegary* along with him, went to wait upon the Proveditor of the Navy, and then to the Governour at the Fort who both entertain'd him very Honourably and with extraordinary Affection. The reſt of our time we ſpent otherwiſe, whilſt our Ship took in ſome more Loading, her Arrival being very diſpleaſing to others that were in the Port, becauſe it is a Rule in all thoſe of the State, that no other Ship ſhall load till every *Venetian* is ſerv'd.

Fiſhery.

There is a remarkable Fiſhery in this Port, which as ſuch I noted down. In *July* and *Auguſt* a vaſt Multitude of that Fiſh they call *Savalos*, and we Olaves, uſes to come from within the *Archipelago*, to this and other Iſlands, of which they take a Female alive, and tie her ſo with ſmall Cords made of Horſes Hair, that ſhe cannot ſlip away. Then fixing a Pole or Cane in the Bottom of the Bay very faſt, they tie her to it, leaving Line enough. The Males preſently flock about her, and thoſe who laid the Bait, loſe no time in killing of them; yet ſuch is the Eagerneſs of thoſe Fiſhes, that the others are not at all ſcar'd; ſo that ſeveral of theſe Baits being ſet up, they take an infinite Quantity, the Fleſh whereof they ſalt, and of the Rows make *Botargo*, much valued in all thoſe Parts. I ſaw many black Slaves in this Iſland, ſome of them brought out of *Barbary*, but moſt of them by the *Engliſh*, who took them from the *Portugueſe Guinea*, and *Angola* Ships. Twelve Miles to the North Weſt of this Port lies the Iſland of *Cephalonia*, ſubject alſo to the *Venetians*; and 20 Miles to the Northward are the ſmall Iſlands call'd *Scorzolari*, near which was the great Battel [*we call of* Lepanto] between the *Turks*, and the Confederate *Chriſtians* under the Command of *Don John* of *Auſtria*. To conclude, the Women of this Iſland are generally beautiful, and when they go into the Country, ride aſtride like Men; both Sexes being very like the *Portugueſes* of the Province between the Rivers *Duero* and *Minho*, in their Way of Living, Songs, and Dancing.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Our Departure from Zant *and Arrival at* Venice.

WE ſtay'd here 8 Days for want of a Wind, which we would not loſe when it offer'd, but ſet Sail on *Sunday* the 5th of *June* at Noon, but were forc'd back upon the Winds veering about; ſo that we could not make through the Channel we were in, which is between *Zant* and *Cephalonia*. It is very remarkable that from *Ormuz* to this Place, I was always forc'd back to every Port I ſail'd from, and could never make my Voyage till the 2d time. The ſame Wind that drove us back into the Harbour, brought thither a *Venetian* Ship coming from *Naples*, which among other things inform'd us of the Birth of the Prince of *Spain*, and the Promotion of Pope *Paul* V. The ſame Day we were told that the Pyrate *Murat Arrays*, was in the Gulf of *Venice* with 7 Galleys.

Wedneſday the 8th the Wind began to ſpring up a little favourable, when we ſail'd again in Conſort with 2 other Ships, the one a *Venetian* from *Cyprus*, the other a ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſel bound for *Venice*, and believing this laſt being the lighteſt, would be there firſt, I deliver'd a Packet of Letters for *Venice* to an Acquaintance of *Zant*, that went aboard her; but the Sea is very uncertain; for that Veſſel being forc'd into *Corfu* for want of Water, after many other Hardſhips, reach'd *Venice* about 20 Days after us. We had not ſail'd above 12 Miles with a fair Wind before it came about, and brought us back to the Harbour again; ſo that having no Hopes of making our Voyage that Way, we would not enter the Port, but rounded the Iſland to the Southward, and having run upon a Bowling 3 Days, ſtrugling with croſs Winds, on *Thurſday* the 16th we diſcover'd the Iſland of *Corfu* at a great diſtance to the Northward. The next Morning we were 15 Miles from Cape *S. Mary*, and then came up with that of *Otranto*, both of them in the Province of *Apulia* in *Italy*, at the Mouth of the Gulf of *Venice*. When we were 12 Miles within it, the Wind came contrary again, which kept us tacking up and down for ſome Days acroſs that Breadth, which is of about 60 Miles. At length it pleas'd God the Weather mended, and we held on our Courſe along the Coaſt of *Valona*, formerly *Macedonia*. We ſail'd by *Cataro*, a Fortreſs in that Country, belonging to the *Venetians*, not far from which is *Caſtel Nuovo*, and then the Republick of

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Raguza, which preſerves it ſelf by paying Tribute to the *Turk*, and to the *Venetian*, the latter wherof every Month appoint a Governour of the People. We paſs'd by a great Number of Iſlands, and Rocks lying thereabouts, cloſe to the Coaſt of *Sclavonia*, by the Ancients call'd *Dalmatia*. On the 30th of *June* we ſent our Boat to one of thoſe Iſlands for Water, being in want of it, which came the nextDay with Plenty of freſh Proviſions, Bread, Fruit, and Greens. A *Turkiſh Chiaus* and a *Sangiack* were then in the Iſland, who came from the *Grand Signior*, to reſign up to the *Venetians* ſome Lands in *Dalmatia*, as a free Gift.

Continuing our Voyage ſtill upon a Bowling, by reaſon the Wind was contrary, we had a Sight of the Lands of *Ancona*, and on *Saturday* the 9th of *July* at 4 in the Afternoon arriv'd in *Iſtria*. Being ſo near, *Peter dal Ponte* and the reſt went aſhore to take a Boat, to carry them over to *Venice*; becauſe great Ships bound for *Malamoco*, which is the anchoring Place at *Venice*, take a Compaſs, and are not there ſo ſoon; but the Boats go a ſhorter Cut, and therefore it is uſual when the Ships come to this Place, to take Boat for thoſe hundred Miles there are acroſs to *Venice*. So we did, and our Comerades bringing the Veſſel, we embark'd on *Sunday* the 10th; but in the midſt of our Pleaſure, there roſe ſuch Storms of Wind and Rain that Night, as made us all deſpair of our Lives, and laſted till Break of Day, when the Weather grew calmer, and we enter'd *Venice* on *Monday* the 11th at 8 in the Morning, where being clear'd by the Officers of the Pratique Office, or that regard the Health, every one went his way, bleſſing God for our ſafe Arrival. After reſting my ſelf and viewing ſome Part of ſo much as is remarkable and wonderful in that City, of which one ingeniouſly ſaid, *It was the impoſſible Part of Impoſſibility*, I departed thence, and traverſing a conſiderable Part of *Italy*, enter'd *Piedmont*, whence I croſs'd the *Alps* into *Savoy* and *France*, and laſtly came into theſe Provinces, where I took up in this City of *Antwerp*, whence I impart to you this ſhort Account of my Travels, which might have been much longer, had I not deſignedly abridg'd it.

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Continuing our Voyage ſtill upon a Bowling, by reaſon the Wind was contrary, we had a Sight of the Lands of *Ancona*, and on *Saturday* the 9th of *July* at 4 in the Afternoon arriv'd in *Iſtria*. Being ſo near, *Peter dal Ponte* and the reſt went aſhore to take a Boat, to carry them over to *Venice*; becauſe great Ships bound for *Malamoco*, which is the anchoring Place at *Venice*, take a Compaſs, and are not there ſo ſoon; but the Boats go a ſhorter Cut, and therefore it is uſual when the Ships come to this Place, to take Boat for thoſe hundred Miles there are acroſs to *Venice*. So we did, and our Comerades bringing the Veſſel, we embark'd on *Sunday* the 10th; but in the midſt of our Pleaſure, there roſe ſuch Storms of Wind and Rain that Night, as made us all deſpair of our Lives, and laſted till Break of Day, when the Weather grew calmer, and we enter'd *Venice* on *Monday* the 11th at 8 in the Morning, where being clear'd by the Officers of the Pratique Office, or that regard the Health, every one went his way, bleſſing God for our ſafe Arrival. After reſting my ſelf and viewing ſome Part of ſo much as is remarkable and wonderful in that City, of which one ingeniouſly ſaid, *It was the impoſſible Part of Impoſſibility*, I departed thence, and traverſing a conſiderable Part of *Italy*, enter'd *Piedmont*, whence I croſs'd the *Alps* into *Savoy* and *France*, and laſtly came into theſe Provinces, where I took up in this City of *Antwerp*, whence I impart to you this ſhort Account of my Travels, which might have been much longer, had I not deſignedly abridg'd it.

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A VOYAGE TO MADAGASCAR, THE Adjacent ISLANDS, and Coaſt of *AFRICK.*

By FRANCIS CAUCHE, of *Roan.*

HAppening to be at *Diep* in *January* 1638, and being then 22 Years of Age, I was prevail'd upon by that natural Curioſity which inclines moſt Men to Travel, to enter my ſelf aboard a *Dutch* Fly Boat bound for the Red Sea, and by the Way to leave a Colony in Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland (otherwiſe call'd *St. Apolonia*) which is near to that of *Madagaſcar*, or *St. Lawrence.* The Veſſels Name was *St. Alexis*, the Captain's *Alonſo Goubert* of *Diep*, and under him 83 Men, and 13 Boys. Beſides all Neceſſaries, Proviſion and Amunition, there was put aboard a Bark taken in Pieces, to be put together upon Occaſion, being of above 100 Tun Burden; with Utenſils for Building and Tilling the Ground, where it was intended to leave Part of our Men.

Commodities for Madagaſcar, *&c.*

The Commodities we took with us were true and falſe Coral, Glaſs Beads, Chains, Bracelets, Pendants, Girdles of all Colours, adorn'd with Bits of Glaz'd Ware, Enammel, Chryſtal, Wood, Jet, Gilt and Silver'd Copper, true Garnets, falſe Pearls of *Venice*, Agates, Cornelions, Knives, Looking Glaſſes, Sciſſars, Tweezers, Shoes, Hats, Caps, Hawks, and other ſmall Bells, and all Sorts of Toys, to trade with in the Ports where we touch'd. But the War being then declar'd betwixt *France* and *Spain*, our main Deſign was to fight and take whatſoever *Spaniſh* Ships we met at Sea; and not only them, but any of the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* trading to the *Perſian* and *Arabian* Gulfs, under *Portugueſe* Convoys, our Flyboat which was light, ſailing 90 Leagues in 24 Hours, having her Sides well fortify'd with 3 Planks ſtrongly knit together, and carrying 22 Guns.

The Author's Departure.

We ſet ſail from *Diep* on the 15th of *January* 1638, and the next Morning came up with a Merchant carrying the Colours of the Empire, and the Officers told us they were *Danes*. Our Captain commanded them to come aboard to ſhew their Paſs; but they alledging their Boat was ſtav'd, we put out ours, went aboard them, ſaw their Paſs; and their Commander having preſented ours with 2 *Weſtphalia* Hams, and 2 *Dutch* Cheeſes, we drank together, and parted about Night fall, at the Height of Cape *Finiſterre*, near *Compoſtella* in *Galicia*, by the *Romans* call'd *Promontorium Celticum* and *Nerium*, where we were forſaken by a Merchant of *Diep*, which had been appointed our Commodore by Lot, and kept us Company ſo far, the Commander of her now telling us he came out to trade and not to fight, and therefore their Deſign was to go Anchor at *Cabo Verde*, ſo call'd from the green Fields about it and the Iſles adjacent, by the Ancients *Heſperides* and *Gorgades*.

A Caravel taken.

The 14th we ſpy'd a *Spaniſh* Caravel, coming from *Braſile*, which we chas'd from Morning till 5 in the Evening, when we enter'd and mann'd her, without any Oppoſition, and having continued 12 Days together, we parted the 13th by foul Weather.

The 25th in the Morning being in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, almoſt in Sight of the River of *Senega*, we lay by, to fiſh, the Captain having given every Meſs a Line and Hooks, and a Bottle of *Spaniſh* Wine to him that took the firſt Fiſh, as is practis'd by all our Ships ſailing that Way. We took abundance of Pilchards and other Fiſh, which was a great Refreſhment.

This done we held on our Courſe, making toward the Land, where we had like to have periſh'd on the Night of the 28th

Another. by meeting a *Spaniſh* Caravel, that lay at Anchor on the Coaſt fiſhing

fiſhing, the End of whoſe Boltſpit rent the Bottom of our Mainſail, before we ſaw one another, but thought we had ſtruck upon a Rock. Our Veſſel making great Way, with all her Sails abroad and a freſh Gale, it was impoſſible to give her any Check. Hearing the Cries of thoſe that were aboard the Caravel, we put out our Boat for Information, and found only 7 *Portugueſes*, whom we brought aboard our Ship, and then ſold the Caravel at *Cabo Verde*, with all that was in her, to *Don Diego Vaz* a *Portugueſe*, reſiding at the Port of *Ruſiſque*, where he had a Ware-houſe, and gave 25000 Livres for her. We alſo barter'd all the Goods that were in the firſt *Spaniſh* Caravel, taken at our firſt ſetting out for other Commodities, and left all the Priſoners. A Caravel ſays *Oſorius lib.* 2. is a Veſſel that has no round Top, nor any Timber acroſs the Top of the Maſt, but the Yard is made faſt a little below the Top. The Sails are triangular, and their lower Points are but little above the Deck. On the Sides of the Caravel there are ſmall Timbers like Maſts, oppoſite to one another, and tapering gently. The *Portugueſes* make uſe of theſe Veſſels in time of War for Expedition, becauſe they anſwer the Helm very readily, eaſily moving thoſe Timbers like Maſts, by which means they have leſs Trouble in Hoiſting, Slacking, or Tighting the Sails, and taking the Wind as they have occaſion. *Vaſco de Gama* was the firſt *Portugueſe* that made uſe of thoſe Veſſels for *India* and *Ethiopia*.

A Caravel deſcrib'd.

We continued 15 Days at the Port of *Ruſiſque*, to refreſh us, where there is a large Village of the ſame Name, the Inhabitants whereof are all Blacks with thick Lips, tying up their Woolly Hair like a Steel Cap, and cover no Part but their Privities with a Cotton Clout. Their Commander wears a pair of Cotton Breeches hanging down to his Ankles, and as it were a white Surplice, of very fine Cotton pleited, with a Hat on his Head, and Sandals on his Feet; they call him *Arquere*. The *Portugueſes* are ſettled there, and acceptable to the Natives. In thoſe Parts there are Abundance of Porcupines.

Ruſiſque *Port.*

Proceeding thence on our Voyage, we were under the Line on the 10th of *May*, where we met 5 *Dutch* Ships, the leaſt of which carry' 34 Guns. They came from the Eaſt *Indies*, and their Vice Admiral made up to us, with Orders to ſtrike our Colours, but upon our Refuſal deſiſted and came aboard us, and the Weather being calm, the Captains ſpent the reſt of the Day in treating one another, and firing their Guns when they drank Healths to the King and the States. At parting they gave us three Guns, and we return'd five.

Diego Ruiz *Iſland.*

On the 25th of *June* we came up with the Iſland of *Diego Ruiz*, lying in 20 Degrees of South Latitude, about 40 Leagues from *Madagaſcar*. We landed, and ſet up the Arms of *France* on the Trunk of a Tree, our Ship keeping out at Sea, not being able to anchor, by reaſon of the Depth; ſo that as ſoon as the King's Arms were fix'd, thoſe who had done it, return'd aboard in the Boat, as they went.

Maſcarenhas *Iſland.*

Thence we made for the Iſland *Maſcarenhas*, ſo call'd from one of that Family in *Portugal*, who firſt diſcover'd it, about 30 Leagues diſtant from the laſt, and 2 Degrees from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, where we alſo ſet up the King's Arms. It is uninhabited as well as the former, tho' it has good Water, and abounds in Wild Fowl, Fiſh, and Fruit.

St. Appolonia *or Prince* Maurice's *Iſland.*

After 24 Hours Stay in that Iſland, we went and anchor'd at that of St. *Apolonia*, one Degree nearer the Line, deſigning to ſettle there; but coming into the Port which lies to the South Eaſt, we found the Place taken up by the *Dutch*, who were building a Fort, had made Huts, and call'd the Iſland long before, *Prince* Maurice's. They gave us leave to come in to ſhoot and fiſh; but the next Day we left that Port, and anchor'd at the oppoſite North Weſt End of the Iſland. That Port was defended by 6 *Hollanders*, who lay in a neighbouring Hamlet. An *Engliſh* Veſſel of 28 Guns lay there at Anchor, carrying a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs at the Topmaſt Head, and was of 500 Tun Burthen, coming from *Bantam*, laden with Spice. The Crew offer'd to aſſiſt us in expelling of the *Dutch*, which we would not conſent to, becauſe of the Alliance between them and us. This Iſland is 4 Leagues in Length, and one and a half over. I wonder the *Dutch*, in their Printed Voyages of 1595, ſhould tell us this Iſland was call'd *Cerne*, and by the *Latins*, *Cignæa*, none but they having given it that Name. It lies in 21 Degrees of South Latitude. The *Dutch* anchoring there on the 18 of *September*, 1598, gave it the Name of *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*. Its Shape and Ports are deſcrib'd at p. 3. of the Second Book of the aforeſaid Voyages, Printed at *Amſterdam* by *Cornelius Nicholas*, *An.* 1609.

Bantam.

Bantam is a City in the Iſland of *Java*, ſeated on the Sea Shore, next the Iſland of *Sumatra*. The Houſes there are made of Canes only the main Props of Timber, the Tops thatch'd, the Inſide hung with painted Calicoe or Silk. Its Latitude between 7 and 8 Degrees North. This City and Iſland are deſcrib'd in the 2d Voyage of the *Dutch* to the *Eaſt Indies*, *An.* 1600, on the 28th Day of *January*, and in the firſt Voyage, *l.* 1. *c.* 21, 22, and 23.

We ſtay'd 16 Days in this Iſland, and ſpent them in Fiſhing and Hunting, loading our Veſſel chiefly with Beefs, Goats, and

and Swine, Lemons, Citrons, and Pomegranates. Leaving it, we came over to the great Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, or *St. Lawrence*, the laſt Name given it by *Laurence de Almeyda*, Son to *Francis de Almeyda*, the firſt Viceroy of the *Eaſt Indies*, for *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, who call'd it ſo from his own Name, or rather becauſe he came upon it on St. *Lawrence*'s Day, in the Year 1506 with 8 Sail. *Belle Foreſt* deſcribes this Iſland among thoſe that lie off *Ethiopia l.* 6. of *Africk*, *c.* 22, and in the 30th he ſpeaks of thoſe of *Cabo Verde*. This Iſland is above 800 Leagues in Compaſs, its Length 260, the Breadth in ſeveral Places 100. It commences to the Northward under the 12th Degree and ſome odd Minutes South, and reaches beyond the 25th, that is, from Cape St. *Sebaſtian* to Cape St. *Mary*.

Magin, in his Deſcription of *Ethiopia*, fancies this Iſle of *Madagaſcar* to have been known to the Ancients, and to be the *Cerne* of *Pliny*, and the *Menuthias* of *Ptolomey*, tho' they knew nothing beyond the *Sierra Liona*, which is the *Deorum Currus* of the *Romans*, and the Θεῶν ὄχεμα of the *Greeks*. *Belle Foreſt l.* 6. where he ſpeaks of *Africk*, *c.* 29 adds, that the Inhabitants of *Madagaſcar* had Camels, and fed on their Fleſh, as alſo Stags, Ounces and Girafles, ſuppos'd to be Beaſts begotten between a Camel and a Female Panther, whoſe fore Legs are much longer than the hinder. All which is falſe, beſides that no Man ever ſaw any of thoſe Girafles. The aforeſaid *Magin* and others write, that this Iſland is infeſted with Lions, Tigers, Leopards, and Elephants, and that the Natives us'd to eat one another; and yet there is nothing of Truth in this Account of theirs, for it abounds in Kine, Sheep, Hens, Partridges, Pheaſants, Turtle Doves, Goats, and an infinite Number of other Creatures, both of Land and Water; ſo that they have never been reduc'd to the Neceſſity of the *Braſilians*, who made Uſe of human Fleſh for want of other Sorts, moſt of them being forc'd to feed on Snakes and Rats; whereas in this Iſland there is Plenty of all things for the Uſe of Man, as we ſhall make it appear.

Falſe Accounts of Madagaſcar.

Three Days after our Arrival in that Part, which is the South of the Iſland, at Port *St. Lucy*, near the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and toward the End of *July*, the King of that Province, call'd *Madagache*, and by others *Madegaſſe*, as alſo *Andianramac*, came to us with a Retinue of above four hundred Men, Blacks and Whites, their Heads, Feet, and Legs naked. The moſt receiv'd Opinion is, that thoſe Whites came from *China*, but I rather believe them to be of *European* Race, becauſe none of them have flat Noſes and Faces like the *Chineſes*. That King's Complexion was a little ſwarthy, yet whiter than the courſer *Portugueſes*. He wore a ſhort

A Madagaſcar *King deſcrib'd.*

ſhort Pair of Breeches, made of Cotton with Silk Stripes, which cover'd the Bottom of his Belly, his Buttocks, and half his Thighs On his Shoulders he had a Square Cloak, or Mantle, of the ſame as his Breeches, which ſerv'd inſtead of a Shirt, or Tunick, without Sleeves, girt about his Waſt, and hanging down a little below it, with a String or Chain of Coral, like a Scarf athwart. His Hair was long and cut round at the Bottom; whereas the Blacks attending him, had theirs ty'd up underneath with Cotton Fillets, after the Manner of a flat Steel Cap. He was very tall, well ſhap'd, his Countenance bold and beardleſs, his Tongue and Teeth as black as Jet, and ſo were all his Followers. In his Hand he held a Sort of Partiſan, the Blade whereof was a Foot and a half in Length. His Retinue had each of them 5 ſmall Darts or Javelins five Foot long, the Staves of them about the Thickneſs of a Man's little Finger, and the Spear 4 Inches long, and jagged on the Sides. The Whites were habited like the King, with this Difference, that his Garments were red, and theirs of blue Cotton with Stripes of red Silk, which the Country produces; and they call the Silk *Lande*, and ſpun Cotton *Foule*. The Blacks, for there are ſome of an Olive Colour, between white and black, were not flat nos'd, like thoſe on the Continent, their Lips proportionable as ours are, and they wrapp'd up in blue Cloaks, the chief of them wearing Breeches, the others without any. Some of them were arm'd as well as the Whites, with a Quiver of 5 ſmall Darts, and in it 3 other larger Javelins, the Staves of them an Inch thick, and the Spear ſhap'd like a Neat's Tongue above, and adorn'd at the Bottom with a hollow half Globe of Iron. The others had each of them a Javelin, the Spear of it a Foot long, narrow, very ſharp, the Point of it on a little Square, that ſo it might be the harder to draw out when ſtuck, and the Wound the more dangerous. That Point is like thoſe of our Croſs Bow Bolts for Arrows. Their left Arm, and a great Part of their Body is cover'd with a Wooden Buckler, which is round, and 2 Foot Diameter, cover'd with Neat Skin, and painted according to every Man's Fancy.

His Retinue.

Weapons.

Our Captain having Notice of that Prince's Approach with his Retinue, went to meet him, with 20 of our Men arm'd, as far as the Village they call *Ramac*, which is about 3 Muſquet Shot from the Port of St. *Lucy*. That Village gives Name to the Prince, for *Andianramac* ſignifies *Lord of* Ramac. Our Captain told the King in *Portugueſe*, that he came from *France* to viſit and offer him ſome of the Wealth brought from that Kingdom. That Prince anſwer'd in the ſame Language, for he had been long at *Mozambique* among the *Portugueſes*, that he and his Men were very

very welcome, provided they made no Diſturbance in his Dominions, that he would ſupply them with any thing he had, in teſtimony whereof he deſir'd him to accept of what he preſented him. Immediately he order'd 20 Beeves to be deliver'd to us, each of them having a great Excreſcence or Lump of Fat on the Neck, very good and delicious to eat, 4 ſmooth hair'd Goats, of ſeveral Colours, plump and fair, 4 Sheep with long flat Tails, weighing 16 Pounds, 12 Capons like ours, and as much Rice as 8 Blacks could carry.

He then took his Leave, inviting us to go viſit him at *Fanzaire*, the Place of his Reſidence. Thoſe who have fancy'd Cities and Towns, have carry'd them ſo far as to give them Names, and deſcribe their Situations, impoſing on our Forefathers; whereas there are none but Villages enclos'd with Paliſades. Coſmographers tell us of ſeveral Towns, as *Antaboſta*, *Jambole*, *Antipara*, *Bugi*, *Torumbaia*, *Abandola*, *Mamaula*, and others, of which *Belleforeſt* and *Magin* tell ſtrange Stories without any Truth. The Village of *Fanzaire* is one of the beſt, and well ſeated at the Foot of a Hill, 16 Leagues from the Port of St. *Lucy*, and ſtands on the Bank of a River, that loſes it ſelf to the Eaſtward in the Sands, which riſe above the Land near the Sea, from which the Village is but 4 Leagues diſtant, with large Vales all about it, abounding in Roots and Rice, above 16 Leagues in Length. The Ways are ſhaded on both Sides, the biggeſt of the Trees as thick as a Man's Thigh, like Plumb-Trees in their Branches and Leaves, bating that they are ſlenderer and longer, but of the ſame Verdure. The Fruit they bear is round, and as big as a Penny Loaf; the Shell as thick as a Nut, all cloſe, the Rhind on the Shell of a light Green, and within is an excellent Juice ſomewhat ſharp, good to quench Thirſt, and running of it ſelf. In the Pulp, which is tawny and very watry like our Melons, there are Abundance of Seeds or Kernels. We play'd at Bowls with them, and made drinking Cups of the Shells. They call this Fruit *Vvouenne*. The Mountains incloſing theſe Vales, are cover'd with Lemmon, Orange, Pomegranate, *Banana*, and other Fruit Trees. There are 400 Houſes in this Village, whither we went to viſit the King, who had his in the midſt of the great Street, on the Bank of the River. I attended our Captain with 15 others, all arm'd with Firelocks and Piſtols. The King had ſent the Chief Man of the Village to meet us, follow'd by 30 Men loaded with Proviſions. He receiv'd us in his little Apartment, the Houſe he us'd to live in having been burnt ſome time before. The Walls of it were of Planks, the Roof cover'd with Leaves of * *Indian* Canes, which they call *Rave*. There were 6 Doors to this Houſe, on the

Fanzaire *Village & Country about it.*

* *The Author calls them* Baliſiers *which Dr.* Sloan *in his Catalogue of* Jamaica *Plants, ſays are* Indian *Canes.*

the Threſhold of the greateſt whereof, looking to the Eaſtward, *Andianramac* ſat on a Piece of Tapiſtry, his Lance near him, reſting againſt the Wall. He had provided another Piece of Tapiſtry like his own, on the Right Side of the Door, for our Captain, and Mats of ſmall Ruſhes curiouſly wrought, for us. On his left Hand, on another Piece of Tapiſtry ſat one of his Sons in Law, whoſe Name was *Andianſeron*, a ſhort thick Man, living in the ſame Village, rich in Cattel, and was afterwards our Protector.

After ſome ſuch Diſcourſe, as is uſual upon the like Occaſions, the King in the *Portugueſe* Language, which he learnt in 4 Years he had reſided at *Moſambique* among the *Portugueſes*, offer'd us his Apartment, which was but 6 Fathom in Length and 3 in Breadth, incumber'd with many Hampers made of Ruſhes. We did not accept of his Offer, being ſatisfy'd with the Houſe of his Son in Law *Andianſeron*, who gave it us with a cheerful Countenance and extraordinary Tokens of Affection. There we were well treated for 4 Days, drinking a Liquor they call *Sic*, made of Honey boil'd in Water, like our Mead or Metheglin, and lying in Hammacks, being Beds of Cotton like Nets, hung by the Beams that went acroſs within the Planks, which we had brought from our Veſſel, being us'd to lie in them at Sea. *Andianſeron*'s Palace was ſuch another as his Father in Law *Andianrmaac*'s, cover'd with *Palmito* Leaves, the Trunks whereof are as big as our Walnut Trees, without any Branches, with only a Cluſter of Leaves at the Top, 6 Foot long and 4 in Breadth. The Floor was laid with the Bark of the ſame Tree an Inch thick. Several Hampers one upon another inſtead of Trunks, contain'd all the Wealth of thoſe Princes. The Covers of them were made faſt to the Hampers, with Cords made of * *Mahault*, which is a Sort of true Lime Tree, growing all about the Iſland, but more plentifully among the *Antavarres*, a People beyond the *Matatanes*, at the North Point of this great Iſland of *Madagaſcar*. Theſe Cords are ſo knotted that none but he that has the Charge of them, can undo them without cutting. The chief of their Hampers, in which they keep their fine Coral, Chryſtal, precious Stones, and other things of Value, is call'd *Sandoc*. In the others they put up their leſs valuable Toys of Glaſs, *Laton*, Earthen Diſhes, which they call *Louies*, Cups made of Coco Shells, other Shells, Plates, Table Cloths, Napkins, and Spoons made of Lote Tree Leaves. In a Corner of the Room to the Weſtward, is a Hearth made of Glutinous Earth, on which they place 3 Stones, to ſupport their great Veſſels of a black ſhining Clay, bak'd in the Sun, in which they boil their Wine, Roots, and Pulſe. Thoſe Veſſels, which hold

Their Houſes.

**Mahault* *Dr.* Sloan *in his Catalogue of* Jamaica *Plan, ſays is the* Mangrove *Tree, of whoſe Bark Ropes are made.*

hold as much as the *Filettes* of *Burgundy*, have neither Feet nor Handles; round, wide at the Bottom, and narrow mouth'd, and by them call'd *Velangues*; and their Wood making little or no Smoke, they have no Chimneys in their Houſes.

* Filettes *in all other Authors are call'd* Fuilettes, *and each* Fueilette *contains half the* Muid. *The* Muid *is the third Part of a Tun; ſo that the* Filette *or* Fueilette *is the 6th Part of a Tun, or about* 84 *Gallons.*

The next Morning after their Arrival there, we went to compliment *Andianramac*, before whom our Captain open'd a Box full of ſeveral ſorts of Commodities, which he ſhew'd, deſiring the King to take what he lik'd beſt. He took for himſelf a String of Coral carv'd Beads, weighing 5 Ounces, and ſome Glaſs Bracelets for the Ladies, and in return gave us 50 Bullocks. After him his Son in Law *Andianſeron* made choice of 5 Agates, ſome falſe Pearl Necklaces, and little Chains of white Laton, for which he gave us 22 Kine. All which Beeves were drove to Port *St. Lucy*, by ſome Blacks the King gave us. Having taken leave of the King and him, ſome Days after, we gave a Volley with our Fire Arms, in the Market Place of the Village, which ſo frighted the common People, that moſt of them fell down for Fear.

At our Return to Port *St. Lucy*, we unladed the Timber of our Bark to put it together, hoping, as we had at firſt deſign'd, to make a Voyage into the Red Sea. The Bark being fitted in 8 Days, and launch'd, the Captain and Maſter of our Ship fell at Variance, the latter contending he ought to load with Ebony, whereof there was Plenty in the Iſland, and to return into *France*, and the Captain on the other Hand inſiſting to proceed and ſeek out for ſome good Prize.

Barter of Goods.

During this Conteſt, Sickneſs began to reign amongſt us, moſt of thoſe that got Fevers being carry'd off in 3 Days. Thoſe who eſcap'd at firſt, went about the Iſland, bartering their Commodities for Pullets, Kids, Oranges, and Lemmons, to comfort the Sick. I was one of this Number, with the Captain and ſome others, who keeping along the Tops of the Mountains, to ſeek out for what was to be had, the Air being there more temperate, continued in Health during that time; but when we came down to the Port, and onely one Surgeon was left out of 4, thoſe who had been well before, fell into the ſame Diſtemper as their Comerades. To put a Stop to this Miſchief, and ſeek ſome Remedy, it was reſolv'd to leave that Port, and find out ſome healthier Place. Our freſh Proviſions were put into the Ship, and the Sick Men into the Bark, and leaving Port *St. Lucy*, where we had continued full 6 Months, we fell down to Port *St. Clair*, which is 8 Leagues below the other to the Southward. But tho' the Air was better there than in the other Place, thoſe Fevers being contagious, not a Man of us eſcap'd them. I was one of the laſt that fell ſick, which help'd to recover ſome of our Men, whom I ſerv'd as Sur-

Mortality of the French.

geon and Governour. In ſhort, only 50 of us remain'd alive, and ſo weak, that we were 6 Months recovering our Strength, being ſo hungry that we could never be ſatisfy'd.

But as one Misfortune ſeldom comes alone, it happen'd that our Ship prov'd to be in a very bad Condition, and was thought unfit to perform the Voyage, the Sea being in thoſe Parts all cover'd with Worms, which ſhine in the Night like little Candles; and thoſe curſed Vermine taking to our Ships, they eat their Way ſo far into her every where under Water, that is, from the Keel to that Part which is even with the Surface of the Sea, when laden, that were it not for pounded Glaſs and Cows Hair, us'd in the Sheathing, our Veſſel had ſunk; however Rottenneſs following that Havock, the Water ſtanding in the Holes thoſe Inſects had made, which ran athwart one another in the Planks, our Ship was judg'd unfit to return into *Europe*.

Worms that eat thro' the Sides of Ships.

The Ship loſt.

We had Blacks that would do a Day's Work for a String of Glaſs Beads of ſeveral Colours, to make Bracelets of, and the Woods were near us; ſo that we built a Warehouſe, into which we convey'd all the Commodities that were aboard the Ship, as alſo the Guns, Tackling, and Ammunition. Then we left her lying on her Side on the Sand, there being no Tide in that Place, to drive her any farther. The Blacks made their Advantage of her, carrying away all the Iron there was about her, either in Plates, Pins, or Nails.

The Warehouſe being finiſh'd, and all we intended to ſave put into it, our Captain ſent me with *Claude Ferrand*, the Head Pilot, *William Read*, the Maſter Gunner, and *Elias Vaſaque*, to view the Vale of *Angoule*, a Province abounding in Cattel, 16 Leagues from Port *St. Clair*, to the Left of *Fanzaire*. That Vale is encompaſs'd all round with Mountains cover'd with Woods, containing 7 populous Villages, which acknowledge no Prince or Governour. Our Deſign was to barter ſome of our Commodities for Cattel; but thoſe People thought of nothing but murthering and robbing us, which being diſcover'd by us, we demanded a Convoy from the Maſter of the firſt Village we enter'd, who came with ſome of the Inhabitants, to the Houſe where we were promiſing to quell that Diſturbance, or to die with us. He went to them, and return'd to us, endeavouring to adjuſt Matters between us; but thoſe Villains attacking us in his Preſence, and I having laid one of them flat with a Musket Shot, the Storm grew higher, and we were fain to turn back to avoid it. The worſt of it was, that we muſt go up into the Woods, to get out of that Vale, and they beſet the Ways, ſecuring the upper Grounds, whence they threw Stones at us, biding us leave our Goods, to make Amends

Barbarous People.

Amends to the Widow and Children of the Man I had kill'd, or not one of us ſhould eſcape them. Then *William Read* fir'd his Piece at them, and 5 of them falling by that Shot, the reſt were ſo daunted, that we had Leiſure to get into the Country of *Andianramac*, whither they purſued; and he underſtanding how the Matter ſtood, reprov'd and call'd them Robbers, ſending them away with Threats of Puniſhment.

The next Day we return'd to our People, who were at Port *St. Clare*, where was alſo a *Dutch* Ship of 300 Tun Burthen, coming from the Bay of *Antongil*, where they had bought Blacks, to ſerve them in the Iſland of Prince *Maurice*. They came to viſit us in our Habitation, to ſee how it was with us, and what we had done with the People of *Madagaſcar* ſince our coming. They took 25 of our Men, our Bark being able to carry but 20, thoſe that went aboard their Veſſel, enter'd themſelves in their Service at *Maurice* Iſland, and proceeded thence to the *Molucco* Iſlands. *The* French *part.*

When they were gone we ſheath'd our Bark, becauſe of the ſhining Worms abovementioned, and made 2 Cables of one great one that had belong'd to our Ship, each of them 120 Fadom long, for our Bark, which was ballaſted with Ebony and 18 Casks of Water, each Cask being near a Pipe; and Wood to burn. The Lading was 600 Ox-Hides, a Quantity of Wax, and that Country Gums, and a good Part of the Commodities we had brought from *France*, with 2 Iron Guns, carrying a Ball of 4 Pounds, and two Braſs ones of the ſame Bore, which were ſtow'd down at the Bottom of the Hold, till they paſs'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, becauſe of the frequent Storms in that Part. *James Soulas*, who had been Maſter of the great Veſſel call'd *St. Alexis*, went aboard the ſaid Bark with 19 Men.

He departed Port *St. Clare*, by the Natives call'd *Ytapere*, about the End of *March* 1640, after having continued in that Port a whole Year. During that time, a Veſſel of *Diep* coming from the *Red Sea*, under the Command of one *Digart*, there happen'd ſome Difference between them and us. That Veſſel being of 200 Tun Burthen, was returning for *France*, with moſt of its Crew ſpent by Hunger and Sickneſs, their Proviſions being ſpoil'd, their Water ſtinking, and having loſt their Boat in a Storm, with 20 Men in her. We ſupply'd them with Proviſions and Refreſhments, and after much vain Conteſting, it was reſolv'd, they ſhould take aboard a conſiderable Part of the Goods that were in our Warehouſe, to carry them back into *France* to the Members of our Company, reſiding at *Paris* and *Roan*, the chief whereof were *Berrulier*, and *Des Martins*, upon condition that thoſe of *The Bark departs for* France.

the Veſſel call'd the *Margaret*, commanded by the ſaid *Digart*, ſhould ſhare what they had equally with our ſaid Company, at their Arrival in *France*. This done they ſet Sail, taking along with them our Captain *Alonſo Goubert*, who took his Leave of us with Tears in his Eyes, and died ſix Months after, at the Iſle of *Rez*, before he reach'd home.

Another Ship carries off ſome of the Men.

He left the reſt of the Goods that were in the Warehouſe, in charge with me and *Sebaſtian Drouard*, on condition that we ſhould be accountable to the Company, and deliver them to ſuch Perſons as they ſhould ſend within two Years; and in caſe no Ship came from *France* within that time, to carry them off, then they ſhould be my own, to diſpoſe of as I thought fit. The Veſſel that was departing for *France* being full enough, and there being ſome Men, who had no Kindneſs for our ſaid Captain *Goubert*, there remain'd in the Iſland, by their own Conſent, *James du Val*, *Abraham le Gaigneur*, and *Iſaac Meldron*, all three of *Diep*, the laſt of which was ſome time after murder'd, by Order of *Andianraſo*, Baſtard to *Andianramac*.

Kindneſs of a Prince.

As ſoon as Prince *Andianmachicore*, Son in Law to *Andianramac*, underſtood that our Veſſels were gone, he came to us, with his Wife, and 200 Men and Women, to deſire we would go live at his Village, as *Sebaſtian Drouard* and I had promis'd him, when we were at his Houſe, to get Fowl and Refreſhments for our Sick Men, then lying at Port *St. Lucy*. Thoſe People ſtay'd 8 Days with us, during which time *Andianmachicore* caus'd a Village to be built cloſe to our Warehouſe, into which he put Families of Blacks to guard it, and give us Notice of what happen'd there, and what Ships came into the Port, when we were farther in the Iſland, to the Southward, towards the Point of it, which was *Andianmachicore*'s Place of Reſidence, he as well as *Andiaſeron*, and others depending on *Andianramac* their Sovereign.

Amparouge *Village.*

The Village when finiſh'd, was call'd *Amparouge*, where 12 Families of Blacks were left, with Cattel and a Quantity of Rice we gave them for their Subſiſtance. *Andianmachicore* being well pleas'd with the Booty of our great Ship, moſt of the Iron whereof fell to his Share, caus'd all our Luggage and Utenſils to be carry'd by the Blacks that attended, to his Village, call'd *Mannhale*, 12 long Leagues diſtant from Port St. *Clare*, or *Ytapere*, ſeated on the South Point of the Iſland, 2 Leagues from the Sea, where is a Port which we call of *Galeons*, becauſe a *Spaniſh* Galeon once lay there a long time, waiting till a Storm that drove her thither was blown over.

At

At *Mannhale* that great Man gave us his Mother's Houſe, whom he remov'd to his own, till we could Build one to our Mind. We were five of us, who put equal Shares of Commodities into a common Stock, to Live and Trade together. *Iſaac Meldron* went to Traffick towards *Fanzaire*, and I towards the *Tapates* and *Machicores*. We brought home Proviſions, Beeves, Sheep, Kids and Capons living lovingly together for ſix Weeks. But underſtanding that *Meldron* had hid 40 Pounds of Wax in a Black's Houſe, to make his private Advantage, we parted the Goods we had before made a common Stock of. The aforeſaid *Meldron* and *James du Val* withdrew to *Fanzaire*, the chief Village belonging to *Andianramac*, who was Sovereign in thoſe Parts. *Sebaſtian Drouart*, *Abraham le Gaigneur* and I ſtay'd at *Mannhale*.

Diſcord among the French.

I being reſolv'd to Travel by Land along the Coaſt on the Eaſt Side, from one End of the Iſland to the other which is to the Northward, *Drouart* and *Gaigneur* Conducted me 4 Leagues beyond Port St. *Lucy*, where they bid me farewel, leaving with me 20 Blacks, a Maſter of a Village, and a Servant of *Andianmachicore*, who had given me all thoſe Men to ſecure my Perſon, and the Goods carry'd by his Servant, whoſe Name was *Diambo*. Being at a Village belonging to one *Diamboule*, a Subject to *Andianramac*, I was told I had four Days Journey to Travel without meeting any Village, which oblig'd me to provide Meat before hand for my Self and Followers.

The Author ſet out to Travel the Iſland.

At the End of thoſe four Days, we came to another Village Govern'd by a Black with long Hair, whoſe Name was *Dianzore*. There was great rejoycing in that Place for the Execution of two Cow Stealers, whoſe Hands we ſaw fix'd to the Points of the Stakes that enclos'd the Park, whence they ſtole the Beeves, Every Body had made Wine of Sugar, and having drank plentifully, *Dianzore* having lodg'd us in a Houſe of his own, told us. he had drank too much already, and would talk to us the next Day, and caus'd all his Men to be diſarm'd, leſt being Drunk they ſhould quarrel with us. The next Morning he order'd us Wine made of Roots, Capons and Rice, and came himſelf to eat and drink with us.

Rejoycing at an Execution.

Taking leave of him, we mov'd towards the Province of the *Matatanes*, ſtill along the Sea Side, and reach'd it in three Days, paſſing through three great Villages, about five Leagues diſtant from one another, and being at the ſecond Village, we were amaz'd to ſee thoſe that came to us, having Notice of our coming brought us abundance of Proviſions from *Andiampalola*, their Lord, which

Matatanes *Province.*

which we receiv'd for fear it ſhould be look'd upon as a Contempt to refuſe them, tho' we had no need.

Vinargue *River.* My Company, and thoſe that had been ſent to me, came two Days after to a great River, call'd *Vinangue*, which is the Boundary to the ſaid Province of the *Matatanes*, and from the Place where we were could be ſeen 17 large Villages ſeated on the Banks, ſhaded by abundance of *Banana* Trees, and ſurrounded with Plenty of Sugar Canes.

Meeting of K. Andiampalola. Immediatly upon our Arrival, the greateſt Prince of the *Matatanes*, before ſaid to be call'd *Andiampalola*, came to us in a Canoe, which are call'd *Lacque* by a Name common to all Boats, but thoſe that have eight Oars, as this had, bear the pecular Name of *Lauejare*. It was row'd by Blacks ſtanding, *Andiampalola* holding an Oar at the Stern with which he ſteer'd. On the Prow ſtood 17 Javelins, and as many Bucklers, belonging to thoſe in the Boat. They all Landed as ſoon as they ſaw us, handling their Arms, and tying the Canoe to the Trunk of a Tree there was on the Shore. The King drew near me, ſaying, *Salame*, that is Good morrow, taking me by the Hand, and asking how I did, in theſe Words, *Anau ſarraco*. Then ſiting down on a Mat his Men had brought, he made me ſit by him upon it, asking who had Conducted me to him? I anſwer'd him, by the Interpoſition of the Maſter of the Village, who came with me, that the Ship I came in from *France* to the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, being gone back and not able to carry any more Lading than it had, I ſtay'd behind with four of my Companions, whom I had left among the *Madagaſſes*, to come kiſs his Hands, and preſent him with ſome Commodities I had. He then took me by the Hand, made me riſe, and put me into his Canoe with my Maſter of the Village, and my Company was immediatly ſent for in another Canoe which follow'd us. Every Man took his Place, the King ordering me to ſit by him in the Poop, and the Maſter of the Village at the Head, whence diſcovering ſome Water Fowl, and having given me Notice of it, I went over to him, cauſing the Men to give over rowing, as ſoon as I was within Shot, I gave Fire at the firſt Aim, and kill'd two Ducks, a Teale and a Wigeon, my Blacks who follow'd us, leap'd immediatly into the Water, and taking up thoſe Fowl preſented them to *Andiampalola*, who view'd their Wounds, admiring the Effect of my Gun, and telling his Men, it was eaſier for me to kill Men than Birds, and therefore it was convenient to be in Friendſhip with me. Then changing the Diſcourſe, and having heard me Play on the Flageollet at the River Side, when he came over to us, he deſir'd me to Play again, which I did with great Applauſe from all thoſe that were

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in our Canoe. It is here to be obſerv'd by the by, that tho' this River is above 300 Paces over, and at leaſt 7 or 8 Foot deep, yet it has no Paſſage into the Sea, tho' near it, but like others we have already ſpoke of, is loſt in the Sands the Sea has long ſince thrown up on the Shoars of this Iſland. *River loſt in the Sands*

Being landed at *Andiampalola*'s Village, he Conducted us to his Houſe, and thence to another belonging to one of his Wives, whom he took home to his own, and ſent us thither Pullets and Kids. This Houſe was at the Entrance into a large Cloſe, encompaſs'd round with Trunks of Trees, pointed at the Ends, in which there were three Rows of Houſes, with each its Store-Houſe, with the Proviſions belonging to thoſe they were inhabited by, that is, as many Women as Houſes, with every Woman her Man and Maid Servant. *Andiampalola* had Marry'd them all, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and went ſometimes to lye with one, and ſometimes with another, as he pleas'd, the Blacks having as many Wives as they are able to maintain. *Polygamy,*

When theſe Men deſign to Marry, they go ask Parents for their Daughters, or elſe the Kindred, if the Fathers are Dead. When the Parties are agreed, he that is to be marry'd gives the Maidens Father or Kindred, Bullocks, Cows, Sheep, Collars, Chains, and other Baubles. If the Wife is caſt off, ſhe returns to her Father's Houſe without any thing; but if ſhe quits her Husband, the Father or Relations are oblig'd to return him all he gave upon the Marriage. *Marriages.*

Being often with the Wives of *Andiampalola*, I enquir'd of them whether they were ſatisfy'd with their Husband, and were not Jealous one of another. They told me they were not, that it being the Cuſtom of the Country to obey their Lord, they were oblig'd ſo to do without any Contradiction. *Wives not Jealous.*

One of them hapning to lye in whilſt I was there, another of them ſerv'd for a Midwife, and only ſhe went into the Houſe, ſhut all the Doors, ſpread ſome Mats about the Fire Place, near which was the Womans Bed, conſiſting of only two Mats, between which and ſome Cotton Cloths ſhe lay. When ſhe was Deliver'd they rubb'd her Face with the Juice of a yellow Root the Natives call *Auly*, which made it of that Colour. After one Moon ſhe came out of her Houſe, with a Cap of Ruſhes, by them call'd *Safron* on her Head, adorn'd with Beads and fine Coral, and her Head anointed with a ſort of Oyl, call'd *Menach*. This is a Shrub two Inches thick, bearing a Leaf like that of the Vine, with five Points, of a pleaſant Green, the Stem of a Purple Colour, ſhooting out a prickly downy Shel, like that of a Cheſtnut, in which *Lying in and Uprising.*

The Author calls it Latanier *which in Dr.* Sloan's *Catalogue of* Jamaica *Plants is reckon'done of the ſorts of Palm Trees.*

which there are ſix Grains, Seeds, or Kernels like our Kidney Beans, of an Aſh Colour, which being dry'd in the Sun and preſs'd, yield an Oyl of the ſame Name. Her diſhevell'd Hair reach'd down to her Ancles. In her right Hand ſhe had a Knife, call'd *Ancheſyllabe*, and in the other a ſmall Broom, or Bruſh of Palm Tree Leaves cut like Thongs, which Broom is call'd *Miſſaf*. That Knife and Broom ſhe parted not with till three Moons were expir'd from the Day of her Lying in.

Matatanes *Province.*

During our eight Days Stay there I was willing to view the Country, and went four Leagues up the River to the Neighbouring Mountains, which are cover'd with Ebony and other Trees, and have four Villages on them. This Province is twelve Leagues in Breadth, and above forty in Length, very Populous, abounding in Cattle and Meadow Ground, but more in Sugar, whereof they make their Liquor.

Antavarres *Province.*

Leaving this Province, we enter'd upon that of the *Antavarres*, after four Days Travel, having croſs'd ſix Rivers on Floats made of Trees, not daring to Swim for fear of the Alligators, which are there very numerous, This Country is Marſhy, conſiſting of Plains near the Sea, and the Mountains at fifteen or ſixteen Leagues diſtance, being thirty Leagues long, and twenty in Breadth, and has twelve Villages, the Way that I went, beſides thoſe on the Mountains, which are cover'd with Ebony Teees, by them call'd *Azeminthe*, ſignifying black Wood. I view'd this Province, having made but a ſhort Stay at the principal Village. I never ſaw ſo many Bee Hives, made of the Trunks of Trees, for no Inhabitant is without a Number of them. I taught them to make Wax, promiſing, when I return'd to take a Quantity of it in Exchange for my Commodities. Before that time they us'd to eat it with the Honey. I made them melt, and caſt it in hollow Canes as thick as a Man's Arm. Some Perſons having preſented me with two Pounds of a tawny Gum, by them call'd *Quizi-miente*, that is, black Gum, I afterwards when I return'd to our Veſſel caus'd a Surgeon to make Tryal of it, and he found it of the Nature of Scammony, but a gentler Purge. They have another ſort of Gum, they call *Fouche*, that is white, like that which comes from *Arabia*, and another yellow. They make uſe of theſe two ſorts to light them at Night, putting them into little Earthen Pots like Lamps; thoſe bits being ſtill ſoft take Fire at the firſt touch, and it is a pleaſant and very ſweet one. I have ſeen the Trees they draw the yellow Gum from by Inciſion, which they call *Mongue Mongue*, that is, yellow. They reſemble the Fir Tree in the Trunk, having ſix or ſeven main Branches at the Top, full of little Boughs, ſhooting out Leaves like the Laurel, bating

Honey Wax and Gums.

baiting that they are narrower, without any Scent, and their Green darker.

Having ſtay'd a Fortnight among the *Antavarres*, who are all Black, arm'd with large Bucklers and long Javelins, like our Pikes, I proceeded ſtill along the Sea Coaſt, towards the North Part of the Iſland, till I came with my Company into a Province, incloſ'd on the left Side by high red Mountains, which have given the Inhabitants the Name of *Amboitſmens*, *Amboits* ſignifying *Mountains*, and *Mene*, *Red*. Theſe People have Plenty of Cattel, Grain, and Roots. Being come to the Mouth of a great River, on whoſe Banks there was a Number of Plumb-Trees, we nam'd the adjacent Harbour, *Port aux Prunes*, or *Plumb-Port*. The Mouth of it is ſtopp'd with ſeveral Rocks, which is the reaſon that only Boats can come into it. A Quarter of a League above the Port is a Village, the chief Man's Name whereof was *Diamangay*, who came over to our Side, to take us into his Canoes, and carry'd us to lie at his Houſe, where we continued 8 Days. Moſt of the Inhabitants of this Province, as well as thoſe of the *Antavarres*, are clad in a Sort of Stuff, well wove, of ſeveral Colours, made of the Threads they draw from the Rind of the *Mahault*, before deſcrib'd, after it is well beaten, whereof they make their Mantles or Cloaks, by them call'd *Lambes*, and their Girdles 8 Inches broad and 2 Ells long, call'd *Quilambone*. It is full 35 Leagues Journey from this Village to another that is in the Province of *Anton Gil*, by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Angoada*, and 16 large and populous Villages in the Way; but the Inhabitants are ill clad, only the richer Sort wearing Cotton Cloth; not that the Earth is ungrateful to them, affording a ſufficient Suſtenance, but becauſe they are lazy, and will not trade. Amboitſmene. *Province*

In this Village of *Angoada* we found 2 *Hollanders*, left there by their Captain, who as was ſaid above, came to viſit us at Port *St. Clare*, to buy Blacks, and tranſport them into *Maurice's* Iſland, and into *Briſile*, when any of their Ships came for them. The Price, as they told me, of a young Man Slave, was 4 *Spaniſh* Ryals, of a Maiden 3 Ryals, of a Boy of ten or a dozen Years of Age, 2 Ryals, of a Woman with a Child at her Breaſt, 5 Ryals. But they had them ſtill cheaper of the King of the Province, who would have none but himſelf to trade with them for Slaves; for having preſented him with a Piece of white Cotton Cloth, with black croſs Stripes, making ſmall Chequers, brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and but 2 Ells long, he gave them the Choice of what they would have. Beſides taking them along with him to the Wars againſt the Mountaineers, who often came to attack Angoada *Village*.

him, he allow'd them the third Part of the Priſoners taken, which conſiderably increas'd the Number of their Slaves.

St. Mary's Iſland.

When I had ſtay'd nine Days with thoſe *Hollanders*, I deſir'd them to carry me over into the Iſland of St. *Mary*, which they did. It is but half a League from *Madagaſcar*, and has a Village in the midſt of it, inclos'd with ſtrong Paliſadoes; the chief Man of it treated us with Wine made of *Bananas*, which we in *France* call *Couſcou*. On the South Side this Iſland has a Point of Land, running out half a League South East into the Sea, with a Rock behind it, which at a Diſtance looks like a Sail. The South End is join'd to the North by 2 other Rocks. The Land is pleaſant and fruitful. Between it and the Iſland of *Madagaſcar* runs a ſtrong Current, from the North East to the South Weſt, between 15 and 20 Fathom deep. Whales are taken in the ſaid Streight after this manner. The Iſlanders go out in Canoes, which they row up to the Place where thoſe Monſters appear; when near enough, they dart bearded Irons at them, made faſt to Ropes of the *Mahault*-Tree before deſcrib'd, with Buckles there are at the other End of thoſe Irons. The Fiſh being hurt, frets, and draws the Line they veer out, as alſo the Canoes, which does not daunt thoſe who are in them, as being all excellent Swimmers. When the Whale is ſpent with ſtrugling, they draw her to the Shore, cut her in pieces with Hatchets and eat her.

Whale Fiſhing.

Anton Gil Bay.

I return'd from that Iſland with the two Hollanders, to the Village of *Angoada*, and ſet out immediately for the Bay of *Anton Gil*, which lies higher. That Bay is incompaſs'd with Mountains, which falling gently, give Way for a curious River, that empties it ſelf there to come down at its eaſe, there being 2 great Villages on the Harbour, the one on the right, and the other on the left, as you come in from the Sea. The latter is call'd by the *Dutch Spakembourg*, in the Year 1595, as appears by their Voyages, printed at *Amſterdam* by *Cornelius Nicholas*, in the Year 1609, pag. 6 and 12, where is the Cut and Deſcription of this Bay. The other is by the *Portugueſes* nam'd *St. Angelo*. I have forgot the Name the Natives call it by. This River falling into the upper Part of the Bay, forms a ſmall triangular Iſland in the middle of it, on which is a Village.

Villages Paliſado'd.

The Villages in this Country, as well as all the reſt in *Madagaſcar*, are inclos'd with ſtrong Paliſadoes, there being nothing extraordinary in theſe along the Coaſt of *Anton Gil*, but that the Inhabitants of them ſtand Sentinel, and keep Guard on the Avenues and Entrance unto them, having a *Corps de Garde* in the midſt of them, for fear of being ſurpriz'd by their Neighbours on the Mountains, with whom they are perpetually at War.

Before

Before the Gate of the *Corps de Garde*, hung 2 Drums, made of the Trunk of a Tree hollow'd, cover'd with Goats Skins well dreſs'd and extended. Within there were Pikes and large oval wooden Bucklers cover'd with Leather.

I waited on the King at *Angoada*, when he came to viſit the *Hollanders*. He was 40 Years of Age, his Hair ſmooth like ours, his Face and Body all tawny, from his Waſte to his Ankles hung a Piece of Calico the *Dutch* had given him, ſtrip'd blew and white, and brought by them from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and it was girt about the Waſt with a broad Saſh of the Country. He had a Beard, and on his Head a Cap of Ruſhes of ſeveral Colours, with a Spear in his Hand, the reſt of his Body naked, his Arms and Legs loaded with Gold and Silver Rings and Bracelets. He receiv'd me in Friendly manner, inviting me to go ſee him in his Village, which was but half a League above *Angoada*, and gave me Liquor made of Honey to drink, in a Cow's Horn that held about 2 Quarts. I went accordingly to ſee him in his Village, where he entertain'd me very well; and after 9 Days Stay, I left that Bay of *Anton Gil*, which is in the Latitude of 16 Degrees and a half South, ſtretching out North North Weſt, and South South Eaſt, 10 Leagues in Length and 5 in Breadth. *King of* Angoada.

Having taken Leave of the King, I return'd the ſame Way I came, into the Province of the *Malegaſſes*, to the Village of *Mamhale* my Reſidence, where I found *Andianmachicore* and his Wife in a hot Diſpute, ſhe was for ſeizing upon all my Goods, becauſe of a Rumour there had been ſpread abroad of my being kill'd; but he oppos'd her, alledging it would be a Breach of the Laws of Hoſpitality. However my coming put an End to the Controverſy, and they receiv'd me with ſuch Tokens of Affection, as ſatisfy'd me for all the Fatigues I had endur'd in my dangerous and tedious Journey, by which I reap'd no other Advantage but the Knowledge of the Ports and Rivers, and abundance of Cattel I gather'd in my Return, for Exchange of my Toys. But not being yet ſatisfy'd with my Journey, and Curioſity prompting me to learn more than I had done by travelling the Length of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, I reſolv'd to croſs it, to take a View of the midland Provinces and thoſe on the other Side, oppoſite to the lower *Ethiopia*.

Tho' *Andianmachicore* diſſwaded me, alledging that thoſe People were barbarous and faithleſs, I could not be diverted from my Reſolution, but ſet out, attended by a Maſter of the Village of *Rannefouche*, whoſe Name was *Diamber*, and 19 Blacks. *Andianmachicore* had given me as Servants; beſides whom I took along with me 4 of my Servants, loaded with my Baggage, Arms,

and Commodities. Paſſing thro' the Borders of the *Machicores*, to enter upon thoſe of the *Tapates* (in the Maps they are call'd Manapates) a plain Country, we went to take up our Lodging in a Village, whereof one *Andianmarropene* was Lord, who treated us well, and would have diverted us from going among the *Machicores*, telling us they were all Murderers and Robbers. I ask'd him how many of them there was, who anſwer'd *Roariue*, that is, 2000, to which I reply'd, that I and 4 more would beat them with my Guns and Piſtols, which aſtoniſh'd him, putting his Hands before his Mouth, that being a Sign of Admiration among thoſe People. Then holding on the Diſcourſe with him, I inquir'd how far it was from thence to the Village of *Andianmarophate*, who was a Lord in the Country of the *Tapates*. He anſwer'd it was 3 Moons Journey, which he did to put me by my Deſign; for proceeding on my Journey, I came with my Company in 6 Hours to *Andianmarophate's* Village. That Great Man, contrary to the Information we had receiv'd, entertain'd us very kindly, and gave us Guides to conduct us to the Bay of *St. Auguſtin*, which is at the End of the Province of the *Machicores*. When I was about ſetting out from that Village, all thoſe that had been commanded to attend me by *Andianmachicore*, return'd, believing what had been told them of the Cruelty of that Nation I was going to with my 4 Servants.

Arts to diſſwade the Author from travelling.

We ſpent 5 Days after their Departure before we reach'd the Bay of St. *Auguſtin*, and at length, after paſſing through ſeveral Villages, came to the River that falls into the Bay, being forked at the Mouth, by reaſon of a ſmall Iſland that cuts it into two. It is in the Latitude of 23 Degrees and a half, juſt under the Tropick of *Capricorn*. Down the River there are 4 Villages, 2 on the Right, and as many on the Left; below the latter, on the midſt of a Neck of Land, which runs acroſs the Port, there are ſome Remains of a Fort and a Burial Place, in a little Iſland cloſe by, there being large Stones, ſome lying, and ſome rear'd up on the Ground. This Fort was built by the *Dutch* in 1595, who alſo made a Burial Place for their Dead, that were taken away by the Scurvy and Fevers. On the North Angle of the Bay there were alſo Footſteps of another Fort the *French* had formerly rais'd againſt the Iſlanders, who are there more barbarous than in any other Parts, and this to ſecure themſelves with their Sick, few that coaſt along the Kingdom of *Guinea* eſcaping Sickneſs, before they reach *Madagaſcar*, where they are oblig'd to make ſome Stay, to take in Refreſhments and ſearch their Ships, which have ſuffer'd by the Length and Difficulty of the Voyage. See *Pyrard's* Voyage in 1601 and 1602, where he ſays, that near this little

St. Auguſtin's *Bay.*

Fort

Fort they bury'd 40 of their Men, that died there in 3 Days, and therefore they call'd it, *The Burial Place of the* French.

The River Water is unwholeſome, and full of Alligators and ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh. The Natives are ſwarthy, ill diſpos'd, beardleſs, with lank hanging Hair, except in time of War, when they bread or twiſt it, that it may not incumber them in Fight. The Air is very intemperate, the Men large, well ſhap'd, circumcis'd, and yet never heard of the Law of *Mahomet*, there being no Temple or Moſque throughout all the Iſland. They know no more of God, but that they fear, without adoring or praying to him; and ſay, the Devil ſends Diſeaſes, but God kills them. However they believe the Immortality of the Soul, and ſay Heaven was made to receive them all promiſcuouſly, when they leave their Bodies. *Natives and Climate.*

Whilſt we were in a large Village on the Right Hand coming down the River, which is call'd *Dulce*, three Quarters of a League from the Bay, 7 Maſters of the Neighbouring Villages of the *Machicores*, attended by 50 Men, brought us 50 Beeves, whoſe Horns were 2 Foot high, with an Excreſcence between the Shoulders, and twice as big and tall as ours. They alſo brought us Cotton Cloth ſtrip'd with Silk, offering to exchange for my Commodities; but they ſeeking for nothing but long *Cornelian* Stones, or *Venetian* Garnets of a Lemmon Colour, which they call *Vaques*, and the *Tapates*, *Ets Ets*, which I had not, we drove no great Trade, having only purchas'd 15 Beeves, which they parted with for Chains of white Laton and falſe Pearls. *Beeves.*

They alſo preſented me with 6 Pieces of Dragon's Blood, each of them 3 Inches long, like Ends of Black Puddings, marbled like the *Alicant* Soap, red, white, and black. They call this Dragon's Blood, *Auly Harre*, ſignifying, *Ointment to ſtaunch Bleeding*, in return for which I gave them ſome ſmall Coral; and they ſaying thoſe Pieces of Dragon's Blood were made of pounded Leaves, growing on certain Trees about Port *S. Auguſtine*, I preſented one of them with a ſmall String of Coral, to ſhew me thoſe Trees. He conducted me to a Wood, that is but 2 Muſquet Shot from the Bay; where among Thorns and Buſhes, he ſhew'd me a very ſpreading Tree, as big as a Pear-Tree, the Leaves long, but narrower than the Lawrel, ſmelling like Violets in *March*; the Flowers and Bloſſoms white and very odoriferous, growing in round Cluſters, and having only 5 Leaves each, very regular; they cloſe up at Night, and are no bigger than a *French* Double (which is leſs than our Farthing) From the midſt of them ſprouts, a Fiber of a reddiſh Colour, which runs up in ſuch manner as to repreſent a Dragon. Theſe Flowers being pounded and put into hollow Canes, make thoſe Pieces, *Dragon's Blood.* *The Tree it comes from.*

Pieces abovemention'd, after being dryd in the Sun, and the Canes or Reeds which inclos'd them broken off. Thus is the Dragon's Blood made, of which Apothecaries and Botaniſts give a very different Account. I have often us'd it with Succeſs to ſtop Bleeding, following the Example I had ſet me by the *Machicores*, have ſtopp'd the Bloody Flux by Fumigations, putting this Drug into the Fire, and cauſing the Sick to receive it at the Fundament. (*Amatus Luſitanus*, on the 5th Book of *Dioſcorides*, Nar. 69, ſays, without naming any Author, there are large Trees in the *Canaries* and Iſland *Madera*, call'd *Dragon* and *Dragon*-Trees, which diſtil red ſhining Drops, wherewith if any thing be touch'd, it receives a blackiſh red, and that thoſe Drops are call'd *Dragon's Blood*, wherein he does not agree with the Author. See alſo *Matthiolus* on *Dioſcorides* lib. 5, c. 69.

Stops Bleeding and bloody Fluxes.

After ſeven Days Stay at St. *Auguſtin's* Bay, I return'd to *Mannhale*, the Place of my Reſidence, ſending my Cattel before me; but the fifth Day, when I enter'd upon the Province of the *Tapates*, finding my ſelf ſo tir'd and ſpent that I could not go, I mounted aſtride on that I thought the gentleſt of my Bullocks. Nor was I diſappointed, for he carry'd me very eaſily, and I croſs'd Rivers on him with my Bundle before me. The *Tapates* were ſo ſurpriz'd to ſee me in that Poſture, that they thought me more than Man, for being ſo bold as to preſume to get upon a Bullock, which they had never ſeen, or dar'd to attempt.

The Author Rides on a Bullock

In this Province of the *Tapates* one of them ſhow'd me a Musket, a Collar of Bandeliers full of Powder, and in the Pouch, Balls and Flints. Others had Piſtols, and others a conſiderable Quantity of Copper and Pewter Houſhold Stuff. I underſtood by them that it all came from a *Dutch* Ship, which not long before had been caſt away, between Port St. *Auguſtin* and Cape St. *Julian*, and that thoſe who took it had exchang'd great part with them. I exchang'd my Musket with the firſt of them, who gave me his, a Bullock, a Cow, and a Pewter Pot for it. The others would not truck any thing, making great Account of the Kettles, Diſhes and Plates they had.

Dutch Ship caſt away.

Having nothing to do in that Country, I return'd to my Houſe in the Village of *Mannhale*, about the beginning of *February* 1642, where I ſaw the publick Ceremonies of their Circumciſion perform'd as follows. All the Maſters of the Villages ſubject to *Andianmachicore* came to him to appoint a Day to build a Houſe, to Circumciſe their Male Children, born in the Space of three Years, that Ceremony being only perform'd once in three Years; during which time all thoſe Children eat no Eggs till they are Circumcis'd. The Day being appointed, every Man went away

Diſpoſitions for Circumciſing.

to

to cut Wood to Erect the Structure in the midſt of the Village of *Mannhale*, near the Houſe of their Lord *Andianmachicore*, who is nevertheleſs a Dependant on his Father in Law *Andianramac* the King of the *Malegaſſes*. They ſet up Poles they brought on their Backs, on wooden Pillars, and on thoſe Poles plac'd others Cheveron wiſe, to ſuſtain vaſt Ruſhes, like Pikes which ſerve for Joiſts, cover'd with great Leaves of *Indian* Canes, by them call'd *Raves*, and theſe hanging one a little over the other, caſt off the Rain, ſo that no Water can enter the Houſe. This being finiſh'd all the outſide is hemm'd in with large Paliſadoes, to hinder Cattel from going in; for the Houſe was open without any Wall, but only the Pillars ſupporting the Roof, like a Market Houſe. Four Days after it was finiſh'd, the Parents of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, made Wine or Liquor of two thirds of Water boil'd with one third of Honey. This Liquor boil'd in Earthen Pots, is pour'd into great Earthen Veſſels, round below, with a great Belly and narrow Mouth. They place them on a Sort of large Hand-Barrows, hollow in the middle, and carry them on their Shoulders before the Lord's Door, where they are ſet down between 3 Stones, ſo as the Bottom of the Veſſels reſts on the Ground, and the ſaid Stones ſupport the Belly. Theſe Veſſels are call'd *Cines*, and the Hand-Barrows, *Tacon*. This done *Andianmachicore* came out of his Houſe, to go to the other provided for the Circumciſion, before which he had caus'd a Bull to be ty'd to a Stake, drove into the Ground for that purpoſe. He cut his Throat, and having receiv'd the Blood into a Diſh, went and daub'd all the Props of the new Structure, the Fathers of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, following one after another. The foremoſt of them, when the Ceremony of the Blood was ended, gave *Andianmachicore* ſome of the Liquor made of Honey in a Purcelain Diſh, which he took, and holding ſome of it in his Mouth without ſwallowing, ſpurted it againſt the Pillars that were daub'd with the Bull's Blood. Then ordering a *Banana*-Tree, which they call *Once*, to be brought him, with the Leaves and Fruit on it, he caus'd the Paliſade to be open'd, and the Tree to be planted before that Gap. Then he took the myſterious Girdle of the firſt Barber in his Village, dipp'd in the Blood of the Bull he had kill'd, and hung it on that Tree. It is not lawful for any Perſon whatſoever, before the great Feſtival Days of the Circumciſion, to enter the Houſe appointed for that Uſe, or the Incloſure of Paliſades, the Entrance into which is immediately made up with Stakes.

Mead, or Liquor made of Honey.

When the aforeſaid Girdle is hung up in any Place whatſoever, no Man dares approach it, thoſe People conceiting, that whoſoever

Superſtition.

whoſoever ſhould offer it would die immediately. The Proceſſion and Ceremonies being over, the Lord gone back to his own Houſe, and all the People to their reſpective Villages, the Fathers of the Children that are to be Circumcis'd faſt 8 Days compleat, beginning on the 1ſt Day of *March* Moon, and continuing it to the 8th, without eating either Fiſh or Fleſh, ſmoking Tobacco all the Day, and drinking all the Night. During thoſe Faſt Days, the ſaid Fathers carry their Children about their Villages, ty'd to their Waſtes with Cotton Cloths about their Buttocks, and wrapp'd up in their ſquare Pieces they uſe inſtead of Cloaks, the Childrens Legs claſping about their Sides, and holding them by the Necks. The young unmarry'd People follow by two and two, arm'd with their Javelins, the Whites firſt and then the Blacks, putting themſelves into ſeveral Poſtures, beating the Ground with their Feet, clapping their Hands, and holding up their Javelins, as if they were attacking an Enemy. The Fathers, tho' loaded with their Children, do the ſame, carrying their Javelins like the reſt, and after taking their Rounds about the Village, advancing and retiring with Shouts, they halt before the Lord's Door, who is by them call'd *Tampon* or *Brote*, ſignifying the ſame as *Andian*, which is *Lord*. Then the Whites ſeparate themſelves from the Blacks, and thoſe two Parties attack one another with their Javelins, raiſing their Bodies, then crouching, ſtriking their Weapons one againſt another, raiſing their Left Hands and clinching their Fiſts, with dreadful Threats and Grimaces, ſtretching, ſhaking, and ſtiffening their Hams, mixing, and then parting, till being quite tir'd and ſpent, they ſat down on Mats laid for them, before *Andianmachicore*'s Houſe, who to refreſh them, caus'd a *Cine*, or great Pot of their Liquor made of Honey, to be brought out by his Servants, into which they dipp'd a Ladle they call *Cada*, made of half a Coco Nut, with a Wooden Handle, and then pour'd it out full to thoſe brave Combatants, who receiv'd it in a large Palm Tree Leaf, each of them had inſtead of a Diſh or Bowl, and ſwallow'd it all at one Draught. When this was over, and every Man had receiv'd a Piece of Beef, diſtributed by *Andianmachicore*'s Order, they all went away to their Houſes, that is, the Fathers who did not live at *Mannhale*, to their own Villages with their Children, and the reſt to their reſpective Dwellings.

Faſt.

Odd Ceremony.

Cheating Prophet.

The next Day a Man came to *Andianmachicore*, pretending to be a Prophet, aſſuring him that the Children to be Circumcis'd were poſſeſs'd by *Zine*, that is, *the Spirit*, which if he pleas'd, he would expel. That Prince conſented, and then he caus'd two Drums to be brought him, one of which he deliver'd to *Andian-*

raze,

raze, Mother to *Andianmachicore*, a Mother in their Language is call'd *Rene*. The other he gave to one of the Houſhold Servants. Thoſe Drums were a Foot and a half long, and 12 Inches Diameter, made of a hollow'd Trunk of a Tree, cover'd at both Ends with a Goat's Skin well extended, and held on by a Hoop and Cords, in the ſame manner as ours are, bating that they ſcrape off the Hair with a Knife, after it is ſtrain'd. *Andianraze* caus'd the Drum to be hung about her Neck, and ſitting down, reſted it on her Knees, beating on both Ends, the one with her Hand, and the other with a Stick, without any Intermiſſion. Whilſt ſhe beat the Drum, the pretended Prophet having ſtreak'd his Face with red and white, mounted on the Top of *Andianmachicore's* Houſe, holding a very light Pole about 6 or 7 Foot long, with a Pack-thread at the End of it, by which hung a Basket, at the Bottom whereof was a ſmall Pullet, ty'd by the Feet with another Pack-thread. The Prophet held the Pole in his Right Hand, having a Wooden Diſh on his Left Arm, in the Nature of a Buckler, faſten'd with 2 Straps, and in his Hand a Knife a Foot and a half long, call'd *Anchelyllabe*, and 11 Little Darts, by them nam'd *Leff Maceyzay*, that is, *little Darts*; but thoſe People always place the Adjective after the Subſtantive. That Man being on the Top of the Houſe, knelt with one Knee upon the Ridge, and put the Pole under the other; then, his Right Hand being free, he took into it the Knife he before held in the Left, which was ſtill fill'd with the little Darts, and began to gaze on the Sun then juſt riſing, crying hideouſly, with horrid Poſtures and Threats; then beating the Air, as if he had been fighting with him for an Hour together, he let himſelf fall plum from the Top of the Houſe to the Ground, lighting on his Feet before the Door, over which hung the Basket, in which the Pullet was conceal'd, and into which he look'd ſeveral times, rolling his Eyes in a frightful manner, the Drum beating all the while without Intermiſſion. Preſently after he ran like a Madman throughout all the Village, putting his Head into every Door, as if he would ſee what was doing within, often changing his Poſture, taking his Knife into his Left Hand, and then again into the Right, and the ſame he did with his little Darts, ſtill threatning the Sun. As he paſs'd by my Door I ask'd him whether he ſaw any thing in the Air, ſince he look'd up ſo often? Yes, ſaid he, I ſee *Cine*, in the Shape of a Man, and will kill him. Then putting himſelf in a Poſture to do as he ſaid, he beat the Air with the Knife in his Hand. Then reſting a little, he ask'd me for ſome Tobacco; I took my Pipe, fill'd it, lighted and gave it him. He took it, running like one diſtracted; then

Drums.

Mad Actions.

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Faſt.

Old Ceremony.

Cheating Prophet.

The next Day a Man came to *Andianmachicore*, pretending to be a Prophet, aſſuring him that the Children to be Circumcis'd were poſſeſs'd by *Zine*, that is, *the Spirit*, which if he pleas'd, he would expel. That Prince conſented, and then he caus'd two Drums to be brought him, one of which he deliver'd to *Andian-*

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Drums.

Mad Actions.

ſtooping, drew the Smoke, and blew it out towards the Sun, never ceaſing to cry out and threaten him.

He continu'd a long time running and Smoaking Tobacco, Skipping and Jumping, then Reſting a while, till being out of Breath, having run about the Neighbouring Villages, he return'd to *Mannhale*, and to *Andianmachicores* Houſe, before which the good Old Woman *Andianraſe* was ſtill beating her Drum. He put his Head into the Houſe three times, without going beyond the Door, over which was the Basket, and the Pullet in it. He took hold of it, and after daſhing it violently againſt the Ground, preſs'd it with his Arms and Knees, till both the Basket and the Pullet in it were bruiz'd flat. Then he told the Standers by that by thus ſtifling the Pullet, he had at the ſame time ſtifled the evil Spirit that poſſeſs'd the Children who were to be Circumcis'd. This Piece of Mummery being over, the Fathers thought it was time to Celebrate the Feſtival of the publick Circumciſion of their Children, which fell on the Eighth Day of the *March* Moon. That Day the Fathers and Mothers carrying their little Ones on their Hips, caus'd their Servants to follow them leading as many Bulls, and carrying as many black Pullets in their Hands as there were Children, thoſe being Forty three. Being come to the Place, they ty'd the Bulls to as many Stakes drove into the Ground. Then the Fathers ſat down upon Mats, holding the Pullets in their Hands, the Mothers and Servants going farther up into the Village. *Andianmachicore* hearing of their coming, appear'd at his Door, and told them he put off the Feſtival till the next Day. Two beat the Drum all the Night without ceaſing before the Houſe appointed for the Circumciſion, whilſt a wretched Muſician play'd on his Inſtrument, and Sang before the Lord's Houſe. His Violin was a Foot and a half long, having only one String wound up with a Peg above, and running through a Box three Inches about, cover'd on both Sides with a Skin well ſtrain'd, and above it a Bridge half an Inch high, which held up the String, made faſt at the other End to a Pin, which turn'd as well as that at the other End to wind up, or ſlacken the ſaid String, as the Muſitian thought fit, he having a little Bow in his Hand, wherewith he touch'd the middle of it, at the ſame time moving his Fingers on the ſmall End, which was made of a curious ſort of Wood. The Fiddle String was made of *Mahault*, that is, the Bark of the *Mangrove* Tree, and the Bow String of the Herb unknown to us which the Natives of *Madagaſcar* call *Ahetz*; it is white and like Horſe Hair. They call this Inſtrument *Sauly*, and the Muſician *Mahay Sauly*, *Mahay* ſignifying a Player, who reſting the Foot of his Inſtru-

Muſical Inſtrument

ment

ment on the Tip of his Toes, with a hoarſe and ſlow Voice, adapted to his Muſick, Sang as follows, without any Verſe or Rhime, the Muſes having never adventur'd to croſs the Seas into thoſe Parts.

Manne Voullamene, Voullafouche, Hangue, Hares, Angombe, Varres, Ampe embes, Vuoemgembes, Ouuifouches, Ouuiares Ouuicambares, Ouuimentes, Mauuondres. Adding before every one of theſe Words that of *Manne*, ſignifying Rich, the reſt being to this Effect. *Lord rich in Gold, rich in Silver, rich in fine Coral, in Bracelets, in Kine, in white pounded Rice, in Honey, in Beans, in White, in violet Colour, in aſh Colour, in black and yellow Roots.* To this he added every other thing the Iſland afforded, either for Food, or Ornament, and at laſt he put me and my Companions into his Song, ſaying, *Rauuou rangandrie, oule vaza, toumoire antanez, andri, res manne voulafouches, voullamene, angue, harez, Vuoures, hoſaſhots, oulemahae, miaſſe, Oulematte toutoulle empouuare empaguiuere toutmoire andre.* Which is interpreted Word for Word as follows. *You rejoyce, Sir, becauſe the Chriſtians reſide in your Village, they are rich in Silver, in Gold, in fine Coral, in all ſorts of Beads of ſeveral Colours, in falſe Pearls, in little Gilt, and Silver'd Chains, rich in Wit and Invention for Working, if they ſhould dye all their Wealth would be yours Sir.* That Muſician Sang all the Night long before the Lord's Door, the two Drums at the ſame time making a mighty Noiſe before him, at the Entrance into the Circumciſion Houſe, at the Eaſt End whereof was Erected a little Chappel, like thoſe us'd at Funerals, four Foot high, all of Wood, without either Nails or Pins, the Pieces only holding together by the Mortices, the Arch, or Dome cover'd with a Piece of Stuff made of Silk and Cotton of ſeveral Colours, under which was a fine Mat, and on the Mat a Cuſheon of the ſame Cloth, ſtuff'd with Cotton, on which *Andianmachieore*, came and ſeated himſelf at Break of Day, where he receiv'd the Preſents made him by the Mothers of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, being only Skaines of fine white Cotton, curiouſly ſpun. As every one preſented her Skain, he put on the firſt, like a Scarf, hanging from the right Side to the left, the ſecond from the left to the right; then the third from the right to the left, and ſo the others ſucceſſively. When there was no more to receive, he roſe up from his Place, and went to ſeat himſelf on another Cuſheon, provided for him in the midſt of the Chamber, where the Fathers brought him their Children one after another, placing them on a ſquare Stone there was betwixt his Legs. The Child's neareſt Kindred held his Arms and Thighs, the Father holding him under the Arm Pits. *Circumciſion.*

Then *Andianmachicore* cut of the Child's fore Skin, at three Strokes and ſo he did to them ſucceſſively. I being preſent at that Ceremony, and imagining that Cruelty was occaſion'd by the Knives not being ſharp, offer'd *Andianmachicore* a Razor I had in my Pocket, which he took, and then I perceiv'd there was ſome Myſtery in it, and that the Fault was not in the Knife, ſince he cut off the Foreskins of the laſt at three Strokes, as he had done by the others before. I was yet more ſurpriz'd to ſee, that when *Andianmachicore* had cut it off, and deliver'd it to the Kindred, the ſharpeſt of them ſnatch'd it out of his Hands and ſwallow'd it. As ſoon as the Wound was given the Child's Father kill'd his Pullet, and let the Blood run on it, and then binding him to his Side, as before, carry'd him to his Mother, who was among the others in a Neighbouring Houſe, weeping and lamenting what their Children endur'd, and as ſoon as brought gave them Honey and Eggs, which when they had eaten, they took more of the Pullet's Blood, mix'd with that of the Bulls ſlaughter'd before the Houſe of Circumciſion, and apply'd it to the Infants Cods, binding ſome Cotton over it. When the Circumciſion was over, *Andianmachicore* roſe and ſate down again on a Mat at the Door of his own Houſe. On his right Hand, on other Mats ſate the Fathers of the Circumcis'd Children, and the Kindred on the left, all of them croſs legg'd. That Lord deſir'd me to divert the Company with my Bag-pipe, which I did to the great Admiration of all that heard it, who ſaid there were Spirits, ſhut up in it, or Men that ſpoke when I pleas'd, and that *Andianmachicore* was happy in having me, to Divert and Enrich him; all of them earneſtly entreating me to go ſee them at their Villages, with my Inſtrument, and they would give me any thing they had. When I went home they ſent me four Pieces of the Bulls they had Sacrifiz'd, the reſt being divided among them, and his Perquiſites ſent to the Lord, being the Chines of them all. They ſpent the Night in Dancing, the Men following one another by two and two, without holding, Singing and Skipping; and the Women holding one another by the Hands in Pairs, repeated the ſame things the others had ſaid, ſtopping between whiles to drink the Honey Liquor they had brought, Men and Women without any Diſtinction; the black Men and Women in long Cups like Boats made of the Leaves of *Indian* Canes, the Whites of both Sexes in black Earthen Bowls, which they call *Lounies*.

Some Days after theſe Ceremonies, I receiv'd the News of *Iſaac Meldron*'s Death, who had left me and my Companions, above eight Months before, to go live in a Village, the Maſter whereof

whereof was Father to *Rafatene*, Wife to *Andianrazo*, Baſtard to *Andianramac*, whom *Meldron* attended. The Village was call'd *Razemene*, ſignifying red and white, the Neighbouring Mountains being red, and the Rocks white. I will relate this Paſſage. *Meldron* being inform'd of my Journey to Port St. *Auguſtin*, believing I had made my Fortune there, and being jealous by reaſon of my Return from the Bay of *Anton Gil*, reſolv'd to perform the like, without acquainting me. That Wretch, who Debauch'd *Andianrazo*'s Wife, was ſo ill advis'd, as to make uſe of him for his Guide, without any other Company of his own, but only a little Black, and his Comrade *James du Val*, whereas *Andianrazo* had four Servants, and his Brother in Law with him. When they came to the Mountain *Amboule* which is three Leagues high, *Andianrazo* communicated his Deſign of Murdering *Meldron* to his Brother in Law, for the reaſon aforeſaid. He not conſenting to it, perſwaded *Meldron* to undertake ſome other Enterprize inſtead of going to *Anton Gil*, becauſe of the Difficulty of the Ways, which were very bad, and troubleſome to paſs, beſides that the Provinces he was to paſs through, were at War with their Neighbours. *The Story of Meldron.*

Hereupon they turn'd away towards the Province of the *Tapates*, and went to lye at the Village of *Manabarre* at the Houſe of *Andianmouſſe*, one of the Lords, who was above an hundred Years of Age. Departing thence they went to Dine at the Village of *Ranefouche*, where they found a Man, who having born me Company in all my Travells, offer'd to Conduct them, which *Andianrazo* would not conſent to, for fear that Man ſhould obſtruct his Deſign of making away with *Meldron*, who being gone three Leagues farther, as he ſat ſmoaking Tobacco under ſome Trees, was ſtuck through the Neck with a Spear *Andianrazo*'s Servant darted at him, by his Maſters Command. Another Black would have done the ſame by *du Val*, but he being near *Meldron*, and hearing the Noiſe, ſtarted up and receiv'd the Stroke of the Javelin deſign'd to kill him on his Hat. He drew immediately, purſu'd *Meldron*'s Murderers, who fled before him a long way, and not being able to overtake them, return'd to the dead Man, whoſe Sword he took and brought it me to *Mannhale*, where having told me this diſmal Story, I complain'd to *Andianmachicore*, who immediatly ſent away a Man Expreſs to his Father in Law *Andianramac*, to demaud Juſtice of him for that Murder. That was ſo readily executed, that at our return from burying the dead Body, we found the Murderers Head, ſeparated from his Body in the Village of *Fanzaire*, whether it had been brought in a Basket by two Men, to ſhow us that Juſtice had been done. *Andianboule*, the Kings Nephew, being inform'd how the thing had hapned, was the Executioner; *His Death*

Executioner; for as there is no Priſon in that Country, ſo neither is there any particular Executioner. The firſt Man, without any Diſtinction of Rank, or Quality, that can catch him who is declar'd guilty, looks upon it as an Honour to be the Executioner, which he performs with much Trouble to himſelf, and Pain to the Perſon Condemn'd, as doing it with the Spear of his Javelin, which is not proper for cutting off a Head, as being too narrow and light; ſo that they rather ſaw than cut it off, two Men holding the Criminals Body under their Knees.

Manner of Beheading.

Not being ſatisfy'd with this Execution, we went to make our Complaints to *Andianramac*, demanding of him to deliver up to us *Andianrazo*, who had caus'd *Meldron* to be kill'd. We found him at home with Tears in his Eyes, bewailing his Misfortune, and ſaid he gave us leave to ſhoot him that had been the occaſion of that Murder; asking what Death we put him to in *France*, who had caus'd a Man to be murder'd. We anſwer'd, that great Men were beheaded, and thoſe of the meaner ſort hang'd, or broke upon the Wheel. When we had ſo ſaid, he ſhow'd us the Head of the Perſon Executed, asking, whether we were ſatisfy'd. We anſwer'd, he muſt add that of *Andianrazo*. Take him ſaid he, and do as you pleaſe. Then he ſent us to lodge at his Mothers, where we had all that was requiſite provided for us. The next Morning we went to the Houſe of the King's Son in Law *Andianſeron*'s Mother, to demand *Meldron*'s Trunk of her, which was in her Cuſtody, that we might make an Inventory of all that was in it. All was ſold by Outcry, every Man buying what he had occaſion for: I bought his Books, Charts, and other Inſtruments for Navigation, which I afterwards paid for to his Kindred at *Dieppe*, when I return'd home.

Having after this taken leave of the King, I went home to my Houſe, where wanting ſomething to do, I reſolv'd to go viſit *Andiamboule*, Lord of the Province of *Amboule* or *Anamboule*, attended only by 4 Blacks. At our entring into that Province we found ſeveral Villages burnt by their Enemies. It was 2 Hours in the Night, 3 Days after my Departure from *Mannhale*, when I came to the Village, which gives its Name to that Province and to its Lord. It was like all other Villages in that Iſland, inclos'd with Paliſadoes, and the Entrance ſtopp'd up with Faggots of Thorns. The Sentinels and Guards poſted there underſtanding that a Chriſtian and ſome Blacks deſir'd to be admitted, the Lord came to meet and conduct us to his Houſe, where he gave us to eat. We were ſcarce ſettled before ſeveral Trumpets, which they call *Antſives*, made of ſuch Sea-Shells as the Poets aſſign to the *Tritons*, began to ſound dreadfully upon the Signal of a Fire, the Neighbouring People made from one Mountain to another, to notifie the Enemies Approach. The Inhabitants immediately

Amboule *Village and Province.*

diately ran to Arms; the Lord ask'd me whether I would go to the War with him. I told him, that ſince I and my Company belong'd to *Andianramac*, it was not reaſonable for us to take up Arms againſt his People. He was ſatisfy'd with my Anſwer, and bid his Women treat us well. Then he arm'd himſelf, or rather cover'd his Head with a Straw Cap, to which hung a great twiſted Tail of the ſame Sort, reaching down to his Buttocks. This, I ſuppoſe, was to appear the more dreadful to his Enemies. Then having ſnatch'd up his Lance and little Darts, he caus'd the Barrier to be open'd, march'd with his Men, being about five hundred ſtrong, by four in a Rank. I was amaz'd two Hours after, to ſee three of *Andiamboule*'s Soldiers bring as many of their Enemies Heads on the Points of their Spears, which they threw down in the midſt of the Market-Place in the Village, where they were abus'd by the Women and Children, who pull'd out their Eyes, tore off their Hair, and after trampling on them, burnt them without their Village of *Amboule*. The Victors returning, the King caus'd 3 Beeves to be ſlaughter'd and diſtributed in Pieces among them. I did not ſtay any longer there; but knowing that *Andianramac*'s Subjects were *Andianboule*'s Enemies, took my Way along the Mountains, on the Tops whereof I found 4 Springs, ſo exceſſive hot, that there was no holding a Finger in them a Moment without ſcalding. The Natives are all Smiths, who having got the Iron out of the Mines, eaſily run it at the Fire, it being much ſofter than ours, whereof they make Pigs or Bars a Foot and a half long, and 4 Fingers broad, each of which is reckon'd worth a Cow.

Hot Springs.

Iron Works.

Being come down from the Mountains, I went to wait upon *Andianramac*, at his Village of *Fanzaire*, and told him what I had ſeen at *Amboule*. Thence I return'd to *Mannhale* to *Andianmachicore*, where I was inform'd by *Abraham le Gaigneur*, one of my Companions, that the *Machicores* had kill'd 9 *Mannhalians*, and carry'd off 400 Beeves, 14 of which belong'd to us. All the Country was in an Uproar. *Andianmachicore* immediately ſent Notice to all the Villages under his Command, each of which form'd its particular Band with their Shell Trumpet. I had one made of a Bull's Horn, two Foot and a half long, bow'd like a Hunter's Cornet. *Andianmachicore* led the Van; I follow'd him with 6 Blacks, loaded with my Muſquets and Firelocks, and a 7th that carry'd my Provender. Our Soldiers being in good Caſe and forward, as excited by the Deſire of Revenge, march'd ſo faſt, that I had much ado to follow them, having outſtripp'd me half a League in leſs than an Hour. By the Way I found 2 of our Men, wounded by the Enemy, the one in the Arm, the other in the Belly, all the Rim whereof was cut, ſo that his Bowels appear'd. I dreſs'd

dreſs'd them both, ſewing up their Wounds, and clapp'd an Aſtringent over them, till I had leiſure to do better. Theſe Men told me, that the *Machicores* advancing their Van-Guard, which drove the plunder'd Cattel, except 60 they left with their Rere, conſiſting only of 30 Men, being overtaken by our Men, had halted and ſtood the Attack, till all their little Darts and Javelins were ſpent againſt us, had betaken themſelves to Flight, and that they were left wounded where I found them.

Skirmiſh. Having heard this News, I follow'd the Army by the Track, through Ways almoſt inacceſſible. About an Hour before Sunſet I met 8 of *Andianmachicore*'s Servants, who brought a little Bier, to carry me on their Shoulders, by their Maſter's Order, to the Place where he was. I refus'd that Civility tho' extraordinary weary, and follow'd them through the Woods, till coming to the Top of a little Hill, I found our Army, weak and ſpent. Having wiſh'd *Andianmachicore* a good Night, he embrac'd me, and with Tears in his Eyes ſaid, he repos'd more Confidence in me than in his own Men, who would not fight, unleſs he was always at the Head of them. This ſaid, he made me ſit down by him, and caus'd Water to be brought to refreſh me. Whilſt we reſted, I told the Maſters of the Villages, who ſat alſo by us, that the *French* did not do like them; for they to ſecure their King, and that he might be a Witneſs to the Valour of his Men, plac'd him among their Ranks, to the end that if the Battel ſhould prove obſtinate, every Man might oppoſe the Enemy to ſave him; and that as ſoon as they had gain'd the Victory, they proſecuted their Advantage, till they had deſtroy'd all thoſe that fled.

Theſe Words wrought upon one of thoſe Maſters of Villages, who ſtarted up, beating the Ground with his Feet, and ſaying I was in the right, and that he was ready to lead on ſuch as would follow him to Battel, whilſt *Andianmachicore* in Safety beheld from the Place where he was, how he would behave himſelf. Seven Maſters follow'd him with about 200 Soldiers, detach'd from our Troops. Yet, notwithſtanding this mighty Reſolution, not one of them had ſtirr'd, had not I, after taking leave of *Andianmachicore*, *Another Action.* advanc'd with my Men to lead the Van. I had ſcarce march'd 1000 Paces before I diſcover'd a Party of the Enemy, who were at Supper, lying on the Ground between 2 Hills, upon 3 of our Beeves they had kill'd. I contriv'd to ſurprize them behind, ſlipping through the Wood that ſurrounded them, and being near, fir'd my Muſquet upon 10 of them that were at Supper together, then taking my Fire-locks from my Servants, I fir'd at the reſt, who left 4 of their Companions dead upon the Spot and ſome wounded; the reſt fled and our Men perſu'd without doing much Execution, as only killing

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When the Night was ſhut in, I poſted advanc'd Sentinels to ſecure all things, and ſome *Corps de Garde* to ſuſtain them, whilſt the reſt ſupp'd and ſlept. At Break of Day we return'd towards *Mannhale*, cauſing 8 Heads of our Enemies to be carry'd before us on the Points of Spears. Nothing but Shouts of Joy was to be heard all the Way we went. About Noon we met *Andianramac*, who hearing of our Deſign, was coming to our Aſſiſtance with 600 Soldiers and a great Number of other Men and Women, carrying the Utenſils belonging to the Kitchen. Several Blacks that follow'd them, loaded with Rice and various Sorts of Roots, drove 60 Beeves. This King was ſupported by *Andianſeron* and *Andianradame*, his Sons in Law, *Andianmadambe*, his Brother; *Andianradame*, *Finare*, and *Andianboule*, his Nephews; and by *Andiambel*, his Brother in Law, who all came to the Aſſiſtance of *Andianmachicore*, tho' at that time *Andianramac* was at Variance with him; but the publick Safety was the Occaſion of that ſpeedy Succour. *Andianmachicore* being a good Man, thank'd his Father in Law and all his Kindred, whom he entertain'd at Supper, as alſo the Auxiliary Soldiers, when we came to the Village of *Mannhale*. The next Day, after many Expreſſions of Reſpect and Affection, *Andianramac* went home, and I follow'd him, with *Andianmachicore*, who would not forſake me. Being at *Fanzaire*, the Reſidence of *Andianramac*, I was preſent at the Ceremony I ſhall now deſcribe.

Andianramac's Houſe had been burnt in the Year 1637, ever ſince which time he had liv'd in another, no better than what has been deſcrib'd above. His Subjects built him another, in the ſame Place where the firſt ſtood before. They remov'd all the Remains of it, levell'd the Ground, cut Timber on the Mountains, which were 4 Leagues from thence, with ſmall Hatchets, which they call *Feſques*. They carry the Bodies of the Trees, after ſtripping them of the Branches, on their Shoulders, to the Place appointed to build on. As for Planks, they at that time having no uſe of Saws, ſquar'd the Trunk with their Hatchets, hew'd them with Iron Knives a Foot long, which they call *Hanches*, and others a Foot and a half in Length, call'd *Hanches Syllabes*, and laſtly plan'd them with little Planes, the Iron whereof is an Inch long, thus bringing the Plank to what Thickneſs they thought fit. Their Wood is hard and of the Colour of our Oaks.

Building, the Manner of it.

How they work in Wood.

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Building, the Manner of it.

How they work in Wood.

Times of Work and Reſpite. They begin to work on the firſt Day of the Moon, and hold on till the 15th, after which they reſt 6 Weeks, and thoſe expir'd, fall to work again, and deſiſt as before, till the Structure is finiſh'd, which after this rate, is a long time. They have a long Rule, which they lay on the Tree, after taking the Breadth they deſign, and that being very ſtrait, they make a Mark along it with the Back of their Knife, with which and their ſmall Planes they take off all that is to ſpare. The Whites ſet out the Heights, Lengths, and Thickneſſes, and the Blacks, like their Servants do all the reſt, the former thinking it more honourable to contrive than to work. The Materials being upon the Place, they make uſe of a Spade, which they call *Fanghali*, for digging and fixing of Blocks 4 Foot high and 12 Inches thick. Theſe Blocks riſe 2 Foot above the Ground, at 4 Foot diſtance from one another, on which they lay Beams 5 Inches ſquare, which being tenanted at both Ends, are put into the Mortices there are on the Blocks, ſo exactly, that it is hard to ſee where they join. On theſe Blocks and *The Floor.* Beams they lay a Floor of Planks well jointed, ſhooting at the Ends into Pieces of Timber, but 6 Foot in Length, and are fix'd below into the Beams, and above to others running above the Level of the Floor, well jointed and wrought, the whole knit together by Quarters, which keep the Sides ſteady, as being well mortic'd. The Roof was not unlike ours, either in the Ridge or Rafters, bating that between every 2 Rafters, which are 3 Inches and a half Square, and 3 Foot diſtant from one another, there was a Cane reaching up to the *The Roof.* Ridge, inſtead of a Lath, to ſupport the Covering of the ſame Sort of ſtrait Canes, four or five and twenty Foot long, laid acroſs, to which they bound the Leaves of *Indian* Canes, or *Palmito's*, with a Sort of Withies, by them call'd *Haetz-Fouche*, beginning at the lower Part of the Roof, ſo that the Leaves hanging over the upright, cover'd it from the Rain, and then faſt'ning others a Foot higher to the aforeſaid Canes, they hung over the firſt, as others did over theſe, and ſo on till they came to the Ridge. Theſe Leaves, which are of a pale yellow, will laſt at leaſt 20 Years againſt all Weather, becauſe of their Unctiouſneſs and Thickneſs. I was very helpful to them in forwarding this Work, bringing them two Saws, to which they gave the Name of *Fanapes*, ſhewing them how to uſe them, for cutting and fitting of Timber that was too long, which ſav'd them much Time and Stuff. I very much admir'd *Carv'd Work.* the carv'd Work they added over the 6 Gates of that Structure, as Feſtoons, Flowers, and Foliage, all maſterly cut, tho' of all our Tools they had none but the Plane, all the reſt being done with their Knives. This Structure was 30 Foot in Length, and 20 in Breadth.

As

As ſoon as it was finiſh'd, the King notify'd to all his Subjects, that he would go into it on the firſt Day of the Moon of *November*, of our Year 1641. Every Man brought *Andianramac* his Preſent; ſome Baskets full of Mats made of fine Ruſhes, others in Baskets made of Canes whole Rice, Roots, Fruit, and Pulſe. The Poor gave him Earthen-Ware, Diſhes, Wooden Spoons, others *Banana* or *Palmito* Leaves, to ſerve inſtead of Table-Cloths, Napkins, Diſhes, and Plates. The Rich brought him Bullocks, Cows, Sheep, and Goats, nor were the Hens and Pullets forgot. No Perſon came empty handed. Several brought little Baskets of green Ginger, by them call'd *Sacauirre*, which was thrown into a Ditch near that new Houſe, and immediately cover'd with Earth. All theſe Preſents were receiv'd by a Man ſtanding near the King, who ſat on a Tapeſtry Cuſhion at the Principal Gate of his new Houſe, with the Great Men abovemention'd about him, ſitting on Mats, croſs Leg'd. He who receiv'd the Preſents, every time he took one, ſaid to the King; *Such a one has brought you ſuch a thing, to make good the Loſs you ſuſtain'd in your Houſe 5 Years ago.* The Blacks were the firſt that offer'd, and then the Whites. Some gave the King 30 Beeves, ſome 50 Sheep, and ſome 100 Goats. Every Village came in order as call'd, the Trumpet going before, follow'd by a Jar of Liquor made of Honey, carry'd by 2 Men on 2 Coulſtaves on their Shoulders; then follow'd the other Inhabitants of the Village, with the Preſents we have mention'd; all which are put into 4 Store Houſes, erected to that purpoſe before the King's Palace, and committed to as many of his Servants, who only may go into them; and under their Charge is a Sort of Cellar, into which they put the Wine preſented to the King.

Preſents to the King, for his new Houſe.

Two whole Days were ſpent in receiving thoſe Preſents, and on the 3d before Sun riſing, all thoſe People went and waſh'd in the neighbouring River, and when they came out put on new Cloaths, brought to the Bank by their Servants, or themſelves. Nothing was left in their Hampers at home, all that could ſerve as Ornament being brought out to make their Appearance that Day, the King ſetting the Example, who went firſt into the Water, came out firſt, and dreſs'd himſelf the fineſt he was able. His Wife with her Retinue, conſiſting of the Wives and Daughters of the Prime Men, choſe out a Place in the ſame River, at a Diſtance from the Men, where they bath'd, and then dreſs'd themſelves in their fineſt Trinkets, putting a little Cap made of black Silk and Cotton on their Hair, which falls in long downright Curls on their Foreheads, the reſt hanging on their Shoulders. The Holes in their Ears were fill'd up with a thick flat Piece of Wood, to which is faſten'd a Bit of wrought Gold, about the Bigneſs of a Quarter of a Crown Piece,

Waſhing.

Women's Dreſs.

which they call *Hotz Hotz*. The Queen went foremoſt by her ſelf, the Ladies following her by one and one, with their Maids by them, carrying their old Cloaths. The Queen and 6 of the Ladies had each of them a Knife, a Foot and a half long in their Hands, after whom follow'd the white Wives and Maids, and then the Blacks. When the Queen and her Ladies enter'd the Village, one of *Andianramac*'s Servants gave each of them a lighted Wax Torch, with which they took 3 Turns about the King's new Houſe, the Women and Maids of the Villages following. This done the Queen went into it at the Eaſt-Gate, and preſently the King follow'd her, with 5 of the Prime Men and 30 or 40 White Men, who gave Shouts of Joy, clapping their Hands, and beating the Floor with their Feet. Thoſe Shouts were ſeconded by others, given by all the People in general, ſtaying without, Men, Boys, Women, and Maids, whilſt 6 Drums beat without Intermiſſion under the Store-Houſes about the Palace.

Ceremony of entring the Houſe.

The King had order'd me to contrive ſomething of my own to add to the Feſtival. I erected a ſmall Stage 4 Foot high, before the Door of the Houſe, cover'd with Leaves, plac'd a Chair in the midſt of it, and ſate down on it, ſometimes playing on the Hautboy, and ſometimes on my Bagpipe, which I blow'd under my Arm, and was highly pleaſing to the People. I had plac'd my Muskets, Firelocks and Piſtols, by two and two, under the Leaves that cover'd my little Stage, with a Match ſo order'd that it gave Fire to the two firſt, as ſoon as the King, Queen, Lords and Ladies were got into the Houſe, and ſo to the reſt from time to time, to the great Amazement of the People, who fell down when they heard the Report. In the mean while one *Andiamber* of the Village of *Fanzaire*, where this was acted, ſlaughter'd 4 fat Beeves, that had their 4 Feet ty'd together, in the King's Preſence, having put on his Girdle, after the manner of our Stoles, about his Neck, then croſſing on his Stomach, and made faſt to his Hips. That Man took ſome of the Blood of thoſe Bullocks in a wooden Diſh, and ſome of their Honey Liquor in a Purcelan Veſſel, which they call *Fingue*, and preſented it to the King, who ſate at the Eaſt Gate of his Houſe. The King ſtood up, took ſome of that Liquor in his Mouth, and ſpurted it all about his Houſe, till no more was left in the Cup. Then he took the Blood and daub'd the Doors and Walls, and laſtly mark'd the Fore-heads of all the Men and Women that were in his new Houſe. The 6 Bullocks being cut in Pieces were diſtributed among the Whites, except the Buttocks, which were reſerv'd for the King and his Kindred. Every Maſter of a Village had two Bullocks given him, with a Veſſel of Liquor, and 4 Baskets of Rice, to be diſtributed among his People. The King order'd me and my Men to let them drink, without upbraiding them with their Sottiſhneſs, which continu'd.

Of ſlaughtering Bullocks.

About the new Houſe

tinu'd the two firſt Days, promoting it with Tobacco, without eating any thing; but the third Day they laid on upon the Beef wonderfully, which they ſpit upon a Stick, and place it before the Fire, turning it when one ſide is roaſted.

When theſe Ceremonies were ended, we were to part at laſt, and leave *Andianramac*, to return to our Houſes. I had not been long at *Mannhale*, before *Andianracaze Andianmachicore*'s Wife fell ſick, they ſaid it was out of Jealouſy, having been told that her Husband when at *Fanzaire*, fell in Love with another of *Andianramac*'s Daughters, call'd *Andianramiſe*, and that he intended to marry her. She languiſh'd ſome time, till a Fever ceaſing her, ſhe was oblig'd to keep her Bed. *Andianmachicore*, who lov'd her ſent for the Phyſitian, in their Language call'd *Marabou*. On his left Side he had a ſquare Piece of Wood, which ſerv'd inſtead of a Caſe, ty'd with a String to his Waſte. There were ſeveral Gimlet Holes in the thickneſs of the Wood, which was about half an Inch. In one of thoſe Holes there was a bit of Horn, in another an Alligator's Tooth, in a third ſome yellow Wood, in a fourth ſome Powder, and in the reſt the Oyl they call *Auly* and Sand. Being near the Patient, he took out a Pallet, like thoſe our Painters uſe, this being alſo ty'd to his Girdle with a Packthread on the ſame Side as his Caſe, from which he drew a little Horn full of Oyl, and pour'd it on the Pallet, mixing it with Sand with his Thumb, and ſpreading it to the Edges; then with his Fingers he drew unequal, and an odd number of Lines on the Oyl and Sand to 27. This done, the Phyſitian ſtood motionleſs and penſive above a Quarter of an Hour, conſidering what he was to do. Then he order'd the ſick Woman's Servants to go fetch him nine ſeveral things, *viz.* Earth taken up in ſuch a certain Place, a Pot ſhard, the Bark of ſuch a Tree, the Root of ſuch a Plant, certain Leaves, a bit of Wood that had been long ſtuck in the Ground, a Pigs Tooth, they call a Tooth *Vois*, the Parings of Nails, and ſome of a Bullocks Horn.

A Phyſitian.

His Medicines.

All this he mix'd and laid it on the Head of *Andianracaſe* ſaying, *Is, Ros, Tail, Eef Lime, Ene, Fit, Vaal, Sive*, which ſignifies, one, two, three, four, five, ſix, ſeven, eight, nine. Then he took all the things he had laid on the Patients Head, and gave them to a Servant to carry out of the Village, and bury them in a certain Place he appointed. Such was the judicious Practice of that able Phyſician upon this Occaſion, believing he had done Wonders for recovering of *Andianracaſe*, who ſtill drawing towards her End he apply'd another ſovereign Remedy, which is us'd to none but Perſons of Diſtinction. He caus'd a Bullock to be kill'd by a white Man, and receiv'd the Blood into a wooden Diſh, into which he dip'd his middle Finger, and touch'd the Sick Perſons

Ridiculous Cure.

Perſons Face in five Places, who was ne'er the better for all thoſe Fopperies. Yet he had Cauſe to be ſatisfy'd, for he had a Cow, and two Loads of Rice in the Straw given him for his Pains. The *Dutch* in their *Eaſt Indian* Voyages of the Year 1595, when they were at *Madagaſcar*, name the above mention'd Numbers thus, *Iſſa*, *Roue*, *Tello*, *Efad*, *Lime*, *Enning*, *Fruto Vvoulo*, *Syday*, and *Foulo*.

Burial. One Day *Andianmachicore* carry'd me to ſee his Wife, I bled her twice, but it was too late, and ſhe dy'd a few Days after. They bury'd her in a very fine Mat, over which they ſew'd a Silk and Cotton Cloth, then put all together into two Pieces of Trees hallow'd, bound about with Cords, inſtead of a Coffin. She was lamented all the Night by Men and Women, with loud Cries. I was inform'd by them that ſhe was gone to Heaven, and asking, why they lamented her, they anſwer'd, they were concern'd for having loſt ſo good a Miſtreſs. The next Day the Body was carry'd from her Apartment, *Andianmachicore* attending it, but as ſoon as he came out of the Village, being overcome with Grief, he fainted away. I and three more carry'd him to my Houſe, and laid him on my Bed, where ſometime after he came to himſelf. In the mean while the Funeral Pomp attended the Corps, to the Place of Burial. Four of the neareſt Kindred carry'd the Body, the Men and Women following, till being come to the Bank of the River *Ranenar*, which ſignifies of Rocks, they halted to take Breath. There was a Canoe made of one ſingle Trunk of a Tree, into which went the twelve neareſt Relations, with the Body, placing it in the middle. Other Canoes carry'd the Company to the Iſland in the middle of the River, by them call'd *Nore Ranenar*, that is, the Iſland in the Rocky River, where Landing, they went into a Houſe built like our Chappels, where was a Treſſel, under which they had dug the Grave for the dead Body. Under the Treſſel were two wooden Porringers, with ſome Rice in the one, and the Roots they call *Auly* in the other. The Rice to feed the Soul after its Separation from the Body, which had been ſuſtain'd by it whilſt living. The Roots alſo to preſerve the Soul, that it might continue freſh, and free from Diſeaſes; for the *Madagaſcar* Women and Maids, extract the Juice from thoſe Roots, with which they rub their Foreheads, to preſerve them againſt all Diſtempers, and appear more beautiful. Without the Chappel, on the Eaſt Side ſtood a Stone upon one End, 12 Foot long, and on it two real large Bullocks Horns, and the Figures of two Curlues, whereof there are great Numbers in the Iſland. Thoſe were the Arms of *Andianmachicore*, and his Wife *Andianracaſe*. The Monument had no Inſcription, and the Curlues were cut in Wood, with a Stone Foot to ſupport them, there were ſeveral other Chappels in that Iſland, being the peculiar burial Places of ſeveral of the beſt Families of Whites, there being another

another Place for interring the reſt of the Whites without the Village, where ſtood ſeveral upright Tomb Stones, at the End of the Graves, and ſome little Huts made of Boughs to cover them. In this Burial Place there is a great Number of tall ſtraight Trees, all prickly from the Stem to the Head, bearing neither Fruit nor Leaves, being the Symbol of Death, which when it comes is irkſome to us, and having once ſeiz'd renders us incapable of any Production. To which I add, that the Bark of this Tree is black, as if it mourn'd for thoſe that are bury'd by it. The Figure of this Tree may be ſeen in the *Dutch Eaſt India* Voyage, *An.* 1595. *chap.* 7. where they add, that it is of the Height of a Pike, and the Thickneſs of a Man's Wriſt, having a prickly Ball on the Top, bigger than the Body of the Tree. As for the Tombs of the great Men, which are in the aforeſaid little Iſland, they are all Erected before the Chappels, and there is not one but what has wooden Birds of ſeveral ſorts on it, with great Bullocks Horns. The Ceremonies of *Andiamracaſe*'s Funeral being over, the Company return'd to the Village, and came to my Houſe, where *Andianmachicore* was, who would not go to his own, for fear leſt it ſhould refreſh his Grief. When every Man had taken his Leave, and I forbid the Lamentations of the Women Servants, who came at Night to bewail their dead Miſtreſs before my Habitation; after four Days, *Andiamouſe*, who had never forſaken his good Friend, my Companions and I Conducted *Andianmachicore* to his Houſe.

Some Days after, a Black ſent by *Andianramac* brought me the News that a *French* Ship was arriv'd in the Port of *Mannfia*, which we call St. *Lucy*, the Captain whereof's Name was *Coquey*, and the Maſter's *John Regimon*. They brought Men to ſettle at *Madegaſſe* under the Command of *James Proni* and *John Forcombourg*. I ſent *Sebaſtian Drouard*, with the aforeſaid Black, to know what the new Comers intended, who 4 Days after brought me word, that there were 40 Men beſides the Ships Crew, who deſign'd to build a Fort on the ſaid Harbour. That 6 of them came with him to *Andianramac*'s, to ask his Leave to build it, which was eaſily granted, *Andiamramac* being no way concern'd at it, as knowing how ſmall their Number was, whereof ſeveral were Sick. *Drouard* having given me an Account that thoſe Deputies were at *Fanzaire*, and what was doing there, I ſet out to viſit my Country Men. *James Proni* and 3 of his Companions bore me Company at my Return, to ſee what I did at *Mannhale*, deſiring me to quit that Reſidence, and to retire with my Companion, to that he intended to build at Port St. *Lucy*. He and his Companions ſtaid 5 Days at my Houſe at *Mannhale*, where we agreed, that he ſhould allow me 6 Months to diſpoſe of my Goods, after which I ſhould not Trade for any more than Food and Cloaths.

French come to Madageſcar.

Many die.

Proni

Proni return'd to his Men, whom he found in a wretched Condition, Sickneſs having carry'd off 12 in leſs than 12 Days, and the reſt being deſperate, I Comforted them with ſome Refreſhments, and yet of the 40 that came to ſettle with the ſaid *Proni* at 2 Months End, only 14 remain'd, who are ſtill Inhabitants of that ſame Place in *Madagaſcar*. In the mean while, *Coquey* and his Ships Crew, call'd the St. *Lewis*, they not being deſign'd to ſettle there, loaded with Hides, Wax, Gums and Ebony, in order to return to *France*, having gather'd all thoſe Commodities in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, particularly the Ports of the *Madegaſſes* and others, as far as the Province of the *Matatanes*; in its return from whence by a ſudden Guſt of Wind the Ship broke her Back, in ſuch manner, that only the Planks above the Surface of the Water ſav'd them all from periſhing, and at lenth with much hazard, they Landed at the Port of Galeons, where having unloaded and left the ſaid Ship, after ſaving the beſt of the Guns, Sails and Tackling, to the Diſpoſal of the Natives, they hutted, with their Sails ſupported on forked Staves, to wait for their Bark, which was 14 Leagues lower, at Port St. *Lucy*. At the ſame time, that is on the firſt of *May* 1642. came into that Port another *French* Ship, belonging to our Company, with Orders to take in all that had been bought or barter'd by thoſe ſent before in the Ship St. *Lewis*, or purchas'd in the new Colony of St. *Peter*, by thoſe ſent to ſettle there at the aforeſaid Port St. *Lucy*.

The Ship loſt.

The Ship that came laſt, built at *Dieppe*, with a Deſign to bring another Colony into the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, was call'd the St. *Laurence*, carrying the Image of that Saint on her Stern; the Captains Name was *Giles Regimond*, a *Liegois* Inhabitant of *Dieppe*, and the Maſter *Giles Regimond*, Son to the Captain. The Veſſel carry'd 20 Guns, and brought 60 Men to be left in the Iſland, beſides her Crew, with all ſorts of Tools for Building and Tillage. As ſoon as they Landed, I went to them with my Companions, told them the Misfortune of the Ship St. *Lewis*, and invited the two *Regimonds*, Father and Son, to Sup with us in *James Proni*'s Hut, who was to treat us. During our Entertainment the ſaid *Regimond* enquir'd of me into the State of the Iſland, and what buſineſs there was for Merchants, he being a Member of the Company, and told before, that during my Reſidence there I had travell'd into all Parts, and obſerv'd what might be uſeful for Commerce. I inform'd him, that in the Province of *Matatan*, Neigbouring on that of the *Mallegaſſes* or *Madegaſſes*, where we then were, ſtood 700 Ebony Trees, and that the Prince of that Province was *Andiampalola*, with whom I had a good Correſpondence. That I went thence into the County of the *Antauvarres*, ſubject to *Andiantalac*, where there was alſo Ebony, but not eaſily to be convey'd to the Sea. That beſides Refreſhments

Another French *Ship and Colony.*

Commodities of the Iſland and Ports.

freſhments I knew nothing worth exporting from the Iſland. That as for Ports and Rivers fit to carry Barks, I had obſerv'd but 2 on the Eaſt-Side, from the Place where we were, to the Bay of *Anton Gil*. That the firſt he would meet with in his Way thither, was by the Natives call'd *Itolanhare*, and not being able to learn the Name of the other, we call'd it *La Riviere aux Prunes* and *Port aux Prunes*, that is, *The River* and *Port of Plumbs*, from the many Plumb-Trees

The next Day *Regimond* the Elder ſent *Sebaſtian Drouard*, with my Information, containing the Situation of the Place and the Names of thoſe in Authority there, to cauſe the Ebony to be cut down, and trade with the *Matatanes*. I was ſent with 6 Men to the *Tapates*, to exchange ſuch Commodities as he gave me, for Bullocks, Fowl, and other freſh Proviſions. I went to my own Houſe, where *Andianmachicore*, underſtanding what I deſign'd, gave me 10 of his Men to conduct me to the *Tapates*, among whom I ſtay'd 3 Weeks, during which time I ſent *Regimond* above 200 Bullocks, abundance of Sheep and Goats, convoy'd by the Men he ſent with me, and ſome Blacks. Returning my ſelf with 80 Bullocks, and taking my way thro' *Mannhale*, where I ſtay'd 2 Days in my Houſe, I was told that a Ship appear'd under Sail in the adjacent Road. I ſent my Cattel before to Port *St. Lucy*, and went my ſelf immediately to view that Veſſel, going into a Canoo with ſome Blacks, and paſſing out at the Mouth of the River of *Ranne-Fouche*, enter'd the *Port of Galeons*, whence advancing a League into the Sea, I went aboard the Veſſel, upon the Commander's Parole for my Security, who perceiving I was a *French man*, call'd me up to him. This Veſſel had the Arms of *Denmark* on her Stern, with 2 Lions for Supporters; the Colours all abroad; the red for War on the Poop, the white for Peace, at the Main Topmaſt Head, and thoſe of *Denmark* on the Boltſprit. Having inquir'd of me about the Country, where he was afraid to touch, tho' in much Want of freſh Proviſions, tho' he had anchor'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is 600 Leagues from the Place where he was; and being inform'd that the neighbouring *Port of Galeons*, by the Natives call'd *Itolangare*, was ſhelter'd from all Winds, excepting the Sea-Side, he anchor'd there and ſtay'd 2 Days, till he could find a better Harbour. His Men having ſearch'd the adjacent Parts in a Boat, came and told him that 2 Leagues to the Northward they had found a Port ſhelter'd from all Winds except the South Eaſt, which is the leaſt dangerous of all, and that it had 8 Fathom Water. Immediately they weigh'd Anchor and made thither, where they continu'd 6 Months, expecting the Seaſon to depart, which is in *January*, *February*, and *March*.

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A Daniſh Ship at Madagaſcar.

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ſented the Commander, who gave me a Letter in *Portugheſe* for *Regimond*, wherein he deſir'd to ſee him. When I came to *Regimond*, he was angry becauſe I had ſtay'd ſo long, and acquainted the *Danes* with the Ports and State of the Iſland. I told him, that as I did not belong to his Ship, he had nothing to ſay to me, and that as a Chriſtian I was oblig'd to relieve other Chriſtians. Three Days after, 3 *Daniſh* Factors and 4 other Men came in their Boat, and one of the Factors ſpeaking *French*, ſaid, they came to deſire him to exchange ſome Commodities proper for that Country for ſuch as they had in their Ship, or to ſell them for ready Money. *Regimond* anſwer'd he would go ſee their Commander, and ſupply him and his, with all he could, diſmiſſing them very well ſatisfy'd, with ſome Preſents. Five Days after *Regimond* mann'd his Boat, and put into it a Bottle of *Ros Solis*, which is a Water diſtill'd with Cinnamon and Sugar, very comfortable for the Stomach; ſome wet and dry Sweetmeats, Bottles of *Spaniſh* Wine, Gammons of Bacon, a Barrel of Salt, a hundred thouſand of all Sorts of String-Beads, 4 Tun of Rice, and a Barrel of Beer. I went in the Boat with 16 others, of which Number were *Regimond* himſelf and *James Proni*, Commander of the Colony of St. *Peter*. The ſame Day we departed from Port *St. Lucy* we came to that of *Itolangare*, they being but 4 Leagues diſtant from one another. The *Daniſh* Ship prepar'd to ingage, hanging out their Fights, even on the Round Tops; but when they knew us, all was turn'd into Joy, Embraces, and Feaſting.

French *and* Danes *preſent one another.*

The Commander treated us with Pigs, Ducks, and other Fowl, he had brought alive from the *Molucco* Iſlands, and after the Entertainment preſented *James Proni* with a Stag, and a Hind both alive, brought from the ſame Iſlands, and like ours, to breed in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, where there were none, keeping two Stags and two Hinds to ſhew in *Denmark*. *Regimond* preſented the ſaid Captain with all that was mention'd above, 6 Pieces of Ebony, each of them 6 Foot long and half a Foot ſquare, and 2 Barrels of *French* Bread. In return the *Dane* gave him a *Perſian* Jar, bound about with Cane Hoops to carry it by, containing about half a Tierce, and full of Sugar-Candy. Another full of white Citron Peel; another ſomething ſmaller, of preſerv'd Ginger; 2 others of little preſerv'd Oranges and Lemons; a Bag of Pepper containing 2 Meaſures; a Bag of one Meaſure of Cloves; a thouſand of Nutmegs; a Pot of preſerv'd Orange-Flowers; a Bag of Cinnamon; 2 Pieces of Damask, 25 Ells long each, the one of a Violet and the other of a Roſe Colour; 2 Pieces of *China* double Taffaty as long as the others, one of white Sattin and another of black Grogram; 6 Pair of colour'd Silk Stockings; 6 fine Calicoe Shirts; 4 Cotton Night-Caps ſtitch'd with white Silk; 2 Pair of *Perſian* Breeches, which reach down to the Ankles; 2 Bundles of *Indian* Canes of ſeveral Colours and Shapes, great and ſmall, being about 100, a whole Service of *China*-Ware,

Ware, and an Earthen Pitcher, made of Clay taken up near *Mahomet's* Tomb, with a Grate over the Mouth to pour Water through, which being expos'd to the Sun, cools inſtead of growing hot.

Having ſtay'd 2 Days in that Place and view'd it, we thought it convenient for us to ſettle our Habitation in. Timber was immediately cut down on the neighbouring Mountain, and a Houſe erected, the *Danes* helping us, who had hutted about the ſame Port. Returning to Port *St. Lucy*, we caus'd ſome of thoſe that were at St. *Peter's* Colony, to remove with their Effects to that of *Itolangare*. I ſtay'd not long in the former of theſe Places, *Regimond* having promis'd the *Daniſh* Commander to ſend me back to him preſently, to trade with his Factors, bartering Cattel for the Strings of Beads preſented him. I did ſo; and paſſing through the Village of *Ramac*, ſaw the two Hands of one of the Wives of *Diamboule*, who was Maſter of that Village, cut off by a Black that was Servant to the Husband, who had condemn'd her to that Puniſhment, having taken her in Adultery. They were cut off with the Spear of a Lance. She muſt have bled to Death, had not one of our Surgeons happen'd to be there, who ſear'd the Veins with a Hot Iron, and then apply'd an aſtringent Plaiſter.

French Colony at Itolangare.

Puniſhment Adultery.

Proceeding thence to *Fanzaire*, I ſaw an Act of Civil Juſtice perform'd by *Andianramac*. The Maſters of Villages being met before his Houſe, the Whites ſat on his Right Hand upon Mats, and the Blacks on the Left. The Trial was about a Spot of Ground, conteſted for by 2 Men, who were ſtanding, each of them having a Calf tied to the Stump of a Tree; both which, when the Caſe was decided, *Andianramac* had for Fees of the Court. If the Sute be more conſiderable they muſt be Bulls. He tries Criminal Cauſes after the ſame manner in the Aſſembly, and by the Advice of the ſaid Maſters of Villages, but receives no Fees. There are no Priſons, the Criminal, whether preſent or fled, cannot eſcape; for as ſoon as ever he is condemn'd to Death, every Man looks upon it as an Honour to cut off his Head before Witneſſes, not enduring that any Perſon condemn'd for his wicked Actions, ſhould live among them.

Trial of Civil Affairs.

Of Criminals.

In this Village I found one of the *Daniſh* Captain's Factors waiting for me, and went with him all over the Province of the *Malegaſſes*, where we bought 80 Bullocks, which he took away, with 6 Barrels of Rock Salt, carry'd by Blacks. Theſe things were had in exchange for Strings of Beads. At the ſame time *Sebaſtian Drouard* and *Giles Regimond* the Younger, with others to the Number of 12, went to the *Antauarres* and *Amboimenes*, to cut down the Ebony I had told them of. It was their Misfortune that *Bonuallot*, one of the *French-men* and a baſe Fellow, being inrag'd on account that a Black had ſtole ſome Matter of ſmall Value out of his Hut, cut off his Ears and nail'd them to the Trunk of a Tree. The Black thus abus'd came in the Night with a lighted Fire-brand to ſet Fire to the Hut, which was

made of and cover'd with the Leaves of *Indian* Canes. *Bonuallot* perceiving the Fire, diſcharg'd his Gun, which broke the Black's Thigh, notwithſtanding which Hurt the Black dragg'd himſelf to the neighbouring River and ſwam it. The next Day he was found on the farther Bank by the *French*, who tied a Pedrero Charger with two Pounds of Powder in it to the Wretches Feet, and giving Fire to it, he died immediately, and they threw the Body into the River.

French *ſlaughter'd for committing a Murther.*

Adiampalola, Lord of that Province, hearing of the Murther, arm'd his Men, and meeting the Murtherers ſome Days after in the Province of the *Antauarres*, ſlew them all except a young Man of *Calais*, about 18 Years of Age, who made his Eſcape, tho' wounded in 5 ſeveral Places with Darts, making to his Hut, where laying hold of his Firelock, he beat off thoſe that purſued him, who believ'd he would die of his Wounds. Thoſe *Barbarians*, after they had kill'd *Bonuallot*, ripp'd open his Belly, pull'd out his Heart, cut off his Privy Member and put it into his Mouth, and then threw his Body into the River; the others were kill'd with Spears and little Darts.

Regimond the Elder hearing this diſmal News, had Thoughts of taking Revenge on the *Barbarians*; but conſidering that if he undertook it, he might miſcarry, and that whatſoever happen'd, they would deſtroy all thoſe that were at the Colony among the *Matatanes*, he deſiſted. Thoſe Iſlanders did really deſign what he imagin'd, and had executed it; but that the young Man who eſcap'd, retir'd to *Sebaſtian Drouard*, left at the Ebony Ware-houſe upon the River, near the Dwelling we had among the *Matatanes*, having then a ſore Foot. *Drouard* preſently gave Notice to one of our Factors, who was at *Andianpalola*, his Name *Herault*, who came to him immediately, leaving behind all the Powder, Arms, and Goods we had in that Place. At that time our Bark, which had carried Ebony to Port *St. Lucy*, return'd very fortunately for the young Man, *Drouart* and *Herault*, who got into it and went away with thoſe that were in her before to Port *St. Lucy*.

Andianpalola *ſends Preſents to* Andianramac.

Andianpalola took it ill to be ſuſpected of that Crime, and ſent 6 of his Men to *Andianramac* to clear himſelf, whom they preſented with 2 Gold Bracelets, 4 Silver ones, a great Necklace of 5 Strings, intermix'd with ſmall Gold Pipes, round and hollow Grains of Gold, fine Coral, long Cornelians, and red Strings of Beads all threaded on Cotton. They added Sugar Canes, Rice in the Straw, Beans, Lupins, Peaſe and two Garments, the one for *Andianramac*, the other for his Wife, which Garments they call *Lambes*; two *Quilambes*, or Girdles; one *Sarrauai*, or Pair of Drawers, all of Cotton and Silk. Among theſe ſix Meſſengers was a Goldſmith of that Country, who follow'd his Trade ſome time in this Province of the *Madegaſſes*. He had Crucibles of brown Clay, whereof they make their Utenſils, into them he put the Country Gold, which is very fine, and melted it without any

any other Ingredient, blowing with his Mouth through a Cane, the Fire his Crucibles ſtood on. The ſame he did by the Silver. He carv'd or cut on ſoft Stones, as our Goldſmiths do on Cuttle Bones, whatſoever he fancy'd, then pour'd his melted Metal upon it, which receiv'd the Shape and Figure he had cut, to which he afterwards added other Parts to finiſh his Work, making uſe inſtead of Borace for Soldering, of ſome ſmall Peaſe of that Country, ſteep'd in Lemmon Juice, into which he dip'd the End of the Feather of a Hen's Wing, and with it rub'd the Pieces that were to be joyn'd together, and with a Pair of Pincers clap'd them into the Fire, cov'd quite over with Coals, which he blew through his Cane, and it ſolder'd immediatly. All the People of that Province admiring his Secret, brought him what Gold and Silver they had to be wrought. He weigh'd what every one truſted him with, and return'd the ſame Weight. They call the Scales *Lanzaye*, and the Weights *Milanzaye*.

Goldſmith of Madaſcar.

However all thoſe Preſents and this rare Workmanſhip did not divert *Andianramac*, who was troubl'd for thoſe that had been cruelly murder'd among the *Antauarres*, and particularly *Giles Regimond* the Younger, and a Painter who had promis'd to draw his Picture by the Life. He went himſelf to comfort the Father, and ſent for me to come to him. At the ſame time *Regimond* writ to me to pack up my Baggage, for he intended to Sail in a few Days, and to take me along with him. It was to me a very diſagreeable Parting, being to leave my Houſe, my Garden and part of my moveables, and what griev'd me moſt was to leave *Andianmachicore*, who lov'd me entirely; but my Comfort was, that I left what I could not carry away. He kept me Company as far as *Fanzaire*, where I took leave of him to go attend *Andianramac*, who was with *Regimond* at our Reſidence of St. *Peter*'s. After much Grief and Lamentation, we prepar'd to part. We loaded by way of Ballaſt 200 Tun of Ebony, from 6 to 7 Foot long, which was convey'd in the Country Canoes, call'd *Loaques*, to the Ships Side, as well that of the Province where we were, as that of the *Matatanes*, *Antauarres* and *Amboimenes*. Then we Shipp'd our Proviſions and Merchandize, after fitting the Bark we had brought in Pieces aboard our Ship. She was of 20 Tun Burden, and put to Sea with her Crew, conſiſting of 25 Men, and having left 60 Men under the Command of *James Proni* and *James de Fouquembourg* of *Rochel*, in our Colony of St. *Peter* at Port St. *Lucy*, we weigh'd Anchor on the 15th of *Auguſt* of the foreſaid Year 1642, making for the Red Sea, with a Deſign to take ſome good Prize.

The Author departs Madagaſcar.

We took our Courſe Southward, and being paſs'd the Point of *Madagaſcar* that way, ſtood to the Northward, betwixt that Iſland and the Continent of the lower *Ethiopia*, where are the Kingdoms of *Cephala* and *Mozambique*. After three Days we diſcover'd the Iſland of *Comora*, lying between 12 and 13 Degrees of South Latitude.

tude. We Landed in the Port of the chief of them, which has given its Name to the reſt, and were receiv'd by the Governour, who wore a Turbant on his Head, and had a pair of Breeches that hung down to his Heels, and a little Shirt girt about him with a large Scarfe, in which ſtuck a Poinard broad at the top and ſharp pointed at the bottom, with a full bowing Handle all ſet with Diamonds, and other precious Stones. Here we exchang'd Linnen for Proviſions. Among the Iſlanders there was a number of *Arabs* and *Perſians* who ſettled there, and others that came only to Trade, this Iſland and the others about it abounding in Fruit, Coco Nuts, Cotton and Cattel. We would have gone into a *Moſque* that ſtood open, being all of ſquare Stones, the Walls and Pavement within cover'd with *Turkey* Carpets, but were refus'd Entrance. At the End of it was an Altar cover'd with a Carpet, without any Picture or Statue.

Comora *Iſlands.*

From this Place to Cape *Guardafuy* by the Ancients call'd *Promontorium Aromatum*, which on the left ſide Guards the Mouth of the Red Sea, or Gulph of *Mecca*, we ſaw no Land. The Red Sea is alſo call'd the Gulph of *Arabia*, becauſe *Arabia Felix* lyes on the right Hand entring into it; and in the midſt of it near the Shore is the City of *Mecca*, by *Ptolomy* call'd *Mouchtura*, and famous for the Pilgrimages of the *Turks* thither, becauſe *Mahomet* was born there, and which alſo, as has been ſaid gives its Name to this Gulph, formerly call'd *Mare Erythreum*, from an ancient King of *Arabia* call'd *Erythrus*, as ſome imagine, and becauſe *Erythrus* in *Greek* ſignifies Red, it has ſince been call'd the Red Sea; and not, as ſome have pretended, from its Red Sands, or from Red Marble among the Rocks, which are both falſe. The Truth after all is that this was call'd originally the Sea of *Edom*, from *Eſau*, *Abraham*'s Son, and *Edom* ſignifying Red, the *Greeks* in their Tongue call'd it *Erythreon*, the *Latines Rubrum*, and we the Red Sea. The Deſcription of *Mecca* may be ſeen in *Belle Foreſt*, ſpeaking of *Arabia Felix*: its Port is call'd *Zedem*. See *Strabo lib.* 16. *Ptolomy lib.* 9. *c.* 11.

The Red Sea.

Being come to this Place, we ſent out our Bark, which brought us Water, Lemmons, Oranges, Rice, Fowl and Gums, and then ſtood over to the right Side of the Gulph, towards *Arabia Felix*, to diſcover ſome Ships, whilſt our own coaſted along the left Side, leaving the Iſland *Zococora* behind us. The ancient Name of *Zocotora* was *Dioſcuris*, or *Dioſcoria* producing abundance of excellent Aloes. Our Bark met a ſmall Veſſel coming from the *Malabar* Coaſt loaded with Cotton, Cloth, and Wool, with only 12 Men aboard, who ſurrender'd without any Reſiſtance We were ſatisfy'd with the Goods, diſmiſſing the Men and the Veſſel, which was made of Planks ſew'd together with a ſort of Withes, that held the Joints together, they being fill'd up, or caulk'd with Flags and Ruſhes, to keep out the Water. It had only one ſquare Sail, made of Ruſhes wove together, without one Nail or Pin, throughout all of her.

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The Figure of the *Malabar* Veſſels may be ſeen in *Moriſot's Orbis Maritimus, lib. 2. c. ult.* The *Malabar* Coaſt above mention'd is in the lower *India*, on this Side *Ganges*, beginning at Cape *Camorin*, by the Antients call'd *Cory*, and reaching to the River and Town of *Cangeracon*. The Cape runs out into the Sea to the 8th Degree of North Latitude, between the Provinces of *Decan* and *Narſinga*. It contains the Kingdoms of *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cochin*, *Caicolam*, *Coulam* and *Travancor*. See *Magin's* Deſcription of the *Eaſt Indies*.

A Veſſel without Nail or Pin taken.

Proceeding onward in 23 Degrees of North Latitude, near the Tropick of *Cancer*, and before *Mecca*, we met 5 *Dutch* Ships. After the uſual Salutes they made out to Sea, and we ran up in ſight of *Suez*, which is at the bottom of the Gulph. Paſſing betwixt *Zibid*, an open Town on the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Abiſſinia*, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and the Iſland of *Sabega*, which is on the other Side of the Gulph, above *Mecca* in *Arabia*, we diſcover'd an *Engliſh* Frigate Convoying the Merchants that traded from one Side to the other. They of the Frigate would have pick'd a Quarrel with us, threatning to deliver us up to the Country People, as Rovers, but ſeeing us prepare to fight, they let us paſs. At length, after ranging all the Gulph, we ſteer'd about towards the Mouth of it, and being in 15 Degrees of North Latitude, near the Iſland *Zeiban*, which is between *Zibit* in *Arabia* and *Mazua*, on the Coaſt of *Abiſſinia*, our Bark met a *Malabar* Veſſel, built after the ſame manner as the other above ſpoken of, but much larger, having 30 Men aboard, beſides the Paſſengers going over from *Abrabia* to *Arquico*. It carry'd 12 Pedreroes, and was loaded with Scarlet Cloth, Gold and Silver, beſides a quantity of Money, moſt of which belong'd to an *Abyſſin* Lord, who had been marrying a Wife in *Arabia Felix*. She was aboard the Veſſel, Beautiful and Young, wearing a Tunick of white and red ſtrip'd Satin, with a ſort of Mans Coat of the ſame Silk reaching down to her Hams, a little red and white Turbant on her Head, and under it a white Coif of very fine Muſlin. The Husband's Garment was of Crimſon Velvet with Gold Loops; and his Servants being 12 in Number, had all Cloaths equally ſtrip'd black and white from top to bottom, as alſo Turbants and Scimiters. The Sails of the Veſſel were made of Ruſhes, as are thoſe of the *Malabars* and *Japoneſes*, but longer than thoſe before mention'd, the Commanders Name was *Lalo*. As ſoon as our Bark diſcover'd them ſhe hoiſted the red Flag at the Topmaſt Head, and fir'd a Gun, to give notice to our Ship that we ſpy'd a Sail; and then chas'd the Veſſel till we came up, which as ſoon as we did, ſhe preſently ſent to order the ſtranger Veſſel to ſtrike her Sails and diſarm; and they refuſing ſo to do, the Bark fir'd 4 Guns, That daunted them, but much more when our Ship laid her aboard, they demanded to Capitulate, and ſurrender'd upon Condition, that no Wrong ſhould be done, either to the new marry'd Lord, his Retinue, or the Veſſel.

Another

ſel. This being granted, we made *Lalo* come aboard our Ship, and brought with him all the Money we found aboard his Veſſel, with ſome Pieces of Scarlet Cloth, and 8 Cows, leaving them 4 with their Proviſions and Water, which was in great Jars, as alſo a conſiderable part of their Goods. The ready Money amounting to above 200000 Crowns, ſatisfy'd our Captains Avarice, which made him undertake that Voyage.

Another rich Price

Having taken leave of one another, we held on our Courſe to return to *France*, but Fortune which favour'd us beyond our Wiſhes, brought into our Mouths a Merchant Ship, bound from Cape *Guardafu* for *Xael*, without any Defence, which having poſſeſs'd our ſelves of without any Oppoſition, we took out moſt of the Goods being Silks and Callicoes of all Colours, with raw Silk and Cotton, leaving the Ship and Merchants to go where they pleas'd.

Condition of St. Peter's Colony.

We ſteer'd our Courſe thence to *Madagaſcar*, and without meeting any thing worth obſerving, Anchor'd at Port St. *Lucy*, at the beginning of *November* 1643, and Landed at our Colony of St. *Peter*, which we found weakned by the Loſs of 14 Men, and all the reſt ſick of Fevers, through the Temper of the Air, and the Vapors riſing from the Marſhes all about it; for no Man Lands to go to it without wetting his Feet, it being ſeated on a low Ground, over which the Sea Water ſpreads. We were ſurpriz'd at our coming thither, to find a Woman of the Iſland at *Proni*'s Houſe, Dreſs'd after the *French* Faſhion, whom he according to the Opinion of the Natives kept as his Wife, but according to the *French* Notion, as his Concubine. *Andianramac* had perſwaded him to that Match, thinking by this Alliance to be the ſafer from him and his Men. That Woman whoſe Name was *Andianramariuelle*, was Daughter to the Deceas'd *Andianmarual*, a great Lord in thoſe Parts, Neice to *Andianramac*, Siſter in Law to *Andianmachicore*, and Siſter to *Andianbel*, all of them Powerful and our Good Friends.

Table Bay.

In fine, we departed the Iſland of *Madagaſcar* for *France*, in the Month of *March* 1644, leaving 36 of our Men to ſettle there. Having paſs'd Cape *Agulhas* or *Needles*, where abundance of great Reeds are ſeen floating on the Water, and many Sea Dogs ſwimming, we put in near the Cape of *Good Hope* to a ſmall Iſland encompaſs'd by a River of freſh Water, call'd *Table Bay*, and by the *Dutch Baij Van*. The *French* call the Iſland, *a la Biche*. All Ships that touch there, of what Nation ſoever, ſtick a Staff into the Ground, tying a Bottel to the top of it, and in it a Paper giving an Account of the Day they came thither, from whence, and ſome particulars of their Voyage; ſo that here we found News of *Digart*'s Veſſel and of the *Dane*. We went about 4 Leagues up that River with our Ship and Bark, and taking the Opportunity of the Flood, brought them both aground, where we broke up the Bark to ſerve for Fuel, that Bay being enclos'd on all Sides with naked barren Rocks. Then having cleans'd our Ship, we

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ſet her afloat again at Anchor, the third Tide, and in 15 Days furniſh'd our ſelves with Water, Sea Wolves, as big as Calves 4 Months old, Sea Dogs, other Fiſh and Foul. The Cape of *Good Hope* above mention'd, was by *Vaſco de Gama*, who firſt Sail'd beyond it, call'd *Tormentoſo*, or Stormy, becauſe of the frequent Tempeſts Ships meet with there, and having acquainted King *John* the ſecond with it, at his return into *Portugal*, he finding that way the *Indies* were laid open for his Ships, gave it the Name of *Cabo de buena Eſperanza*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, in the Year 1497. The Figure of the *Cape of Good Hope*, of that of *Agulhas*, or *Needles*, and of the Table Bay may be ſeen in the *Dutch Eaſt Indian* Voyages of the Year 1595. *Cape of* Good Hope.

The *Cafres* inhabiting thoſe Parts, came down to the Shore to ſee us Fiſh, arm'd with Spears and Darts; ſome of them quite naked, others wearing a Sheeps Skin on one Shoulder like a Cloak. To prevent their doing us any harm and make them familiar, we threw them ſome Sea Wolves, we had kill'd with Staves, ſtriking them on the Noſe, there being no other way to kill them. Thoſe Barbarians immediatly broil'd what we gave them and eat it all, without any cleanſing. They have hideous Countenance, ſcarce any uſe of Reaſon, and leſs Religion, living in little Houſes cover'd with Straw, and mud Walls. Being at length ſomewhat familiar with us, for ſome Strings of Beads, and Coral they gave us a Quantity of Fiſh, two Bullocks, two hairy Sheep, with large Tails, yellow, black, and white Land Tortoiſe Shells, the upper ſide figur'd with Lozanges and little Squares. The rareſt of them were no bigger than a Gooſe Egg, the others like a Man's Fiſt. We alſo got two Oſtrich Eggs and Feathers, with Eleaphants and Sea Horſes Teeth, in Exchange for Copper and Braſs Plates. Cafres.

Five and twenty Days after our Departure from this Place, we anchor'd in the Road of the Iſland of St. *Helen*, ſo call'd becauſe firſt diſcover'd on the 21th of *May*, which is that Saints Day. It lyes in 16 Degrees of South Latitude, the Air is very wholſome they'd the Soil no leſs fruitful, for Oranges, Lemmons, Goats, Swine, Geese, Turkeys, Salt and Fiſh. It is water'd by ſeveral Rivers, which fall into the Sea, in the middle of which it lyes to refreſh, and relieve all Sailors. Here we found 3 *Dutch* Ships, and the *Engliſh* Frigate above mention'd. We Landed, and made merry with thoſe that came in the other Ships, for beſides what I have already ſaid it abounds in, we there kill'd a Number of wild Boars, Patridges and Queeſts, gathering great Store of Purſlane to pickle with Salt and Vinegar, for the reſt of our Voyage, and then being in good Condition, we ſome Days after ſet Sail, for the Iſland of the *Aſcenſion*, where we ſtay'd but 6 Hours, to take Sea Tortoiſes, whereof there are great Numbers. Having brought 60 of them aboard, we turn'd thoſe upon their Bellies which we had before laid on their Backs, to chuſe them, for if we did not they would dye, not being able to turn themſelves. Sailing thence we *St.* Helena *Iſland.*

ſel. This being granted, we made *Lalo* come aboard our Ship, and brought with him all the Money we found aboard his Veſſel, with ſome Pieces of Scarlet Cloth, and 8 Cows, leaving them 4 with their Proviſions and Water, which was in great Jars, as alſo a conſiderable part of their Goods. The ready Money amounting to above 200000 Crowns, ſatisfy'd our Captains Avarice, which made him undertake that Voyage.

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ſet her afloat again at Anchor, the third Tide, and in 15 Days furniſh'd our ſelves with Water, Sea Wolves, as big as Calves 4 Months old, Sea Dogs, other Fiſh and Foul. The Cape of *Good Hope* above mention'd, was by *Vaſco de Gama*, who firſt Sail'd beyond it, call'd *Tormentoſo*, or Stormy, becauſe of the frequent Tempeſts Ships meet with there, and having acquainted King *John* the ſecond with it, at his return into *Portugal*, he finding that way the *Indies* were laid open for his Ships, gave it the Name of *Cabo de buena Eſperanza*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, in the Year 1497. The Figure of the *Cape of Good Hope*, of that of *Agulhas*, or *Needles*, and of the Table Bay may be ſeen in the *Dutch Eaſt Indian* Voyages of the Year 1595. *Cape of* Good Hope.

The *Cafres* inhabiting thoſe Parts, came down to the Shore to ſee us Fiſh, arm'd with Spears and Darts; ſome of them quite naked, others wearing a Sheeps Skin on one Shoulder like a Cloak. To prevent their doing us any harm and make them familiar, we threw them ſome Sea Wolves, we had kill'd with Staves, ſtriking them on the Noſe, there being no other way to kill them. Thoſe Barbarians immediatly broil'd what we gave them and eat it all, without any cleanſing. They have hideous Countenance, ſcarce any uſe of Reaſon, and leſs Religion, living in little Houſes cover'd with Straw, and mud Walls. Being at length ſomewhat familiar with us, for ſome Strings of Beads, and Coral they gave us a Quantity of Fiſh, two Bullocks, two hairy Sheep, with large Tails, yellow, black, and white Land Tortoiſe Shells, the upper ſide figur'd with Lozanges and little Squares. The rareſt of them were no bigger than a Gooſe Egg, the others like a Man's Fiſt. We alſo got two Oſtrich Eggs and Feathers, with Elephants and Sea Horſes Teeth, in Exchange for Copper and Braſs Plates. Cafres.

Five and twenty Days after our Departure from this Place, we anchor'd in the Road of the Iſland of St. *Helen*, ſo call'd becauſe firſt diſcover'd on the 21th of *May*, which is that Saints Day. It lyes in 16 Degrees of South Latitude, the Air is very wholſome they'd the Soil no leſs fruitful, for Oranges, Lemmons, Goats, Swine, Geese, Turkeys, Salt and Fiſh. It is water'd by ſeveral Rivers, which fall into the Sea, in the middle of which it lyes to refreſh, and relieve all Sailors. Here we found 3 *Dutch* Ships, and the *Engliſh* Frigate above mention'd. We Landed, and made merry with thoſe that came in the other Ships, for beſides what I have already ſaid it abounds in, we there kill'd a Number of wild Boars, Patridges and Queeſts, gathering great Store of Purſlane to pickle with Salt and Vinegar, for the reſt of our Voyage, and then being in good Condition, we ſome Days after ſet Sail, for the Iſland of the *Aſcenſion*, where we ſtay'd but 6 Hours, to take Sea Tortoiſes, whereof there are great Numbers. Having brought 60 of them aboard, we turn'd thoſe upon their Bellies which we had before laid on their Backs, to chuſe them, for if we did not they would dye, not being able to turn themſelves. Sailing thence we *St.* Helena *Iſland.*

at length paſs'd by *Hueſſant*, the Weſtermoſt Cape of the lower *Britany*, and Anchor'd at *Comerer*, a Cape and open Town oppoſite to that of St. *Matthew*, at the Mouth of the Bay of *Breſt*. There we ſpent 15 Days in cleanſing our Ship, which was Convoy'd by 5 Men of War, appointed to Guard the Coaſt, as far as *Havre de Grace*, where we lay at Anchor 24 Hours, and went thence in Company with 4 *Dutch* Ships to *Dieppe*, where we arriv'd, through the Goodneſs of God, on the 21th of *July* 1644.

Return to France.

Of the Religion, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the People of Madagaſcar. *As alſo of the Birds, Beaſts, Fiſhes, and Plants there and in the neighbouring Iſlands. And firſt of the Religion and Manners.*

HAving given an Account of my Voyage, it will be proper to declare what Advantage I reap'd by it, in the Knowledge of thoſe People, and ſuch living Creatures and Vegetables as are ſcarce, or not to be found in other Parts.

Religion. I have already obſerv'd that during my long Abode in that great Iſland, I could not diſcover any Religion thoſe People had, there being no Temple, and having never ſeen them pray or call upon any God; or worſhip any Statue; and when I ask'd them whether they did not own a Creator of all things, who rewarded the Good and puniſh'd the Wicked, in this World and in the next, they anſwer'd, they very well knew there was a Devil, by them call'd *Tayuaddey*, who cauſe Diſeaſes and Barrenneſs, and a God that kill'd them; ſo that the latter was more to be fear'd than the former. That all Men were made by themſelves, and went indifferently to Heaven after their Death. T was ſufficient that the Wicked were puniſh'd in this World, both by the Devil, who tormented, and by other Men who chaſtis'd them without any Exception of Perſons, as I had often ſeen. However it is likely that the Law of *Mahomet*, which is obſerv'd by their Neighbour Nations on the Continent, oppoſite to their Iſland, has in ſome meaſure reach'd them, for as much as they practiſe Circumciſion tho' with different Ceremonies from the *Turks*, and do not work on *Friday*, which is ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, that *Andianmandombe*, Elder Brother to *Andianramac*, ſhut himſelf up in his Chamber every *Friday*, and would not ſpeak to any Man, but I could never learn what he did there, tho' I was very familiar with him; no more than I could the Ceremonies and Manner of their Marriages, which none of them would reveal to me. Tho' they ſeem to have ſomewhat of *Mahometans*, yet ſome are confin'd to one Wife, and others have ſeveral Concubines, which their falſe Prophet allow'd them for multiplying of their

their Sect, which being addicted to War, by that means is ſupply'd with mighty Armies, all Men being Soldiers, without any Knowledge of the Lawyers Profeſſion, which weakens all Chriſtian Countries, ſo many applying themſelves to it, and living upon the Subſtance of others, without any Thoughts of Arming againſt the Enemies of our Faith.

Divorces.

It has been ſaid before that when the Husband puts away his Wife, he quits all Claim to what he gave her Father for her, and if the Wife leaves her Husband, ſhe is to reſtore all he beſtow'd on her, which is taken from the Law of *Mahomet*, by whom this ſort of Marriage is call'd *Chebin*. It has been alſo obſerv'd, that there is only one Stone ſet upon an End, where they are Bury'd, with ſome Figure according to Fancy; as alſo that moſt of theſe Iſlanders eat no Swines Fleſh, that they Sacrifice Bullocks and Pullets; that they place Bullocks Horns on their Tombs, as the *Jews* did at the Corners of their Altars, that their *Marabou* is to them as it were a Prieſt to Sacrifice their Victims, and for want of him it is done by the Whites, as Men come of an innocent Race, ſuch as *Shem's* was, and not as the Blacks, who deſcend from *Ham*; that they cut the ſlaughter'd Bullocks into ſmall Pieces, and diſtribute them to all Perſons, reſerving only the Rump, with part of the Chine for the King, as alſo a Piece of the ſame Chine, a Piece of the Heart, and another of the Liver for the Slaughterer. It is to be obſerv'd, that if there be a Chriſtian among them, they deſire him to do this Office, out of what Conſideration I know not, but they have often oblig'd me to perform that Function; I believe it was becauſe I took no Share, or elſe becauſe the Whites are Maſters of the Iſland, and even thoſe Whites, who ſay they came from the *Eaſt Indies* reſpect the *Europeans*, as being whiter than themſelves. For this reaſon they call a Chriſtian *Vaza*, that is, very white, having ſo much regard to that Word, that they call a little Spring, which I had convey'd through Horns into my Houſe at *Mannhale*, *Ranne Vaza*, that is, the Chriſtians or the white Mans Fountain. The ſame they did by a little Wind mill I made in the ſame Houſe, to turn my Spit at the Fire. There was not one of them at firſt, but brought me Meat to have the Satisfaction of ſeeing it roaſted, ſo much they admir'd my little Workmanſhip.

Buryals

Sacrifices.

I am farther perſwaded that they have much of *Mahometans*, becauſe the Iſlands of *Comora*, lying between them and the Continent of the lower *Ethiopia*, are for the moſt part inhabited by *Arabs* and *Perſians*, who profeſs the *Mahometan* Religion, and even in that Point of the Iſland, which is next them, there are ſome and the former that can write, do it in *Arabick*. Beſides they eat no Creature but what has been blooded, abhorring all that's ſtrangled; and Entertain no Body in Diſcourſe, or to eat with them, without ſitting croſs leg'd on a Carpet, or Mat, after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion; neither do they perform any Ceremony without waſhing firſt.

More Tokens of Mahometaniſm.

Years, Months. Weeks,&c. They are acquainted with the Course of the Sun and Moon, the first whereof they call *Manssuandre*, and the latter *Voule*. They divide their Year into 4 Seasons, and 12 Lunar Months, with some intercalary Days. The Moon contains 4 Weeks, and every Week 7 Days. They begin it with the Day dedicated to the Moon, that is *Monday*, which they call *Litenin*; and so *Tuesday*, *Tallat*; *Wensday*, *Allaroubie*; *Thursday*, *Camis*; *Friday*, on which they do not work, *Zona*; *Saturday*, *Sabousse*, and *Sunday*, *Allahade*. The Day is nam'd *Andre*, and the Night *Alle*; last Night *Lesalle*; this Night, *Anhalle*; and to morrow Morning, *Amaray Ampisse*.

Punishments. They know the proper Seasons for Planting and Sowing, and in regard that Life and Sustenance chiefly depend on those two things, they punish those that Steal Plants and Grain, as they do those who take Cattel, cutting off both their Hands. And because the Wife robs her Husband of his Right in giving her self up to others, she undergoes the same Penalty. Murder is immediatly punish'd with Death.

Succession. The Sons, as is practiz'd in many Eastern Countries, do not succeed their Fathers in their Principalities or Governments, but the Sons in Law. Neither *Andianramac*'s Son nor Brother will succeed him in the Principality of the *Malegasses*, but his Son in Law.

Beasts of Madagascar.

Bullocks. The Island abounds in large Bullocks, which have a great Lump, or Excrescence, of all Fat, very delicious to eat, between their Neck and Shoulders.

Sheep. It has great Numbers of stately large Sheep, with Tails two or three twenty Inches about, and of the same length; their Horns turning inward, and they cover'd with Hair, instead of Wool, the said Hair being of several Colours, and their Ears hanging. The Ewes have 4 Lambs at a time, tho' they have but two Dugs.

Goats. The Goats both Male and Female, are taller than ours, their Hair smooth, white, black, and red. They call a Sheep *Angondu*, and a Goat *Osse*.

Swine. The natural Swine of the Island (for there are others carry'd from *Europe*) have 5 Claws on each Foot, being no bigger than a Cat, the Tail turning in a Ring, and hide themselves in the Rocks, like the Badger, defending themselves against the Dogs after the same manner, that is with their Teeth and Claws. They are good Meat, very white, and cover'd with short soft Hair.

Cats and Rats. There are Cats with Tails of several Colours, wild and tame; and great Rats good to Eat, grey above and white underneath. There are also Cats that feed only on Tamarinds, being long Body'd, sharp Snouted, short Footed, and their Tails long and spotted.

Salamander. The *Salamander* is half an Ell long, with a sharp Snout, large Eyes, a long smooth Back, as is the Tail, has four great sharp spreading Claws on each Foot, the Back work'd with Crosses, between two Streaks, which

which run from the Neck to the Tail, and that is forked at the End.

Cameleon. The Camelion is of an Aſh Colour, ſhap'd like a Lizard, the Body flat, the Back ſharp, briſtling in the Nature of a Saw, from the Head to the Tail. It has 4 Feet, with 3 Toes on each; the Tail long, by which it hangs to the Boughs of Trees, as it does by the Feet. It moves ſlowly, always ſhaking, and is 8 Inches long from the Head to the Tail. The Head flat, the Eyes ſmall, black and ſprightly, the Snout long, and defends its ſelf with the Teeth, without doing any Harm. If put under a black Hat, it appears of a violet Colour. It is ſaid to live upon the Air, yet I can affirm I have ſeen one catch a Fly, with a very fine Fiber, or Thread it darts out of its Month, 3 Fingers long, and ſwallow it. There are alſo yellow Cameleons, and others green, which are ſmaller than the Aſh Colour'd. All Cameleons have their Skins plaited from the Neck to the laſt Joint of the Tail, and a ſort of Creſt on the Head.

Amphibious Creatures. I have ſeen a ſort of Creatures in St. *Mary's* Iſland, and the Bay of *Anton Gil*, which live upon Land and in the Lakes made by the Sea, being as big as Rabits, with a Hogs Snout, always grunting, and all the Body cover'd with Prickles like the Hedg-hog; the Feet ſhort, and the Tail long. The Figure of this Creature, and that of the wild Cat may be ſeen in the *Dutch Eaſt India* Voyage of the Year 1595, *Chap.* 34.

Monkeys. The Province of the *Madegaſſes* is peſter'd with a vaſt number of Monkeys of ſeveral ſorts. There are ſome brown of the Colour of Bevers, their Hair Downy, the Tail long and broad, which they turn up on their Backs to defend them from the Rain and Heat of the Sun, ſleeping thus cover'd on the Boughs of Trees like the Squirrels. In other Points they have a Snout like the *Martin*, and round Ears. This is the moſt innocent and harmleſs ſort of them all. Among the *Antavarres* there are ſome of the ſame ſort of Hair as theſe, with a ſort of white Ruff about their Necks. There are ſome as white as Snow, of the ſame bigneſs with thoſe above, long ſnouted, and grunting like Swine. They are no where but among the *Malegaſſes*, on the red Mountains, by the Natives call'd *Amboimenes*. The Natives believe the Monkeys can ſpeak, but will not for fear of being made to work as Men do.

Alligators. The Crocodils or Alligators, tho' amphibious Creatures, ſhall here paſs for four footed Beaſts. They breed among the Ruſhes on the Banks of the Rivers. There are ſome 25 Foot long, cover'd with Scales and therefore hard to be kill'd, unleſs it be underneath the Belly, where the Skin is very ſoft, and eaſily pierc'd. The Mouth is large, thin ſet with ſharp Teeth, the upper Row reaching out beyond the lower Jaw, which is fix'd, the other moving, which Nature has providently contriv'd, the Creature being very low on its Feet, ſo that it almoſt drags on the Ground, and therefore if the under Jaw mov'd and the upper were fix'd, like other Creatures, it could catch nothing and muſt Starve.

This

Lizards. This Contry abounds in ſmall ſpeckled *Lizards* like ours, which they call *Annobis.*

Tortoiſes. Tortoiſes being alſo of an amphibious Nature ſhall have a Place here. They float on the Water, or lye on the Sand to bask in the Sun. Their Shells are ſo large, that one of them might ſerve to cover a ſmall Room that could hold ten Men, and ſo hard, that to take out the Fleſh within, they muſt be cut open with a Hatchet on the Side, where the joining is. They lay between 4 and 500 Eggs, as big as a Hens. The Fleſh is fat, and delicious as Veal. There are ſome ſmaller in the Iſlands about *Madagaſcar*, but yet they are 3 or 4 Foot Diameter. Their Shell is in ſome Places darker than others, drawing to red. It is extraordinary fine when poliſh'd; they make of them Trunks and Caskets, adorn'd with Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of great Value, not only in *Europe*, but in the *Eaſt Indies*. It is reported, but I did not ſee it, that the People of the *Maldivy* Iſlands, when they take theſe Tortoiſes, place them near the Fire till they quit their Shells, and then put them into the Sea again, where in ſome Months they get new Shells. *Pyrard* in his Treatiſe of Animals in the *Eaſt Indies*, Chap. 2. The Natives of *Madagaſcar* call the Land Tortoiſe *Fanne tanne*, and that of the Sea *Fanne Riac.*

Birds of Madagaſcar.

Flamencos *Birds.* Here is a ſort of Birds they call *Vuourres fouches*, that is, white Birds. They have a broad Beak, bowing without upwards, with which they dig in the Sand, and Ouſe as it were with a Shovel, fetching up the Prawns and little Fiſhes, on which they feed. They have a long Neck and Legs, as are their Wings, the Feet like our Geeſe, their Feathers red on the Back, and white on the Breaſt and Belly, we call them *Flamans*, from the *Portugues*, *Framengos*, that is *Flemmings.*

Ducks. Their Ducks ars as big as our Geeſe, having an Excreſcence of black Fleſh between the Beak and the Head, flat and round, like a *Spaniſh* mill'd Royal, baiting that it bends a little on the Beak, ſomewhat like their Hatchets, and therefore the Natives call that Excreſcence *Feique*, ſignifying a Hatchet, and the Birds *Vuourres Feiques.* They are Feather'd like our Ducks.

Birds of Nazareth *ſeem to be Oſtriches.* In Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland I have ſeen Birds bigger than Swans, without any Feathers on their Bodies, which are cover'd with a black Down, their Breech quite round, the Rump adorn'd with curl'd Feathers, as many in Number as the Bird is Years old. Inſtead of Wings they have Feathers like thoſe laſt mention'd, black and bowing. They have no Tongues, the Beak thick, bowing a little downwards, long ſcaly Legs, with only three Claws on each Foot. They make a Noiſe like a Gooſe, and are not ſo well reliſh'd as the *Fouches* and *Feiques* above mention'd. They lay but one Egg, as big as a Penny Loaf, by which they place a white Stone, as big as a Hens Egg, and that on Graſs they bring together for the Purpoſe, and build their Neſts in

in the Woods. If the young One be kill'd, there is a grey Stone found in its Guizard. We call them Birds of *Nazareth*, perhaps for having been found in the Iſland of *Nazareth*, which is above that of Prince *Maurice*, in 17 Degrees of South Latitude. The Greaſe of theſe Birds is of excellent Uſe to ſupple the Nerves and Muſcles.

Pheaſants. The Pheaſants of theſe Iſlands are larger, and more beautiful than ours, having very high Copple Crowns on their Heads, like Peacocks, their Wings red underneath and brown at top, their Necks of the colour of a Pigeon.

Partridges. Their Patridges are alſo bigger than ours, their Bills red, ſome of them tawny, ſome black, and the Natives call them *Vuourres Maherres*, ſtrong Birds, becauſe they fight and kill one another, as ours do at their Coupling time.

Doves and Red Hens. In Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland and *Madagaſcar*, there are white, black, and red Turtle Doves, Wood Pigeons and Stock Doves; as alſo red Hens, with Woodcocks Beaks, to take the which they need only ſhow them a Piece of red Cloth, and they will follow and ſuffer themſelves to be taken by Hand. They are as big as our Hens, and excellent Meat.

Hens. Beſides the common Hens, like ours, there are *Pintados*, by the Natives call'd *Acangues*, their Heads like a Sparrow Hawk hooded, their Beak ſtrait, ſhort, and ſtrong, their Feathers ſpeckled Grey, Black, and White, very ſmooth, wherein they differ from the *African* Hens, whoſe Beak is bowing, and their Breech is Downy. I brought 14 of them with me, when I return'd home, but ſav'd only one alive, which I gave to a Friend of mine at *Dieppe*. The Figure of the *African* Hen is in *Marcgravius* p. 192.

Herons. The Herons in this Country have great thick Beaks, bowing gently downwards, like the *Poliſh* Cutlaſſes. Their Feathers are of a Violet Colour, their Wings reach as long as their Tails, their Thighs down to the Joint of the Leg are cover'd with ſmall Feathers, the Legs long and ſlender, of a light Grey, as is the Beak. Their Chickens are at firſt black, when grown bigger of an Aſh Colour, then white, next red, and laſtly of a Violet, or Dove Colour. They feed on Fiſh. There are ſuch Herons in *Braſil*, and call'd *Guara*, the Figure of them is in *Marcgravius*'s Hiſtory of *Braſil. l.* 5. *c.* 8.

Birds of Prey. Here are ſeveral ſorts of Birds of Prey, nothing different from ours in *Europe*; I have found Frogs and Lizards in their Neſts, the latter are by the Natives call'd *Annobis*.

Rabos forcados *Birds* In Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland I have ſeen a ſort of Birds of an excellent Taſte, with Beaks like Woodcocks, a very large forked Tail, whence the *French* call it *Ciſeaux the Couſturier*, that is, *Taylors Sheers*, and the *Portugueſes Rabos Forcados*, or forked Tails. They are ſo tame, that they may be taken by Hand, and kill'd with a Stick; their Breaſt is white, the reſt black. They feed on flying Fiſhes, and Birds. The Figure of them, is in the *Dutch* Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, l. 2. p. 4. In

Thrushes. In *Madagascar* I have seen Thrushes of a dark Grey, with yellow Beaks; and others black, having a Tuft between the Beak and the Head.

Parrots. In the Province of the *Malegasses* there are black Parrots, as big as our Crows, call'd *Vuoures meinte*, that is, Black Birds. The Green ones, which we name Paroquets, are by them call'd *Massassey*, signifying small, and are smaller than a Thrush. There are others yet smaller, in Prince *Maurice*'s Island, with yellow Necks, and the rest green, no bigger than a Lark. The beautifullest and most numerous in *Madagascar* have grey and violet Colour Feathers, and eaten, taste like a Wood Pigeon. The Parrots build their Nests on the *Palmito* Trees, at the End of the Branches, they are made of bruiz'd Reeds, with only one Hole to get in at, like our Swallows Nests.

Sweet Singers. In the Province of the *Malegasses* there is a sort of Birds as small as *Canary* Birds, which have very harmonious wild Notes, their Wings yellow underneath, and all the rest of the Body red. I brought some to *Roan*.

Drawf Herons. The Dwarf Herons have a Beak like a Woodcocks, their Body as big as our Hens, there are some grey and purple, others white, their beautifullest Feathers on the Neck and Rump; their Legs are long like all other Sea and River Fowl, that feed on Fish, and delight to be on the Sands and Rocks.

Penguins We call'd a small Island lying 4 Leagues beyond the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Island of Birds, from the mighty Number of several Sorts there is in it. There are Penguins, only differing from those at the Streights of *Magellon*, in that these have their Beaks bowing, and the others strait, like a Heron. They are as big as a Goose, weighing about 16 Pounds, their Back cover'd with black Feathers, their Bellies white, the Neck short and thick, with a white Rim about it; their Skin is very thick, having little Wings as it were of Leather, hanging like little Arms, cover'd with harsh small Feathers white and black, which they use in Swimming, and not to Fly, being seldom on Land, unless it be to lay their Eggs and hatch them. They have short Tails, and their Feet flat and black. They hide themselves in Holes they make on the Sea Shore, never above two together, laying on the Land and setting only upon two Eggs, which are as big as *Turkey* Eggs.

Margos. In the same little Island there were *Margos*, bigger than Geese, with grey Feathers, their Beak sharp and bowing at the End like a Hawk, their Feet little and flat, the Claws joyn'd with Skins. They sleep on the Sea, are very broad betwixt the Wings, and build their Nests in the Grass, in which there are never above two Eggs, they feed on Fish.

Grand Gosiers. I wonder'd to see a sort of Fowls as big again as the former, perching on Trees, tho' they had Feet like Geese; their Feathers also grey, and lay Eggs as big as a Penny Loaf. They feed on Fish, and put it into a natural Pouch they have under their Neck, the *French* call them *Grand Gosiers*, that is great Gullets, their Flesh is not well reliſh'd. We made Caps of those Bags or Pouches they had under their Necks.

In

In the ſame little Iſland there were other Black Fowls, as big as a Hen, which fly high, building their Neſts on the Rocks, have Yellow Beaks longer than a Hen's. We call'd them Cormorants. In ſhort that Iſland is full of Birds and their Eggs. In leſs than an Hour we gather'd our Boat full of the former and a Pipe full of Eggs. *Cormorants.*

When we drew near the Iſland of St. *Helena*, which is 200 Leagues from the Continent of *Africk*, call'd *Terra do Natal*, a Number of Birds flock'd to our Ship, we took Abundance of them with Bits of Fleſh, wherewith we baited Hooks. They are as big as Pidgeons, their Feathers Black and White in Squares chequerwiſe; for which reaſon we call'd them *Damiers*, that is, *Draught Boards*. Their Tail is large and their Feet like a Duck's. *Damiers.*

The Bats in Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland are as big as Crows, their Heads like a Foxes. They ſleep hanging on Trees by little Hooks there are at the Joints of their Wings. There are ſuch in *Braſil*, which ſuck Men's Blood in the Night, faſtning upon a Limb they find Naked. See the general Hiſtory of the *Indies*, *l.* 2. *c.* 80. *Bats.*

There are alſo Birds ſo ſmall, that their Body does not outweigh two Bees, being ſomewhat of their Nature, as flying about the Flowers, and alighting on theem to draw their Suſtenance from them. They are Brown, and call'd *Colibri*. *John de Lery* in his *American* Voyage, makes mention of ſuch a Bird he ſaw in the Country of the *Toupinambous*, and by them call'd *Gounambuch*, a little bigger than a *Hornet*, ſinging to Admiration, and always ſitting on the Grain the *Americans* call *Anati*, or, on the Gra's, with the Gullet continually open to ſing, ſo loud and delicately, that it is nothing inferior to the Nightingal. It differs from that of *Madagaſcar* in that the Plumage is Grey. Colibri.

When the Natives of *Madagaſcar* find any Swarms of Bees on the Trees, or in hollow Places, they carry them to a little Incloſure there is about their Houſes, and ſhut them up in Pieces of a very light Sort of Wood, between 2 or 3 Foot long, cut in Length in the Nature of a little Boat overturn'd, made hollow, daub'd with Honey, and open at the Ends. Theſe Bees are ſmaller than ours, but their Honey is better. They call the Bees, *Lallaits*, the Wax *Litc*, and the Honey *Farremammi*, ſignifying *Sweet Sugar*. *Bees.*

Since I have plac'd the Bees among the Birds, becauſe they have Wings, it will be convenient to add the flying Piſmires, which are like ours, but have one peculiar Quality, which is, that they leave a Glutinons Matter on Thorny Buſhes, whereof the Natives of *Madagaſcar* make uſe inſtead of Glue, to hold on the Iron of their Lances and little Darts This Subſtance or white Gum, ſerves alſo for an Aſtringent, and ſtrengthens the Nerves and Muſcles that are any Way griev'd. I have had this Gum from our Apothecaries, and it is of a dusk Colour, clinging to the Thorn. I believe Age has ſo chang'd the Colour. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, accor- *Flying Piſmires.*

ding to *Dioſcorides*, *l.* 1. call it *Cancarnum*. The *Arabs*, *Lach*; the Botaniſts, *Laque*. It is deſcrib'd by *Amatus Luſitanus* on the aforeſaid Book, Narrat. 23. Sealing Wax is made of it.

Of the Fiſhes of *Madagaſcar*.

Captain *Fiſh*. The *Captain* Fiſh is taken on the Coaſt of *Madagaſcar* and out at Sea; they bait the Hook with a Linnen Rag, which the Fiſh being ravenous, ſwallows and is taken. It is like a Perch, a Foot broad, and a Foot and a half in Length. It has Teeth, all the Body ſtreak'd Lozenge-way, having very ſharp Prickles on the Back, and 7 Fins, the Scales lying cloſe one upon another, are of a pale Gold Colour, browniſh at the Extremity, the Back being of a fine Lake Colour, inclining to red. Some of them have the Back Bone wav'd with *Azure*, or *Blew*, as is the Tail, which Blew declines into Green towards the End. There are two Sorts of it in *Braſil*, repreſented by *Mangravius* in his Natural Hiſtory, *l.* 4. *c.* 3. The firſt Sort call'd by the *Portugueſes Pudiano Vermello*, and by the *Braſilians Aipimixira* and *Tetimixira*, the other *Pudiano Verde*.

Tunny *Fiſh*. The *Tunny* Fiſh is taken in the ſame manner as the *Captain*, follows Ships, and is ſomewhat like a Salmon, but more Scaly.

Pilchard. The *Pilchard* is Grey and Flat, ſmaller than the *Captain*, the Ridge of the Back very high, with Prickles like the Carp, which it alſo reſembles in Colour and the Shape of the Scales, being of a Silver and Gold Colour, with ſtrait Black Streaks running from the Head to the Tail. The *Braſilians* call this Fiſh *Acara Pinima*. The Figure of it is in *Marcgravius*, *l.* 4. *c.* 6.

Moon-Fiſh. The *Moon-Fiſh* was ſo call'd by reaſon of its Roundneſs, having ſo ſmall a Mouth, that it can ſcarce bite at the Hook: It plies about the Rocks, as do the *Captain* and *Pilchard*. The Skin of it is ſo very hard, that a Knife will ſcarce cut it; being flat, rugged, and without Scales, like the Gurnet, of a Greyiſh Brown, the Tail forked, and has an unpleaſant Taſte. There is another Sort, only differing from the firſt in that its Mouth is wider, with a ſtiff long prickly Ridge on the Back, and 2 weaker, like Threads, on the Belly, the Skin of a Brightneſs like Silver, but the Ridges Black. The firſt of theſe Fiſhes the *Braſilians* call *Guaperna*, being but 5 or 6 Inches long, and 3 at moſt in Breadth. It has ſome long and other ſhort Prickles on the Back and under the Belly. *Laet* has the Figure of it in his Deſcription of the *Weſt-Indies*, *l.* 15. *c.* The other the *Braſilians* call *Abacatuaia*, the *Portugueſes Piexe Gallo*, and *Geſner Gallus Marinus*. I ſuppoſe from the great Ridge riſing on the Head, like a Heron's Tail.

Feints, *or* Carauna *Fiſh*. The *Feints* are 6 Fingers broad and a Foot and a half long, the Skin ſcal'd White, with Black Spots: It delights in freſh Water. Its Eyes are on the Top of the Head, cloſe to one another, like thoſe in flat Fiſhes. The Figure of them is in *Marcgravius*, *l.* 4. of his Natural Hiſtory of *Braſil*, by the Name of *Carauna*.

The

The *Mullets* in this Iſland of *Madagaſcar* are 2 Foot long, as thick as a Mans Leg, taken in the Rivers in Autumn, very fat and well taſted. *Mullets.*

The *Flying Fiſhes* are found throughout all that vaſt Interval there is between the 2 Tropicks. When we were under that of *Capricorn*, making towards Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland, one fell in the Night upon a Comrade of mine's Cheek. He thought I had given him a Cuff as he ſlept, and was for quarrelling with me, and had not the Fiſh been found at his Feet, when Light was brought upon the Diſturbance, we had fallen together by the Ears. *Flying Fiſh*

In the River of St. *Clare*, in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, I have ſeen a Fiſh, which the *French* call *Becune*, with a Grey Skin and no Scales, 2 Foot and a half long, 3 Inches thick, with a Beak 5 Inches long, and extraordinary ſtrong Teeth both above and below. *Becune, or Bill Fiſh.*

There is another Sort in the ſame Place that has a ſmaller Beak, by the *French* call'd *Orphi*, three Inches about, and above 3 Foot long, the upper Part of the Body of an Olive Colour, the under Part of a Silver Whiteneſs. It is good fry'd, and exceeds an Eel. *Orphi Fiſh.*

In Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland we took an extraordinary Fiſh, which we call'd *Vielle*, that is, *Old*, becauſe the Body of it was all full of Wrinkles, the Scales riſing ſeveral Ways and ſticking in unequally, with ſeveral Tucks and Folds. It is as long and thick as a Cod, of a dark Grey the Head large and flat, the Body alſo flat, and the Skin very harſh. *Old Fiſh.*

The *Dorados*, or *Gilt Heads*, go in Shoals in thoſe Parts, are flat, their Head ſquare; they are 4 or 6 Foot in Length, thicker upwards than downwards, their Eyes near the Mouth, which is ſmall in proportion to the Body. All the Back cover'd with a prickly Ridge, tapering off towards the Tail. Theſe Fiſhes are by another Name call'd *Sea-Breams*, and *Dorados* becauſe they look Yellow in the Water, and ſhining like Gold. The *Braſilians* call them *Guarapema*, or *Guara Capema*, and the Figure of them is in *Marcgravius*, *l.* 4. *c.* 11. of the Hiſt. of *Braſil*, who at the next Page gives the Figure of a Sort of *Dorado*, that has a great Gullet and ſharp Teeth; ſo that they often ſnap off a Man's Arm or Leg in ſwiming. The *Braſilians* call it *Piraya* and *Pirhanha*. Dorados, *or* Gilt-Heads.

There are 2 Sorts of *Porpoiſes*; the one have a Swine's Snout, and are therefore call'd *Sea-Hogs*; the other has a flat Mouth, and becauſe they ſeem to have a Cowl and a Caſſock coming over their Head, and reaching down to cover Part of the Belly, they are call'd *Sea-Monks*. Theſe are 7 or 8 Foot long, with long cleft Tails, all their Skins ſmooth, and when cut open they are like Pork. The ſame way they come the Storm follows. I have ſeen a vaſt Number of them on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. Porpoiſes

The *Tunny-Fiſh* is ſmaller than the *Porpoiſe*, as is the *Bonito*: The *Porpoiſes* are ſtruck with an Harping-Iron, but the *Tunny Fiſh* and *Bonito* are taken with a Hook. There is a third Sort of *Porpoiſes*. Tunny-Fiſh *and* Bonito *and other* Porpoiſes

bigger than a Yearling Heifer: The *French* call them *Souffleurs*, that is, *Blowers*, becauſe they blow ſtrongly; they, as well as the other *Porpoiſes*, have a Vent or Hole between the Noſe and the Eyes, through which, raiſing their Heads above the Water, they ſpout up Water like the Whale. They feed on Fiſh, and are not good to eat, as are the other *Porpoiſes*, whoſe Skin is brown, whereas the great ones are black and hideous to behold, for which reaſon we alſo call'd them *Chaudronniers*, that is, *Tinkers*. When Shoals of them appear bouncing and skipping, a Storm is to be expected to follow.

Small ſort of Fiſh. We often took ſome Fiſhes but 4 Fingers long, with great round Heads like Mouths, the Eyes on the Top of them, with a ſharp Ridge from the Head to the Tail on the Back, and another underneath, beginning at the Middle of the Belly, and finiſhing where the other ends. Some of them have ſeveral Streaks running like Rings round their Bodies, others have none of thoſe Streaks, like our *Pouting*, but that their Skin is darker. When the Sea throws them on the Rocks of *Madagaſcar*, they immediately leap again into the Water, not being able to live out of it. The Fleſh of them is delicious, and taſtes like our *Pouting*. The *Braſilians* call them *Punaru*. Their Figure is in *Marcgravius*'s Nat. Hiſt. of *Braſil*, *l.* 5. *c.* 13. In the ſame Chapter he gives us the Figure of the Fiſh *Amore Pixuma*, which is in all reſpects like the *Pouting*, but that it is of an Iron Colour.

Thornback. There are *Thornbacks* of ſuch a prodigious Magnitude, between Prince *Maurice*'s Iſland and *Madagaſcar*, that one of them will ſerve 300 Men.

Other ſmall Fiſh. In the ſame Parts there are abundance of Fiſh ſmaller than *Herrings*, like the *Pinaru*, which cling ſo faſt by the Back to Ships, that it is hard to remove them. They are round, brown, and have a ſmooth Skin.

Lobſters and Craw-Fiſh. This is the Method we us'd to catch *Lobſters* and *Sea Craw-Fiſh*, as thick as a Man's Arm. We put a Quantity of bruis'd Muſcles into Baskets, made of Ruſhes or Canes, wide above and narrow below, like our *Weels*; thoſe Creatures ſeeking for their Suſtenance upon the Rocks, got into our Baskets, and could not get out again. The Natives have given them the Name of *Fannefuies*, ſignifying *Shell Fiſh*. In the Rivers they take *Craw-Fiſhes* differing little from ours in Size or Shape.

Crabs. As for *Crabs*, there are of them all about the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, in the Sea, in Rivers, and Springs, and even on the Tops of Mountains, where there is any Coolneſs, from the Shade of the Trees and the Moiſture of the Graſs. The Natives call them *Raa*, *Raa*, are afraid of them, and run away when they meet them, both becauſe of their Deformity, and by reaſon that going barefoot, they

are

are afraid of their Claws. Their Bodies are round, thicker than a Man's Wriſt, flat underneath, the Eyes ſmall and ſticking out, with ten winding Claws, and four Joints in each, thoſe before thicker than the others, diminiſhing as they remove from the Inſide; the Ends of the Fore-Legs briſtly, except the foremoſt of all which have Claws an Inch and a half long, very ſharp, with Teeth or Knobs on the Inſide. Their Back riſes above the reſt of the Body, repreſenting the imperfect Figure of a Head Piece, on a Back and Breaſt-Plate; they are redder there than in any other Part of their Body, and hold their Colour when boil'd, without changing at all. Whereſoever they have their Being they dig Holes in the Ground like Rabbits, whence they ſally in great Numbers and with much Noiſe, when they find it rains, as living on the Frogs it produces and nouriſhes, and on the Graſs. If any body happens to lie unburied in thoſe Parts, or any Carrion, it is all ſoon devour'd by thoſe Creatures, which is excellently reliſh'd to our Taſte, but not for the Natives, who loath them. The Deſcription and Figure of theſe Crabs is in *Marcgravius*'s Nat. Hiſt. *l.* 4. *c.* 19. by the Name of *Guaia*, and in *Laet*'s Deſcription of the *Weſt Indies*, *l.* 15, *c.* 13. There are *Crabs* in the *Maldivy* Iſlands, as *Pyrard* in his Voyage informs us, and ſo large, that their Holes look like Caves, their Claws being thicker than a Man's two Wriſts.

Bodileſs Crabs.

There is a Sort of *Craw-Fiſhes* both in the Sea and Rivers, which is all Legs without any Body, by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Oſtra dos Mangues*, or *De Pedras*. They cling to Ships, having many Fibres like little Feathers about their Feet, wherewith they cleave ſo faſt under the Prow and Stern, that they cannot be got off without breaking. They live when parted aſunder.

Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Roots, and Flowers of Madagaſcar.

Palmitos.

THere are ſeveral Sorts of *Palmitos*, by the *French* call'd *Lataniers* (*which in Dr.* Sloan's *Catalogue of* Jamaica *Plants are in* Engliſh *term'd* Indian *Canes*) in *Madagaſcar* and the adjacent Iſlands. They extract their Juice, making an Inciſion at the Foot of the Trunk, ſo as not to cut them down with a Hoe, or ſmall Hatchet. It is nouriſhing and good to drink, having a ſharp and ſweetiſh Taſte. The Fruit of it reſembles a Pear in Shape, but only the Peel of it is eaten. This is the ſmalleſt Sort of all, and the great ones diſtil their Liquor, not at the Trunk, but at the Leaf folded back. The Body being ſmooth, ſtrait, and tall, they cut Notches in it to ſtay the Hands and Feet, and climb

to

to the Top, where they tie ſeveral Gourds or Calabaſhes to the Branches and about the Body above; then climbing the Tree, they bow and bruiſe the Leaves, ſo that the Liquor coming from them may fall into thoſe Calabaſhes, the Point of the Leaf being put into them. This Liquor is excellent to drink freſh, but grows aigre in two Days. The Figure and Deſcription of this *Palmito* is in the fourth Book and tenth Chapter of *Piſon*'s Book of the Virtue of Simples in *Braſil*, by the Name of *Pindoua*, ſo the *Braſilians* call it.

Banana Tree. The *Banana* Tree is known not only in *Madagaſcar*, and the adjacent Iſlands, but alſo in *Braſil*. It delights on the Tops of Mountains, where there are Springs, puts out its Flower or Bloſſom at the middle of its Leaves, whence it hangs down like an Artichoak, of a purple Colour, from which grow long hanging Cods, eight Foot in length including the Fruit, which are ſix Inches long, an Inch thick, white when within, and yellow when taken out, and put into the Sand to ripen, for eating. This Tree being pithy, and ſoon ſprouting, is cut down at the Foot every Year, to gather the Fruit with more Eaſe. The Body of it is as thick as a Man's Thigh, always ready to be cut down, as never without Fruit. The Leaves of it are very beautiful, as it were Edg'd with a Galoon all round, ſix Foot long, two in breadth, of a lively Green. The Fruit will not keep. The People of *Madagaſcar* call the Tree *Once*; the Fruit, when not ripe, *Once Maute*, and when ripe, *Once Mamy*. Both the Eaſtern and Weſtern *Indians* call theſe Trees *Bananas*. The Fruit is excellent preſerv'd. *Pyrard* in his Book of the *Weſt Indian* Animals and Trees, Chap. 9. ſays, This Tree is nine or ten Foot high, the Body of it as tender as a Cabbage, as thick as a Man's Thigh, with ſeveral Films over it, like an Onion, which being taken off they come at the Pulp, as thick as a Man's Arm, good to make Pottage; the Leaves an Ell and a half long, ſerving for Table Cloths, Napkins and Diſhes. The Fruit is delicious, three Inches thick, and a Foot long. This Tree is cut down every Year and puts out ſeveral Shoots. The Pith of it ſerves inſtead of Pap for Children. The *Dutch* have inſerted the Figure of the *Banana* Tree in their *Eaſt India* Voyages, *Anno.* 1595, Chap 15. and tell Wonders of it. *Serapion* and *Avicen* call theſe Trees *Muſas*; but the Fruit of theſe, as well as the Bloſſom, riſe upwards from the midſt of the Stem, whereas the *Banana* Trees of *Madagaſcar*, let them hang down from their Leaves. The Figure is repreſented by *Piſon* in his fourth Book of the Virtues of *Braſilian* Simples, Chap. 26.

Cotton-Tree. The Cotton Tree grows in the Province of the *Tapates* in *Madagaſcar*, and particularly in a Vale near the Sea, by us call'd the Port of *Galeons*, and by the Natives *Tannemene*, ſignifying, red

red Land, it being all of that Colour This Tree, by them call'd *Foulefouche* is never above eight or nine Foot high. It has many long ſlender Brances, the Leaf long, and as big as a Penny Piece the Bark of the Colour of the Elm. The Fruit of it is a ſort of longiſh Nuts, which part into three, having ſo many Shells, and in every part there are ſeven Grains or Kernels, like Vetches wrap'd up in Cotton, which is thus order'd in *Madagaſcar*. When the ripe Nut has burſt and ſhew'd its Cotton, the Women and Maids beat, and draw out the Cotton, firſt with their Hands, and then with a little Switch, then they ſpin it, holding the End with the left Hand over a Stick, which ſerves them inſtead of a Spindle, tho' not ſhap'd like it, baiting that at the lower End it has a round Weight to draw the Thread to it. They turn this Stick with their right Hand on their Thighs which are naked and ſhining, till it is full, and then laying it into a Basket, they take other Sticks or Spindles to do in the ſame manner. When their Spindles are full, they wind it up about the left Hand and Elbow, with the Right, till they have made a Skain. Some of this Cotton they leave in its natural Colour, and Dye the reſt of ſuch Colours as they pleaſe, then lay it all on a Loom, like thoſe of our Weavers, but not ſo wide, and intermix ſome of the Country Silk, all in Stripes. This Stuff is very laſting, as being cloſe, and well wove, and the People of the South Part of this Iſland drive a great Trade with it, for no Cotton grows in the North End. *Mathiolus* on *Dioſcorides l.* 2. *c.* 96. mentions other Sorts of Cotton, by the *Latins* call'd *Bombax*, as he does again *l.* 3. *c.* 115, which is not the ſort we ſpeak of, that of *Dioſcorides* being an Herb, and ours a Tree. But I never read any where but in *Mathiolus*, that this word *Bombax* ſignify'd Cotton, which is call'd *Goſſipſion*, and *Xylon*, as is the Tree that bears it, deſcrib'd by *Pliny*, *l.* 12. *c.* 11, and *l.* 19. *c.* 1. There are whole Woods of it in the *Weſt Indies*, and almoſt throughout the *Eaſt*, thus *Pyrard* deſcrides it, in his Account of the Indian Animals, and Trees. The Tree which bears the Cotton grows to the Height of our Roſe Trees. The Leaf is like that of the Maple, the Bloſſoms come out like the Roſe Buds. When the Bloſſom is fallen, the Bud blows, and puts forth the Cotton, in which is a Seed, and that they ſow, as we do in Nurſeries, and thoſe continually produce Cotton, us'd by the *Indians* to make their Cloth. The ſhape of the Cotton Flower deſcrib'd by our Traveller is like a little Bell, and yellow, as thoſe of the Gourds. The *Toupinambous*, who have this Tree call it *Ameni-jou*. See *Lery*'s Deſcription of *America*, Chap. 15.

There is another ſort of Cotton Tree, whoſe Trunk and Branches are like the Fir Tree, the Leaves three Fingers broad, at a Diſtance from one another, the Shell of the Fruit being alſo three fingers, *Another Sort.*

gers long, three corner'd, of the bigneſs of an ordinary Apple, When ripe it opens, and diſcloſes a very fine and white Cotton. which nevertheleſs the Natives of the Iſland make no Uſe of. I made excellent Quilts of it. This Tree grows only in the Province of the *Malegaſſes*.

Indigo. The Colour the Natives of *Madagaſcar* moſt delight in is the Blew, coming from the *Indigo* Plant, as the *Portugueſes* call it, as alſo *Erva d'Anir*. It grows like Broom, having ſuch long ſlender Roots, the Leaf broader, ſomewhat reſembling that of *Senna*. It has little Membrans, which proceeding from the Rim in the Middle draw wavy and equally towards the Edges. The Stem is not above an Ell in Length and an Inch thick. When the Tree is 3 Years old, the Flower ſomewhat reſembles the Herb *Hearteaſe*, and the Seed that of *Fennel*; it is gather'd in *November* and ſow'd in *June*. After 3 Years ſtanding this Plant dies, or is cut down as uſeleſs. The Dye drawn the firſt Year from its Leaves pounded is heavy and red, by the *Eaſt Indians* call'd *Nouti* or *Nouſi*. That of the ſecond Year, of a Violet Colour; and whereas the firſt ſinks in Water, this floats on the Top; the ſame *Indians* call it *Cyerce* or *Ziarie*, being the perfecteſt, and dying Cloth of a curious Blew. The 3d Year's is heavy and black, call'd *Catteld*. The *Eaſt Indians* cut off the Branches of this Tree and put them into a Ciſtern, laying Stones on them, as we do with our Hemp, to keep them down for ſome Days, till the Water has taken a dark Violet Colour. Then they pour that Water into another ſmall Ciſtern, often ſtirring it with Sticks, and ſcum it, then after letting it ſettle, they drain off the Water, and the Settling is laid on Cloths. When that Subſtance begins to dry, they take it up by Handfuls, ſqueeze it, and make little Balls, which they lay a hardning on the Sand. The Tokens we know good *Indigo* by are, its being dry, of a Violet Colour, and ſhining, and if thrown into the Fire that it ſends out a Purple Smoke and leaves little Aſhes when burnt. The *Madagaſcar Indigo* has very much of that we have here deſcrib'd, the Stem and Branches are of a blewiſh Green, as are the Leaves, which reſemble Vetches, the Bloſſoms of a yellowiſh White, and produce Cods hanging in Cluſters, full of a black Seed, like our Lentiles. The People of *Madagaſcar* do not uſe ſo much Ceremony in extracting the *Indigo* as the *Eaſt Indians*; they bruiſe the Leaves and Branches whilſt tender, and make Balls of them, weighing about 3 Pound each, which they dry in the Sun. When they would dye any thing, they pound one, two or three of them according as there is Occaſion, and put the Powder into Earthen Pots, boiling it in Water over the Fire, then take off their Pots and let them cool, dipping their Cotton in that Liquor, as alſo their Silk, which they take from Worms, whoſe Shell is as big as a Man's Wriſt,

and

and very thin, and they ſpin it like Cotton. After ſome time, they take the Silk and Cotton out of thoſe Pots, being Dy'd of a dark ſhining Blue, and uſe them in all their Cloathing. The Figure of this Plant is in *Laet*'s *Latin* Deſcription of *India*, Chap. 2. where he writes the ſtrange Method thoſe People uſe to extract the Dye. The ſame is alſo in *Marcgravius*'s Hiſtory of Plants, *Chap.* 1. where he deſcribes ſeveral ſorts of it, as does *Francis Ximenes*, in his Book of the Plants in *New Spain*. The *Mexicans* make the Dye after another manner than the People of *Madagaſcar*, which ſee in *Laet* of the *Weſt Indies*. L. 7. c. 9.

There is another ſort of *Indigo* in this Iſland, which does not grow up like that ſpoken of, but creeps along the Ground, and clings to it by little Strings, which are ſo many Roots. The Leaves of it are oppoſite to one another by two and two. The Branches ſpread three Foot, bearing Shoots a Finger long, cover'd with little Bloſſoms, which are Purple, with a mixture of White, in the ſhape of an open Head-Piece, of a good ſcent. *Julius Scaliger* in his Book of Plants, ſays this is by the *Arabs* call'd *Nil*, or *Nir*, ſignifying Blue. The *Guzarats* call it *Gali*. *Garcia d' Orta*, repreſents it as an Herb that is Sow'd every year, and like our *Baſil*, the Leaves whereof Dry'd, are of a Dark Blue. *Cluſius* believes it to be our *Woad*, by the *Latins* call'd *Glaſtum*, and by the *Greeks*, *Iſatide*; but this is nothing like *Baſil*. *Pyrard*, in his Book of *Indian* Beaſts, and Plants, *Chap.* 6. ſays the *Indigo* brought to the Kingdoms of *Cambaya* and *Suratte* is like *Roſemary*, which the oftner it is wetted and dry'd, the finer Blue it makes. In the *Dutch Eaſt India* Voyages, *An.* 1595. *Chap.* 8. they tell us, the *Indigo* Plant of *Madagaſcar* is like *Roſemary*, but ſmaller, between *Roſemary* and *Thyme*, the Figure of it is in *Amatus Luſitanus*, Lib. 2. Narrat. on *Diſcorides*, 182. Ground Indigo.

The *Tamarind* Tree has the Body, Limbs, and Branches like an *Elm*, and bears in a great Cod, a ſort of Fruit having a Stone in the Pulp; one ſingle Fruit fills the whole Cod from end to end, and of it they make a very cooling Liquor, which we us'd inſtead of *Verjuice* whilſt we were in the Iſland. The Fruit eaten is very Laxative, the Wood of it is good to burn, growing on the Banks of Rivers, and is ſcarce enough in *Madagaſcar*. I ſaw four of them in the Village of *Fanzaire*, which were much valu'd. The Fruit taſts like *Damaſcenes*, and is Brown when Ripe. The Leaves have ſcarce any Stalk, but look as if they clung to the very Branches by two and two, a Finger and a half in breadth, and three in length; the upper ſide of a beautiful Green, the under fainter. They have a ſharpiſh taſte, and are therefore us'd in Fevers. There is never more than one Tamarind.

Cod at the end of a Bough. The Stone in the Fruit is as big as an Almond, of a Cheſnut Colour, and being ſet in the Ground, in one year produces a ſmall Tree five Foot high. The Bloſſoms are like Orange Flowers, having ſuch a Scent, and eight Leaves. The *Portugueſes* call this Tree *Tamara Azeda*, that is, *Sower Tamarind*. *Pyrard*, in his Treatiſe of *Eaſt India* Animals and Plants, *Chap.* 8. tells us, this Tree is in all parts of the *Eaſt Indies*. It is alſo in *Braſil*, according to *Marcgravius*, in his Nat. Hiſt. of that Country, *l.* 3. *c.* 8. by the name of *Tamarindi*, where you may ſee the Figure of it; after *l' Ecluſe*, *l.* 7. *c.* 28. and *Chriſtopher d' Acoſta*, Chap. 21. The *Tamariſk* of *Dioſcorides* is nothing like this Tree. The *Arabs* call Dates *Tamaras*, and the Fruit of the Tamarind, becauſe like the Dates, *Tamarindi*. The *Indians* uſe it with their Meat inſtead of *Verjuice*. It Purges gently when Green; wraps it ſelf up at Night in the Leaves, and unwraps again in the Day.

Indian Canes.

The Tree the *French* call *Baliſier*, and the *Engliſh*, *Indian Cane*, is by them call'd *Raue*, the Seed whereof they chew to black their Teeth and Tongue, looking upon that as a Beauty, without regarding the ill Scent it gives them. The Tree is ten or twelve Foot high, the Bark of it like the *Palmito*'s, without any knots, or Branches, ſhooting out the Leaves at the very Head, which are two Foot and half broad, five in length, round, but narrower at the Top than Bottom: The Bloſſoms have five Leaves of ſeveral Colours.

Aloes Trees.

In the Vale of *Tannemene*, on the Mountains near the Sea, there are abundance of *Aloes Trees*, eight or ten Foot high, the Stem as thick as a Man's Thigh, or better, naked from the Top to the Bottom, where it has a great cluſter of large thick Leaves notch'd about, like thoſe of common Aloes we have at *Paris*, and more in the lower *Languedoc*; but ours ſeldom, or never has any Stalk or Stem. Theſe Leaves which are broad at one end fall off to a Point, being four Foot long. The Bloſſom is Ruddy, intermixt with Yellow, and double like the Pink, ſupported by little Branches iſſuing from the Head of the Tree, with the Leaves, among which it lies. This Bloſſom produces a round Fruit, as big as a Pea, White and Red. We Extracted the Juice of theſe Leaves, ſplitting them with a Knife from end to end, the Juice dropt into a Gourd, or Calabaſh, we tied to the Stem, ſo that the points of the Leaves that were cut hung in it. The ſaid Juice dry'd in the Sun, when the Calabaſhes were full, ſomewhat reſembled Roſin; then we clos'd the mouths of the Gourds with Wax. We had alſo another way of drawing the Juice out of thoſe Leaves, but this laſt, when con-

condens'd, is not ſo dear as the other, being a mix'd ſubſtance: We cut all the Leaves into bits, and put them into a Bag, which we ſqueez'd to preſs out the Juice, and pour'd it into Ox Bladders, hanging them in our Chimneys to dry. The Natives of *Madagaſcar*, where this Aloes grows in the aforeſaid Province, between the Sea and the River *Ranne-fouche*, or *White-water*, near the Port of *Galeons*, are not acquainted with this Secret, which I learnt of a Surgeon, that came to the Iſland in a *Daniſh* Veſſel, and ſtop'd ſome time with my Comrade and me, in that Province, to refreſh himſelf; and we conceal'd our ſelves from the Natives when we were Extracting that Juice, which I afterwards ſold to an *Engliſh* Merchant, I met with in my Return, at the *Cape of Good Hope*; the firſt ſort at Eight Livers *per* Pound, and the latter at Four. This firſt ſort of *Aloes* is by the *Eaſt Indians* call'd *Calamba*; the ſecond *Garva*. They uſe the Wood of it ſteep'd in Water, to rub their Bodies, believing it comforts the Nerves, and burn it for Perfume. *Pyrard*, in in his Treatiſe of *Indian* Animals and Plants, *c.* 6. *Linſchoten*, in his Voyage, *c.* 66. and *Paludanus* his Commentator, reckon three ſorts of Aloes Trees; the firſt already call'd *Calamba*; the ſecond, *Palo de Aguila*, or *Eagle wood*; and the third, *Aguila Brava*, or *Wild Eagle-wood*. The *Indians* throw ſome of this Wood into the Piles, in which dead Bodies are burnt, to give a good Scent. The Decoction of it ſtops the *Bloody Flux*, and ſtrengthens the Liver and Stomach.

There is another ſort of Aloes Tree in the Province of the *Tapates*, the Stem whereof is Grey, and Pulpy, like that before mention'd, which it reſembles in all points, except in height, this never riſing above four Foot high. The Figure and Deſcription hereof is in *Dioſcorides*, l. 7. c. 22. He ſays it ſhoots out a Stem, and bears Yellow Bloſſoms, the Seed like that of the Daffadil, the Leaves proceeding from one only Root, all bitter and ſtinking: That the juice of it is good for Sores. There are ſeveral ſorts of this Aloes in the *Weſt Indies*, deſcrib'd by *Marcgravius* in his Natural Hiſtory of *Braſil*, l. 1. c. 18. and by *Amatus Luſitanus* on *Dioſcorides*, l. 1. ennarat. 21. *Aloes of another ſort.*

As for the Aloes, whoſe Leaves are faſt to the Ground, like ours in *Europe*, all the Iſland is full of it: It ſhoots out a Stem from the midſt of it three or four Foot high, divided into Branches, bearing little Yellow Bells, like our Snap-dragon Herb, a Finger long, hollow'd in ſix Rows along the edges, and hanging down, with ſix ſmall fair Fibers in the middle. *Ground Aloes.*

Ebony. The *Ebony* grows all about the Iſland, on the Rocky Mountains, but more eſpecially in the Province of *Matatan*, as I obſerv'd before: This Tree is big and tall as our old Oaks, and like them in Bark, Heart, and Pith, differing only in the Blackneſs, for which it is ſo much valu'd. The Leaves are like the Laurel, having betwixt every two of them a Fruit, like an Acorn, on a little Stalk: The Pith of it infus'd in Water, and taken inwardly lukewarm, Purges Flegm, and Cures Venereal Diſeaſes. I have made the Experiment upon the Natives, who call this Tree *Hazeminthe:* It makes a clear Fire, and has a very pleaſant Scent. The Vertue above mention'd has given occaſion to believe the *Guayacum* to be a ſort of *Ebony*, as is obſerv'd by *Mathiolus* on the above quoted Place in *Dioſcorides*, and by *Amatus Luſitanus* on the ſame, *l.* 1. *c.* 119.

Rauenſſare Tree. The *Rauenſſare* is thick, tall, and full of Branches as our Oaks, the Leaves of it like our Laurel, in Shape, Verdure, and Scent, bating that the laſt is not ſo ſharp: Its Fruit is like a Gall-nut, which Powder'd, Taſts, Smells, and has the Virtue of Clove. This Tree grows on the Mountains about the Village of *Fanzaire*, and I have ſcarce ſeen it elſewhere.

Timber-Trees. The Trees the Iſlanders uſe for Building, are alſo like our Oaks, bearing little round Acorns, the Leaf alſo round, and very Downy.

Vuouhanatte-Tree. *Vuouhanatte* is a Yellow Fruit like a midling Pear, with a ſmooth ſhining Skin, encloſing four hard Kernels, longiſh like Almonds, which Sow'd produce other Trees of the ſame ſort. The Pulp is Doughy, Yellow, Nouriſhing, and has a Taſte of Sugar. The Tree is large and full of Branches, like our Apple Trees, with a Leaf like Laurel, except the Smell. The Bloſſom is White, like the Orange Flower; but ſtronger ſcented. At the end of the Fruit grows a Nut, in ſhape like a Hare's Kidney, of an Aſh-Colour, inclining to Ruddy. They Extract Oil from the Nuts; and the Tree in the Summer Months puts out a clear tranſparent Gum, without any Inciſion. Some of them bear beautiful double Flowers of the Colour of Roſes, and very fragrant.

Plum-Trees. I obſerv'd before that we call'd a certain Bay, *The Bay of Plums*, from the great number of Plum-Trees about it, bearing Fruit as big as our double Damaſcenes, and of the ſame Colour, which they call *Vuouhannio*; the Taſte is not unlike our Damaſcenes, being ſweetiſh. To ſave this Fruit, and deter any Man from gathering it, the Native Phyſitian before mention'd in my Voyage, fixes on the Tree a Cows Jaw Bone Painted, and ſtreak'd with a ſort of Red, and by them called *Auly*, as has been already obſerv'd; which

which Word ſignifying not only all ſorts of Medicines, but Enchantment alſo, thoſe People fancy'd, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to pull one Plum, would drop down Dead at the Foot of the Tree; however my Companions, and my ſelf did not forbear eating them, whilſt they admired our Boldneſs, till by Degrees they were convinc'd of their Superſtition, and found their Phyſitian, or Quack, was a meer Cheat, perceiving that no Harm came to us, notwithſtanding his fine Painted Cows Head. This Tree is Eight or Nine Foot high, the Fruit of it has five little round Stones, which are its Seed.

Other Plums. They have alſo a ſort of Trees, whoſe Stem and Leaves are like the *Aſh*, bearing long White Plums, with only one Stone, which broken affords a Kernel like an *Almond*, of a good taſte, the Plum it ſelf being ſharpiſh. *Pyrard* in his Treatiſe of *Indian* Beaſts, and Plants, chap. 11. ſays, This Tree is by the Natives of the *Maldivy* Iſlands call'd *Ambou*, being more like the *Medlar* than the *Plum-Tree*, and that the Kernel in the Stone of it, tho' pleaſant to eat, is ſo offenſive to the Brain, that it would be certain Death to eat many of them.

Mirabolans. The *Mirabolans* grow on a prickly Tree, the Branches of it very ſmall, and the Leaf like Box, the Fruit reſembling a large Plum, containing a very hard five corner'd Kernel. The Tree will grow 12 Foot high, and there are ſeveral ſorts of it, ſome of an Aſh Colour, which are round; the *Emblicos*, eaten Green; the *Reſonuables*, having Eight Corners; the *Bellerici*, round; and the *Quebuli* longer than the others, and with ſeveral Angles. See *Mathiolus* on *Dioſcorides*, l. 4. c. 154. and *Linſchoten* in his Voyage, *chap.* 82. Whereupon *Paludanus* ſays, the firſt of them purge Choler; the ſecond Black Choler, becauſe they are themſelves Black; the third, Flegm; and the fourth and fifth, the Reins and Brains.

Vines. Vines grow in the Woods without any Pruning, eſpecially near Port St. *Lucy*, the Grapes are White, Large, and Long.

Citrons, Lemmons, Oranges, *and* Pomgranates. They call Citrons, whereof they have great Plenty, *Vaſſarre mante*, that is, ſour Fruit; the great Lemmons, *Toulongue*; the Oranges, *Vaſſarre mammi*, that is, ſweet Fruit; and the Pomgranates, *Vuouhannio*.

Guiti-toroba *Tree.* Among the other Trees there is a very Beautiful one, bearing the leaves one upon another, half a Foot long, of a dark Green, like that of the Laurel, ſhining, and thick, like Parchment, ſoft in handling, with a Fibre from one end to the other, and ſeveral others proceeding from that a croſs. The Bloſſoms, like thoſe of the Lime-Tree, are in the ſhape of little Bells, conſiſting of only one Leaf, ſplit in ſix parts about the Edge, with as many Fibers of a Greeniſh Yellow, with a Scent like the Lime. A Milky

Milky Liquor flows from the broken Branches, which bear a ſort of Fruit larger than an *Orange*, of a Purple Colour, with a mixture of Yellow, having no Scent whilſt on the Tree, but when cut exhales a ſtink like old Greaſe; and yet the Pulp, which is of a bright fair Colour, has a pleaſant Taſte. The Stones, being as big as large Cheſtnuts, on one ſide are like a Nutmeg; others are as ſmooth and Poliſh'd as a Looking-glaſs in the Middle, expoſing the Seed they contain to View. The *Braſilians* call this Tree *Guiti-toroba*, and the Figure of it is in *Marcgravius*'s Nat. Hiſt. of that Country, *l.* 3. *c.* 9.

Tree to make Canoes. There are Trees whoſe Bodies are oval, of one of which they make two Canoes, the inſide being pithy, ſprouting out Cluſters of great Leaves at the Head, like the Buſhes that are in the Clefts of Rocks. The Figure of them is in the *Dutch* Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, *Anno.* 1595, chap. 7.

Mangrove *Tree.* The *Mahault* or *Mangrove* Tree is taller than the *Lime*, the Leaves of a dark Green, wider than a Man's Hand, ſhap'd like a Heart, pointed at the End, the Bloſſoms coming in Cluſters, like thoſe of the *Lime*, without any Scent: The Natives ſlip off the Bark from the Branches with a Knife, then beat it with Mallets, till the courſe Bark is parted from the other, which draws out into Threads; of the courſeſt whereof they make Ropes, and of the fineſt, when Spun, Breeches for the Blacks, and Slaves.

Melancholy *Tree.* I never ſaw the *Melancholy*-Tree in that Iſland, and yet thoſe who have been there after me, have brought ſome to *Paris*, where they are become common, and ſo call'd, becauſe they never Bloſſom, but in the Night, and drop off as ſoon as ever the Sun ſhines on it, without keeping one. It is as big as a Pear Tree, the leaf ſomething like the Laurel, bating that it is a little jagg'd. Its Seed is us'd in Pottage, inſtead of *Pepper*, *Time* and *Marjoram*, and the Water diſtill'd from its Flowers, which are extraordinary ſweet ſcented, is good againſt Diſtempers in the Eyes.

Many have told us there are *Sandal* or *Sanders* Trees in this Iſland, but I never ſaw any, or I do not know them. The Deſcription of the *Sandal* Tree, with its ſeveral ſorts and Virtues, may be ſeen in *Linſchoten*'s Voyage, *chap.* 64.

Sandal *or* Sanders. Ananas. I once tranſplanted *Ananas* into my Garden, taken from off the Mountains about the Bay of *Anton Gil*, which throve without any Trouble, contrary to the Opinion of the Natives, who will not believe that any thing tranſplanted will thrive. The Stems and Fruit are like Artichoaks, but the Fruit larger, and longer, ſweet, and delicious to eat; of a Yellow Green when Ripe, with a harſh Peel, and white Pulp. This Plant never riſes

ſes above four Foot; the leaves grow out from the Root, of the ſame ſhape, and in the ſame manner as our *Aloes*. The Juice of the Fruit is ſo hot and piercing, that if a Knife be left in it two Hours, it will preſently turn Red, and cut no more, as if it had been in the Fire. However they make a Drink of it, which is pleaſing to the Palate, but biting, having ſomething not unlike the ſcent of a *Rasberry*. The Seed lies hid in a Tuft of leaves, ſprouting out above the Fruit. *Pyrard* gives the ſame account in his Treatiſe of *Indian* Trees and Fruits, *c.* 9. The Figure of this Plant and Fruit is in *Piſon*, in his Book of *Braſilian* Medicines, and in *Marcgravius*'s Nat. Hiſt. of that ſame Country, *l.* 1. *c.* 16.

The *Cardamom*, or *Grains of Paradiſe*, grows only among the *Matatanes*, and *Antavarres*, the Stem Green and Smooth, an Inch thick, and Eight or Ten Foot high. At the Bottom is a Cluſter of Leaves ſix Inches long, and two in Breadth, of a bright Green. From the foot of it ſprouts a ſmall Scion, bearing four or five red Cods, four Inches long, three corner'd, in which is a number of Seeds, Brown, and about as big as *Vetches*, enclos'd in a ſoft Pulp, which quenches Drought, whereas the Grain provokes it, having a ſpicy taſt, comfortable to the Stomach, for which Reaſon the People of *Madagaſcar* call it *Aully tatte*, that is, A Medicine for the Stomach. This Plant delights in Marſhes. Cardamom.

The *Ginger*, which they call *Saccauire*, grows all over the Iſland, being the only Plant the Natives tranſplant about their Houſes, to receive the Rain that falls from the Tops of them; and about their Hives to feed their Bees. It grows all over the *Indies* ſo plentifully, that the King of *Spain* once prohibited the tranſporting any Quantities of it, for fear it ſhould leſſen the Trade of Pepper. The Green Leaf is us'd in Sauces, and Pottage. The Roots are preſerv'd without drying, being White like *Orrice*, but more Knotty; the Leaf is long and narrow, like Sword-Graſs; the Flower very Beautiful, double, marbled White, pale Purple, and Brown, very fragrant, the Stem knotted like a Ruſh, riſing two Foot in height. The preſerv'd Roots, warm, and cure Pains in the Stomach. The Leaves wither every year, and it is then the Roots are taken up, to be dry'd in the Sun, and ſent into *Europe*, with other Spice. *Pyrard* in his Treatiſe of *Indian* Plants ſpeaks of it. See *Dioſcorides*, *l.* 2. *v.* 154. The Figure of the Ginger Plant, with its Leaves and Roots, is in *Marcgravius*'s Nat. Hiſt. of *Braſil*, l. 1. c. 10. where it is repreſented like the Stem and Leaves of a Cane, whereas that of the *Eaſt Indies* and *Madagaſcar*, is as here deſcrib'd. Conſult about this difference *Garcia de Orta*, *Aromatum Hiſtoriæ*, Ginger.

l. 1.

l. 1. c. 41. and *Amatus Luſitanus* enarrat. 154. on the 2d. Book of *Dioſcorides*.

Terra Merita *Plant, or* Indian Safron.

There is no Plant ſo like the Ginger, as that our Apothecaries calls *Terra Merita*, beſides its being Yellow it produces Leaves four Fingers broad, a Foot high, like a Tuft: It is us'd inſtead of *Ginger* and *Safran*; the Root is Yellow, and the Leaf is of the ſame Shape and Colour as the *Orrice*. The *Portugueſes* call this Plant *Saffrao da Terra*, that is, the Country Safran, meaning the Country of *India*. In biting the Root, a Man is at firſt ſenſible of no Sharpneſs; but a few Moments after it burns the Tongue. Some call it *Curcuma*; the *Malayes*, *Cunhet*, and ſome *Europeans*, *Crocus Indicus*. The Figure of it may be ſeen in the *Dutch Eaſt India* Voyages, *Anno*. 1595, chap. 5. The *Arabs* give it the name of *Habet*.

Ouuifouches *Roots*.

There are certain Roots by the People of *Madagaſcar* call'd *Ouuifouches*. They are ſmooth and round below, two Foot long, little more or leſs; as thick as a Man's Arm, and White, whence they have their Name, for *Ouui* ſignifies a Root, and *Fouches* White. They lye a year in the Ground after they are planted, tho' ſometimes eaten at ſix Months; but they muſt be let alone the whole year to be good and fit for keeping in their Storehouſes built for that purpoſe, which are raiſed ſix foot above the Ground, the Floor ſupported on Piles, that the Rats may not devour them. There is a ſmooth Plank upon every Pile, hanging over every way half a Foot beyond it, which hinders their climbing any higher. Theſe Roots ſerve the Iſlanders inſtead of Bread for ſix or ſeven Months after they are gather'd. They dry them on the Aſhes, then lay them on live Coals, and eat them when cold again: The Taſte of them is ſomewhat like Bread. They alſo boil them with Meat inſtead of Turnips. Theſe Roots and their Leaves are like our *Moonwort*; the Leaves and Shoots of it would wind about Poles or Trees, or run up to the Top of them if there were any near, or they were permitted to grow: But theſe Roots are planted in open Fields, which have lain fallow a year before their Planting, and the Leaves are cut from time to time, that the Roots may grow thick, being hindred from ſhooting out; the Weeds that grow round about being at the ſame time pull'd up. There are ſuch Roots in the *Maldivy* Iſlands, which are cut and tranſplanted in the ſame manner as at *Madagaſcar*, for eating. *Pyrard* in his Treatiſe of *Eaſt India* Plants and Animals, chap. 11.

Ouuiares.

The *Ouuiares* have Roots as big as a Man's Wriſt, of ſeveral ſhapes, like our Earth Nuts: They are dug up three Months after Planting, as there is occaſion to make uſe of them. They are

are of a Violet Colour, and thence have their Name; *Ouvi*, as has been ſaid, ſignifying a Root, and *Ares*, a *Violet*; are more moiſt than the former, the Leaves and Stalks of a *Violet* Colour, and are eaten like the *Ouvifouches*.

The *Ouuicambares* have Roots as thick as a Pound Loaf, of ſeveral Shapes, like the former, and of a greyiſh Violet Colour, or Griſdelin, which is alſo the colour of the Leaves, and Shoots. Their Taſte is the ſame as that of the *Ouvifouches*, but they are dryer. Ouuicambares.

The *Ouuimeintes*, are like the laſt, excepting that the Roots are black, for *Meinte* ſignifies Black. Ouuimeintes.

The *Mauondres* have Roots like our Skirrets, Yellow, the lower end round, ſweetiſh, and the Leaves and Branches like the former. They are ſcarce, and eaten, whilſt the others and the Rice are in the Ground. Mauuondres.

When the Roots are ſpoilt through too much Drought, or Rain, the People of *Madagaſcar* ſupply that want with *Caraibbe* Cabbages, the Roots whereof they eat, and we the Leaves in our Pottage. There are ſeveral ſorts of this Cabbage in *Braſil*, deſcrib'd and repreſented by *Marcgravius*, l. 1. c. 17. by the Name of *Tajaoba*; and in *Piſon*, l. 4. c. 55. The *Toupinombous*, according to *Leri*, in his *America*, call them, *Caioua*. Caraibe Cabbages.

Whenſoever the King will have his Roots Planted, which is done in *November*, he gives notice to the Neighbouring Villages ſubject to him, whence both Men and Women come, under the Conduct of their ſeveral Maſters, every one of them bringing an Iron Spade, with a handſome handle to it, about as big as a Man's Hand, and triangular, wherewith they firſt as it were rake the top of the Earth, to clear it from Weeds and Stones; then they lay ſtrait Lines, or Cords made of the Bark of the *Mangrove* Tree, the whole length of the Field, and dig Trenches all along them a Foot ſquare, into each of which they lay a proportion of the Roots above mention'd, given them by the Women, by whom they are firſt cut, and then brought into the Field to the Men in Baskets, made of a Cane ſplit into four, which they call *Haze malaime*, that is, ſoft wood; then they cover the Roots with Earth, leaving two Foot and a half diſtance between them. This manner of Planting they call, *Amboule*, and this is the firſt Service they owe their Prince. The ſecond is when the Rice is to be Sow'd, as alſo the Millet, Beans, and Peaſe; and the third at the Harveſt. *Planting for the King.*

The Rice is Sow'd in *March* and *April*, after Eight days ſoaking in Water, which is done in Baskets full of it put into the River. They drive Forty or Fifty Oxen into the Field that is to be ſow'd, more or leſs, according to the extent of it, after Drain- *Rice.*

ing off the Water let into it Eight days before to prepare it for receiving the Seed. Thoſe Oxen are drove with Cudgels by little Boys, who are up half way the Leg in Mud, taking care that no place eſcapes being well trod by thoſe Creatures. This is done twice over: The third day they Sow the Rice, and then bring the Water over it again, and drive the Oxen, which is not now done by little Boys, but by Blacks grown up Men. When the Earth has been well trod, and mix'd, they turn off the Water, till the Rice ſhoots, and then if the Weather prove dry, they bring it on again into the Field, which is incloſed with a Ditch and a quickſet Hedge, till Harveſt Time, and that is in *December* and *January*: Then they break off the Ears with their Hands, without regarding the Straw; and pound them in wooden Mortars, which done they Fan it in the Wind. The Rice in the Ear is by them call'd *Vare*, and when out of it, *Fouche Vare*, that is, White *Rice*.

Millet. The *Millet* is Sow'd in *February*, in a Sandy Soil, which they cleanſe with Spades, then lift up a Spade full of Earth, under which they drop three or four Grains, and then let the Earth fall on them. The Holes are about a Foot diſtant from one another. The Grain is like Hempſeed, the Ear like our Millet, they call it *Empembe*.

Beans and Peaſe. They Sow their Beans and Peaſe, which are of ſundry Shapes, and Colours, at the ſame time. There are ſome among the *Malegaſſes* and *Tapates* that have bulbous Roots, like Earth-Nuts, and are Planted like Tulip Roots, yielding a great Product: The Colour of them is White, and they taſte like Hazle Nuts, when Roſted in the Embers. The Leaves are thick, and divided into three parts, about as broad as a ſingle Penny, reſembling the Earth Nut, growing in Tufts, the Fruit being at the Foot in the Earth.

Kidney Beans. They have Kidney Beans, by them call'd *Vueiguembes*.

Superſtition to procure Rain. I can not but take notice of their Superſtition to procure Rain; when the want of it kills their Roots, and Grain, They call their *Marabou*, which ſignifies, Barber, or Phyſician, who having ſcrathc'd his Board, of which mention has been made before, and conſider'd a while what he is to do, which meditation they call *Squille*, he then orders them to bring him ſeveral Roots, Leaves, Herbs, and Flowers, in long Baskets made of Canes, and goes out of the Village, directing all thoſe things to be brought after him, and placed on the edge of the firſt Spring, or Rivulet he comes to. He has alſo a Bull, and a Black Cock brought him, and cauſes the Bull to be tyed to a Tree, his Feet to be bound, and then cuts his Throat, receiving the Blood into a great

great Wooden Diſh, and does the ſame by the Cock: He mixes the two Bloods, with his middle Finger, marks the Foreheads of all the Company with it, and ſmears his own Girdle, and all that hangs to it, muttering ſomething unknown to me, to himſelf. This done the Bull, with his Feet tied, is roll'd into the Rivulet, and drawn out immediately, then cut in Pieces to be eaten with the Cock. Then returning to the Village, he places his Girdle before the Maſter's Door, which no Man dares come near to touch it. Whilſt it is there, a little Boy turns a ſmall light Board ty'd to a String, about his Head, which makes a noiſe like our Whirlegigs, by beating the Air. Under his Girdle are orderly plac'd the Baskets, with the Roots, Flowers, and Leaves, mention'd, all which is left there till it Rains, which ſoon happens, for that Fellow does not play his Game till he ſees a likelyhood of Rain, that he may gain the more Reputation. He has a Cow given him for his pains.

They have a ſort of *Bindweed*, the Leaves whereof bruiz'd, and lay'd on a Sore, ſoon heal it. They are a Finger long, ſhap'd like a Heart, ſeveral Shoots proceeding from the Stem, and it creeps and winds about every thing it lays hold on, and is of the Colour of a Green Vine Branch. It bears Flowers as other Bindweeds do, like Bells, white with a ſmall mixture of Carnation, and Purple at the Bottom, and Bloſſoms in *July*. After theſe Bells comes a blackiſh Seed, as big as a Pea, but not ſo round: The Root reſembles a Crawfiſhes Claw, Fat, and full of a White Juice, the Skin of a light Aſh Colour. It is of a Purging Quality, and is therefore cut into ſmall round bits, which they dry in the Sun. A Dram and a half of the Powder of it infus'd Purges gently. The Figure of it is in the fourth Book, and the Fifty fourth Chapter, of *Piſon*'s Treatiſe of the Virtue of Simples in *Braſil*. *Bindweed.*

There is another Herb, the Leaf whereof has the ſame effect as that of the *Bindweed* laſt mention'd being bruiz'd; the Name of it is *Dehoutchout*: The Flower of it is Yellow, and round, like the *Marygold*; the Leaf is jagg'd. *Dehoutchout* Plant.

The *Tapates*, among whom the ſenſitive Plant grows, call it *Haeſt vel*, ſignifying, Living Herb; it runs up in that Country two Foot high: The Stem of it is knotty, ſpreading its Branches unequally, ſome of them rearing up, and others falling down, being thick of Leaves, which touch one another, not unlike thoſe of the Fearn. This Plant bears little Purpliſh prickly Balls, which produce a number of little Flowers of the ſame Colour; and from them come Thorny Cods, in which is a Black ſhining Grain in the Shape of a Heart, flat like a Lentile, but only half *Senſitive Plant.*

big. Some call this Herb, *Chaste*, others *Mimeuse*, that is Dainty, or Coy. As soon as one Leaf of it is touch'd they all fold one against another, and bow down with their Branches to the ground, rising up gently about half a quarter of an Hour after. This Plant has been brought over into *Europe*, and is to be seen in several Places. Those who have travell'd over the *Isthmus* of *America*, from *Nombre de dios* to *Panama*, say there are whole Woods of Sensitive Trees, as soon as any of which are touch'd, the Branches and Leaves rise upwards, with a great noise, forming the Figure of a Globe. *Pison*, l. 4. c. 96. of the Qualities of *Brasilian* Plants, gives us the Figure of the Sensible Plant and Tree, by the Name of *Caaco*.

Sugar-Canes. The Island of *Madagascar* abounds in Sugar Canes, which the Natives chew, and suck, having not yet found out the Art of pressing out the Sugar, as is done in other Parts. They are knotty, like other Canes, the Stem at the bottom three, or four Inches about, and running up Ten Foot high: They are of a Yellowish Green, and have on the top many long and sharp Leaves, in Clusters. This Plant grows in *France*, but not to yield any Profit, for want of Heat; but it thrives well in *Sicily* and the adjacent Parts, as it does in *Spain*. *Marcgravius* gives us the Figure of it, *l.* 2. *c.* 16. of his History of *Brasilian* Plants. The *Brasilians* call it *Vube* and *Tucomaree*. It was known to the Ancients, tho' many deny it. *Dioscorides* describes it, *l.* 2. *c.* 75. as does *Galen*, l. 3. *de Facult. Aliment.* *Pliny* in his *Nat. Hist.* l. 12. c. 8. and *Strabo* in his *Geography*, l. 5. It is true, the Invention of extracting the Sugar is new, the Ancients having only us'd it in Medicines, and Liquors. The *Portugueses* having seen how the Inhabitants of the *Madera* Island extracted, dry'd, and made Loaves of it, transplanted the Canes into *Brasil*, erected Mills on the Land and Water, turning the former with Oxen, and they are not unlike the Wine Presses, bating that the Sugar Canes are not laid under the Press, but between two upright Roulers, which bruizing the Canes as they turn, press out the Juice, so that it falls into Fats, is then boil'd in Coppers, well scumm'd, then strein'd through a Cloth, and Boil'd again to a Consistence, which it never has without some Juice of Lemmon be put into it. The manner of Planting, Cultivating, Cutting, and Managing the Canes, boiling their Juice, and making it into Sugar-loaves, with the Figure of the Mills, Boilers, and all other necessaries for this Work, is in *William Pison*, l. 4. c. 1. of the Quality of *Brasilian* Simples.

Conclusion. To conclude this Work, I shall only add, that this Island being so large, so populous, and so fruitful, the Inhabitants so tract-

able,

able, having Mines of Iron, Gold, and Silver, Gums, Rosins, and Salt, (which the Sea, Winds, and Waves leave in the Hollow of the Rocks,) Wood, Cotton, *Mangrove* Trees for Cordage, by the Natives call'd *Vat farrire*, whole Rocks of Crystal in the Country about the Bay of *Anton Gil*, where digging in the Rivulets that fall there are *Saphyrs*, and *Emerauds* found, as also *Talk* on the Mountains of the *Machioores* and *Madegasses*. I wonder it has not yet drawn whole Colonies of *French* to subdue it, and settle the Christian Religion, which the Natives would easily be brought to, as being docible, and having yet embrac'd no formal Religion. Besides, they are very fond of the Conversation of the *French*, with whom they Trade freely, discover their Secrets to them, and invite them to their Allyance. Nor is there any Country in the World more advantageously situated; this Island lying between the East and West *Indies*, opportunely for the Conquest of either, and yielding all things necessary for Navigation, and the Use and Support of Man.

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